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RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

WARM THANKS TO ALL CONSCRIPTS



Red Africa



The Clash That Never Was



The Roar of the "Lagunari"

**The War That Opened the Doors
of Asia to the Rising Sun**

ENGLISH EDITION



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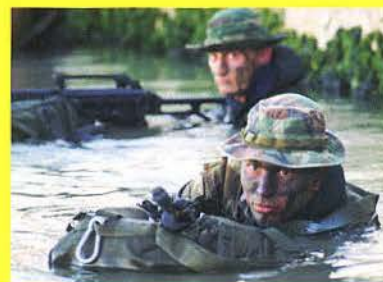
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A REEXAMINATION OF EVENTS, FROM THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL TO THE PRESENT DAY, SHEDS A DIFFERENT LIGHT ON THE DYNAMICS OF INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY

THE CLASH THAT NEVER WAS

by Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi*

The contrasts between civilizations have long attracted the attention of scholars and analysts of geopolitics. Their forerunner was English historian Arnold Toynbee in 1946, with his book "Comparing Civilizations". In 1997, Samuel Huntington, in his book "The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the New World Order", prefigured world scenarios characterized by confrontations based on culture and religion. But reality often diverges from our predictions.



Of late the clash of civilizations has been a very successful model, continuously evoked by experts and laymen within the geopolitical sphere.

Its author, Samuel Huntington, worked on it between 1993 and 1997, first with an article on "Foreign Affairs" and subsequently with a book which was published in many editions. Therefore, we are considering the years between the two Clinton administrations, i.e. the historical period which followed the fall of bipolarism. The central subject

is therefore the new type of world order after WWII.

Huntington is the director of Harvard's "Centre of International Affairs", which avails itself of the contribution of distinguished scholars, such as Joseph Nye and Stanley Hoffmann.

In the past years Huntington has been working out general models of interpretation of international politics which can be of use for both scholars and politicians. This is the purpose of his writings.

At the beginning of the book there is immediately an innova-

tive and problematic thesis: in the post-bipolar world, international conflicts and State alliances have ceased to depend on strategies of economic predominance or ideological differences, they now depend on differences of civilization: this is a cultural thesis, which is mainly concerned with the real meaning of "civilization".

This theory, like any other, is in a sense an oversimplification, but is a very rational effort made by the author, despite the fact that complex matters like international relations could suffer from sim-





Above.
One of the many mosques in Baghdad.

Right.
A view of Istanbul.

plification. Nevertheless, in this field, it would be unthinkable to try to outline strategies without having a theory. A theory which should work more or less like a map: a map that reproduced the territory on a 1:1 scale would be completely useless. A good map cannot be but an extreme simplification of the territory and this is precisely why it helps in getting one's bearings. A good theory is the same: it is a map that simplifies and can successfully orient us in a geopolitical analysis.

THE "CIVILIZATION" CONCEPT

Huntington starts with considering the concept of civilization – a word that in its singular or plural form can take on different

connotations. When singular, it is a word of ancient traditions in the Western world. "Civilization", during the Enlightenment was opposed to "barbarism", but he means the term in its plural form. There are different fundamental civilizations: the Western one, Islam, Sinicism and Hinduism. Then there are the ones less defined from the politico-strategic viewpoint, which must struggle for their position: the Japanese one, the Slav-Orthodox and the Latin-American. The African civilization is considered by itself, owing to the role played by the European colonization (not a single "guiding State" has taken shape, not even in an embryo stage). Huntington asserts that the growing conflict among different civilizations is the most dangerous aspect of the new interna-

tional scenario. But, how can these civilizations be defined? He says that they can be objectively classified following five criteria: language, religion, customs, history and institutions. But this objective element is not enough, because also the populations subjectively identify themselves with this "macrolevel" of civilization (the microlevels are ethnic group, religion and nation). This is a first questionable point in his theory. First, he outlines five objective criteria for assigning a given human group to a civilization, then he says that the criteri-

on is the progressive and subjective self-identification by the same human groups. Therefore, the author cannot always explain how we can subdivide the world, or rather the world order, according to a scheme of belonging to "civilizations". Apart from the fact that, on the other hand, some important cultures and nations, such as Indonesia, Thailand, Vietnam and Korea are not included in any fundamental civilization. For example, Indonesia, which has a strong Hindu tradition, is the largest Muslim State in the world.

THE LEVELS OF THE CLASH

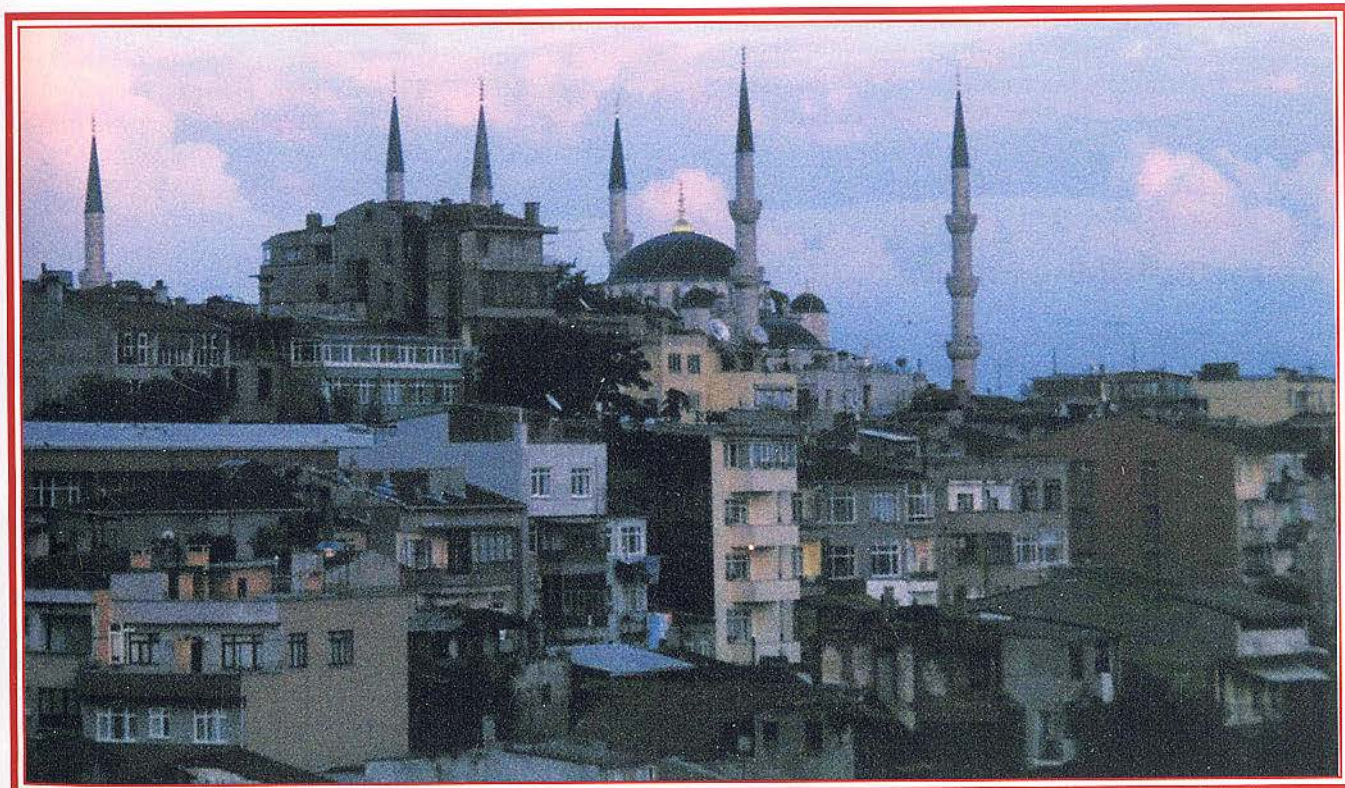
The levels of the clash among civilizations are of two different

mentions four of them: the classic, "realistic or "governmentalist" theory based on national States pursuing their interests within a global frame of instability. Such theory would be included within the "clash of civilizations" in that the States, although they do not disappear, after 1989 change and redefine their alliances on the basis of cultural proximity. This is the "One World" theory, the theory of the "end of history" and "globalization", which foreshadows the disappearance of the classic actors of international relations. According to Huntington, this could be accepted, but what makes it obsolete is the fact that it envisages a tendency to aggregation, not only in an economic sense but also according to a re-aggrega-

Then there is the West and Japan against the others: a partial theory that can be retrieved, since also Huntington sees an opposition between the West and China or Islam, not only on a politico-economic basis, but mostly for cultural reasons.

Finally, the theory of general political chaos. According to the author, anarchy is only a threat. Actually a new order, based on civilization, is now in preparation.

As regards regional clashes (microlevel), Huntington introduces the concept of "fault conflict", which considers the existence of a "limes" between different human groups, with the possibility of clashes, due mostly to religious reasons and – what is more important – capable of ral-

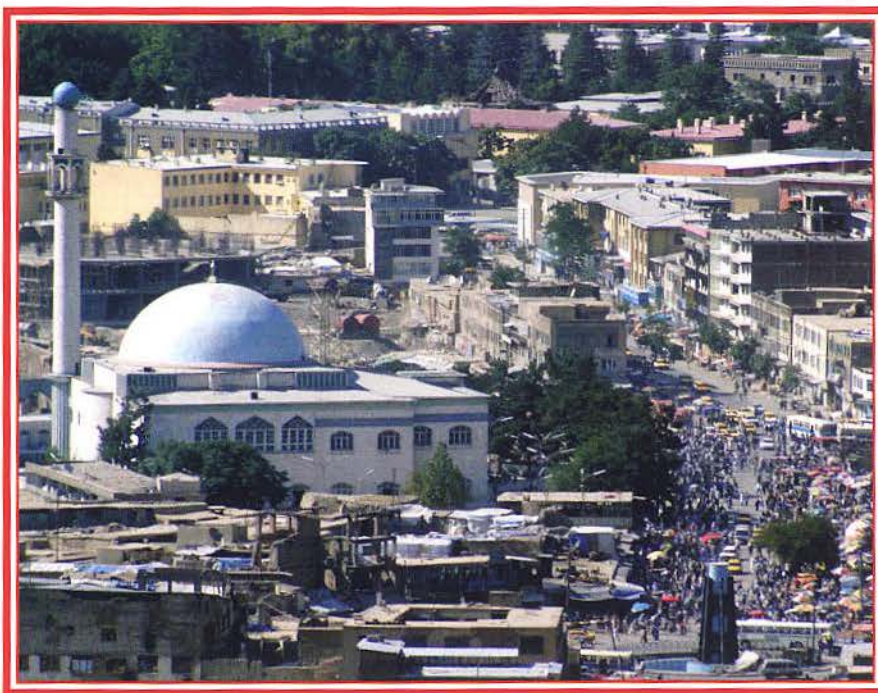


kinds: a microlevel (regional) and a macrolevel (global). At global level the danger consists in a head-on collision of two or more great civilizations. At this point the author criticizes the classic theories of international relations which preceded his own. He

tion of blocs of States belonging to the same civilization.

The "Two Worlds" theory, envisages a confrontation between the planet's "north" and "south"; the latter being described, with an abstraction, as the most backward place.

lying other States, which would intervene in support of the belligerent considered closer to their cultural identity. A practical example: when writing his article in 1993, Huntington identified the war in Bosnia as a "fault conflict", foretelling Russia's support



Left.
The outskirts of Kabul.

Right.
The Statue of Liberty in New York.

to Serbia on the basis of the common Slav-Orthodox identity, while the Vatican and Germany supported Croatia. All this apparently pertains to reality, but if we take a closer look at what has actually happened in the history of the last thirteen years, this theory lends itself to some doubts. In the Bosnian case, for example, Russia and the Orthodox authorities rushed to make great pronouncements in favour of the Serbs, but the only concrete military action was that taken by the United States in support of the Muslim culture (the Bosnians); the same happened again in 1999 in Kosovo, with a massive intervention of the whole West. The concept of “fault conflict” and its automatisms, which should supposedly lead the “guiding States” of the respective civilizations to intervene in order to help their “brother peoples”, shows its limitations: recent history proves that things do not work that way.

Declarations of principle are one thing, but concrete actions are another matter. In successive writings, Huntington interpreted the intervention of the greatest Western State in favour of the

Muslims as an attempt to appear as the “leading State” of the Islamic world. In Huntington’s theory, the “leading State” concept is very important.

Another contradictory point: when Huntington mentions the “fault conflict” (keystone for understanding the new international conflicts), he states that the “third level” States (the “second level” ones are geographically closer to the rival parties) would intervene in order to mediate and to avoid a macro-regional conflict. Then “civilization” as a reason for global conflicts would be reappraised, keeping its supremacy only in regional conflicts. The great powers – Huntington says – intervene on the basis of their economic and strategic-security interests. (i.e. the classic ones). Consequently there is a continuity between the classic schemes and those valid for the 21st Century, and this is also the author’s opinion. Thus the classic theory continues to be valid.

When Huntington introduces concrete cases, such as the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict, his statement is correct, but also problematic in relation to his model: Turkey and Iran gave

raise to a competition based on historical and long-standing reasons, in order to help the Azerbaijanis against the Armenians while, on the basis of the “clash of civilizations” theory, they should have supported the Azerbaijanis (Muslims) against the Christian-Orthodox Armenians.

The medium/long-term historical motives continue to be very important, also after 1989. One could also ask how Huntington explains the close military and strategic cooperation between Turkey and Israel. Despite the internal dissent of some political formations, the Turkish State continues to carry on this policy. The Turkish leaders responsible for the Country’s foreign policy actually follow a very classic line and proceed in tune with the U.S. and NATO for security reasons.

Huntington’s scheme, particularly when he underlines the religious factors, shows its limitations when compared with recent history.

THE UNIVERSALISM OF THE WEST

The most interesting part of the American scholar’s reasoning is perhaps his critical analysis of the universalism of the West, an attitude that may cause conflicts. The liberal and democratic culture of the West is strongly universalistic, from the philosophical viewpoint more than from the political one, for it contains universal values good for any part of the globe, and can unleash the strong resistance of cultures still attached to their traditions. It is interesting to remark Huntington’s distinction between “mod-



ernization" and "westernization". While many authors consider modernization an economic notion and westernization a cultural one, he separates the two concepts and maintains that, since the eighties, the latter has been regressing. In order to bear out this thesis, he produces a great number of data and statistics, for example, on the diffusion of the English language, considered the world's Esperanto. Between the sixties and the nineties, the number of people who had English as their mother tongue went down from 9.4% to 7.6%. Furthermore, many nations carry out protectionist policies in the cultural field, precisely at the moment when they try to get hold of technological and military innovations of Western/American origin. A dual attitude prevails: America

is alternatively a model to be copied or opposed. This is one of the problems which, according to Huntington, will compel the West to think about its occidentalist mentality and its idea of "civilizing mission".

THE CLASSIC THEORY

This theory of international relations, which in short maintains that conflicts break out for politico-strategic reasons (related to the security of the State or to power policies that threaten it) and for economic interests (the States try to protect and/or expand their sphere of influence), cannot be easily challenged by a "culturalistic" thesis based on the differences among civilizations, considered the real

causes that can trigger conflicts after the Cold War and the bipolar era.

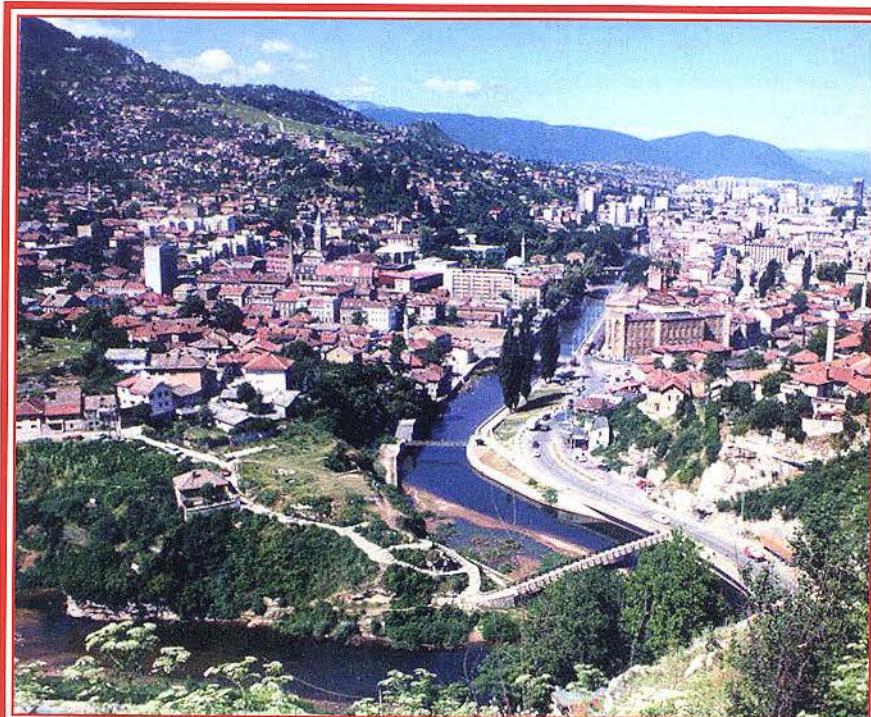
Nevertheless, the problem of Western universalism introduced by Huntington is also used by the author to tackle the most controversial point of his thesis: the relationship between the West and Islam. He puts forward a very strong thesis on Islam, in disagreement with most observers of international relations who, after 9/11, concentrate mainly on "Islamic fundamentalism" which has been greatly expanding since the seventies. In the "clash of civilizations" the problem is not fundamentalism but rather Islam in itself. Therefore, not its politico-ideological radicalization, but the Islamic culture as such is a possible source of clashes with the West.

The Islamic religion, according to this thesis, is historically defined as a “warmongering” religion which, for geographical reasons, has produced a certain contiguity between the Muslim world and the Christian-Western and the non-Islamic Asian worlds. A cultural and religious world marked by a kind of “indigestibility” which has made it impossible for the Nations which suffered its effects to absorb and integrate the huge wave of Islamic immigration.

Thus this conflict is not based on “fundamentalism” but on the very nature of Islam.

This is the thesis which exposed Huntington to the violent attacks of those who do not con-

lack of political power, compared to its demographic strength and economic potential. In this sense, his thesis echoes that of the “North-South” contrast but is re-examined, giving an extreme importance to the religious-cultural factor. His considerations are very sharp, but if one looks empirically at the events and asks about the great conflicts of the bipolar era, it is not difficult to detect the weak points in his reasoning. In 1991 there was the Gulf War; in 1999 NATO intervened in Kosovo; the U.S. went into action in Afghanistan after the 9/11 attacks. There have been regional conflicts in different parts of the world, in Yugoslavia, Kashmir and Africa, but if we ex-

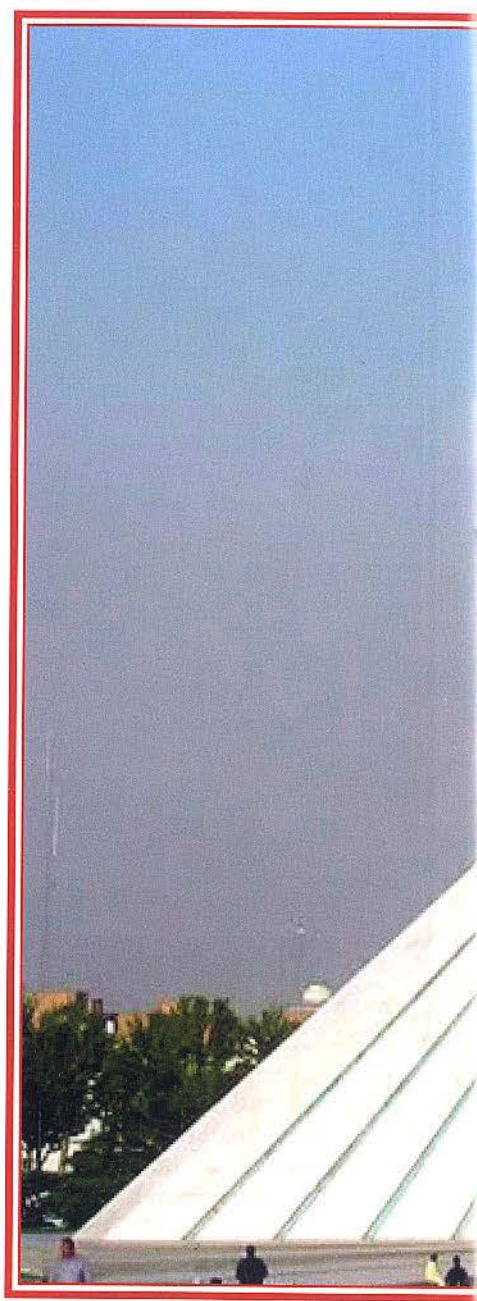


sider Islam a homogeneous block but rather a more composite reality.

A DIFFERENT APPROACH

We can only touch on the Islamic world of today, since a deep analysis would require long reflections. In Huntington’s view, Islam is obsessed by the relative

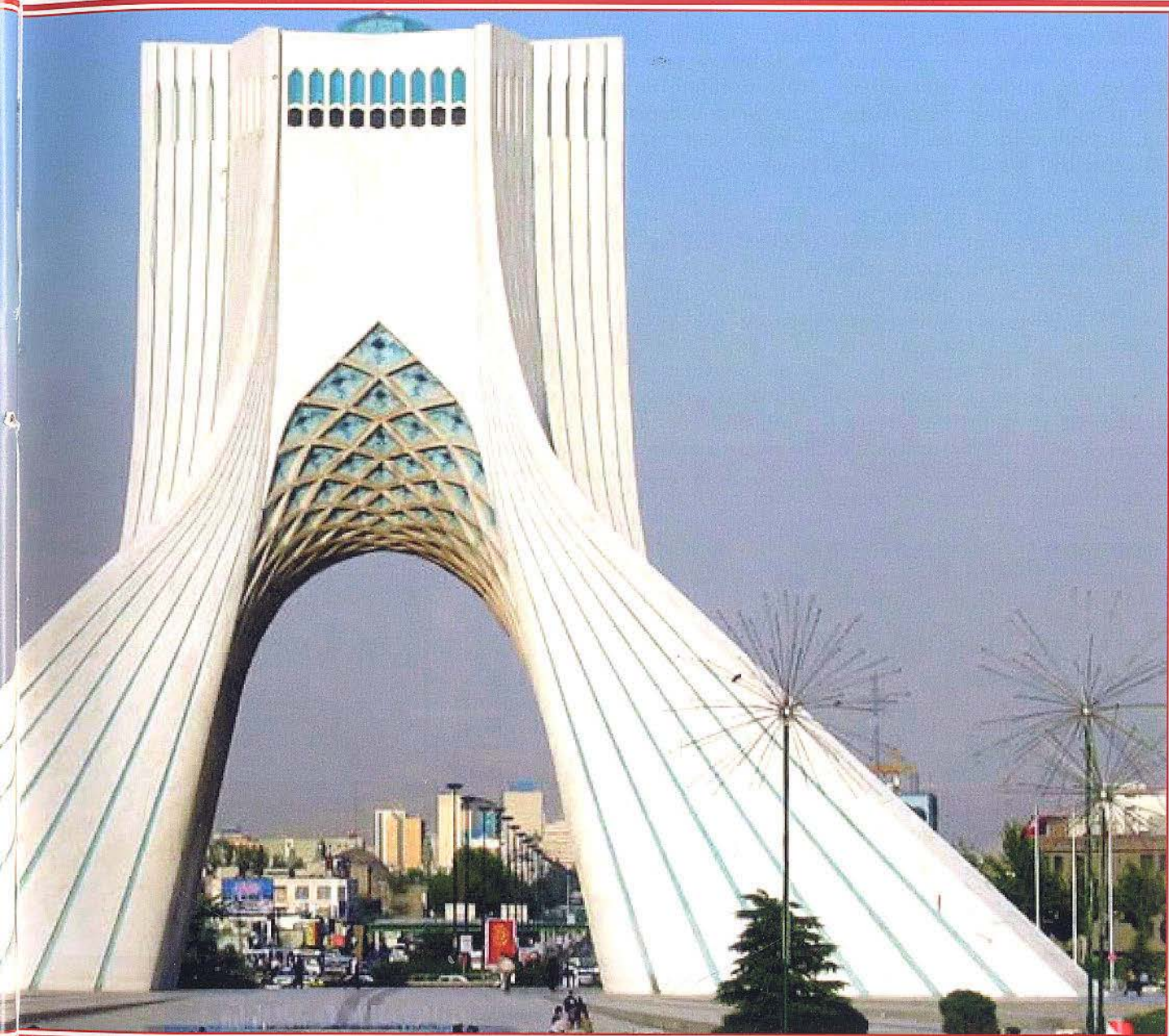
amine the main international conflicts, can we say that they were caused by “clashes of civilizations”? This is the question that we have to answer in order to understand if Huntington’s theory can help us to work out a political strategy for a “new world order”. It would be difficult to define the Gulf War of 1991 as “clash of civilizations” since at that time the U.S. created a close



Above.
The famous Azadi monument in Teheran.

Left.
Sarajevo seen from the old Turkish Fort.

net of alliances in the Middle East and were supported by other Arab Countries against Saddam Hussein. Those Countries did not join the Alliance on the basis of cultural or religious motivations, but followed classic foreign-policy guidelines centred on



security requirements and regional interests. In NATO's war against Serbia, in 1999, the West intervened in favour of the Muslim Bosnian people against a Christian-Orthodox country. Obviously Russia offered its solidarity to the Serbian people but certainly did not take any military action in favour of its "Orthodox brethren".

The question of the war in Afghanistan, in 2001, is much more complex than "civilization", although the cultural aspects should not be undervalued, espe-

cially considering that Country's perception of the West.

As regards the conflict in Iraq, nobody dares to foretell the future of the Country set free from Saddam Hussein's tyranny. Nevertheless, the Americans, with international support, are trying to proceed to the material, political and moral reconstruction of a Nation where an exported guerrilla warfare is also being fought, often with fundamentalist connotations.

Now, if we ask ourselves what kind of world security the U.S.

must face after the end of bipolarism, the most appropriate one would seem to be the vision that echoes the theses upheld by Nicholas Spykeman and Harold McKinder, two American experts who looked at "Eurasia" – which they define "heartland", i.e. world-island – as a decisive pivot for controlling the Earth. Actually the American foreign policy of the nineties and that of the present day, with its attempt at creating a large geopolitical area, which should go from the Atlantic to the Caspian sea, includ-

ing in such a Western security system also the Russian Federation and envisaging a partnership for the Middle East, offers an approach different from Huntington's "culturalist" one.

It is in the West's interest to create a greater political, economic and military integration, in order to prevent the States that have other civilizations from exploiting the internal differences. The essential challenge of the present is to win the heart of the masses so that the terrorist networks will not regenerate after one of their knots is destroyed. This is the objective and it is clear enough.

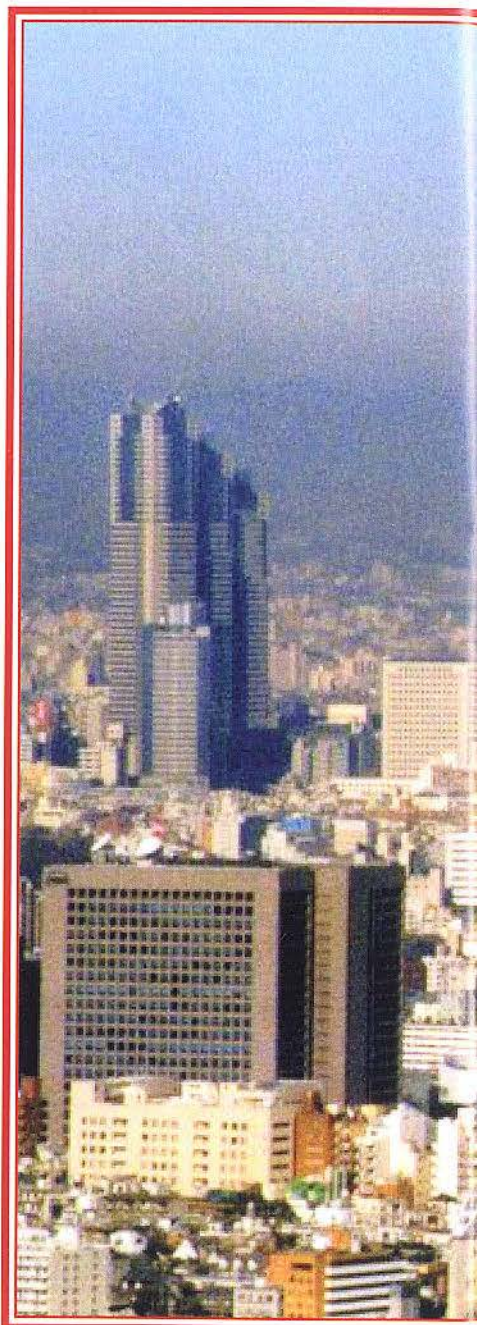
Restraining the expansion of the Islamic powers' and China's military capabilities is certainly a traditional concern of the United States, and has a lot to do with the concept of security and balance, but very little with the clash of civilizations.

One could add that this scheme seems to be appropriate for explaining the dynamics within some Countries (mostly Western), and it is not by chance that Huntington, in some pages, tackles the problem of mass migra-

tions, which would cause the birth of different "communities" within the same nation. Today, this problem is strongly felt in the West, because it concerns the social life of the individual Countries.

CONCLUSIONS

It is not the first time that one tries to interpret the international context in terms of "civilizations". Already in the 20th Century, British historian Arnold Toynbee was doing it in his book "Comparative Civilizations". It seems that in moments of crisis and transition from one order to another, or after catastrophic conflicts, the crisis of cultural identity leads to the assertion of these visions which try to cover a very wide range. But, at the same time, the real mechanisms of international relations remain rather vague. These mechanisms are determined by history, and therefore are not eternally identical; nevertheless they have elements of continuity which can explain international politics better than the "culturalist" theses.

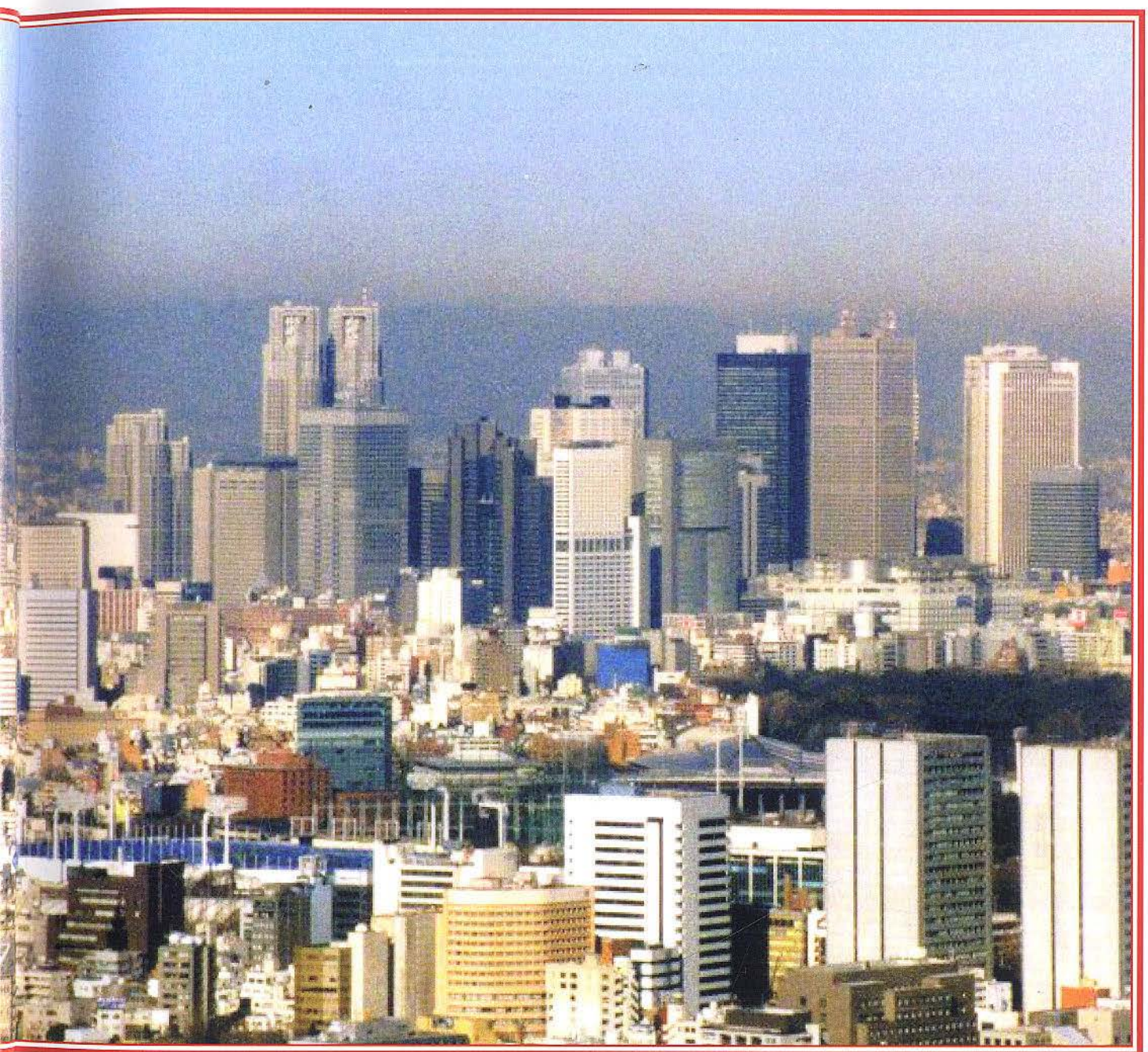


Above.
A panoramic view of Tokyo.



Left.
The famous London Bridge.

After all, the State-Nation model was realized in the second half of the 20th Century, mostly in Countries that, after their decolonisation, copied the European model in a different context, while the 19th Century ones



in reality were imperial States (France, Great Britain and the newcomers).

Precisely as the number of new States was growing enormously, in the West the State-Nation was assuming a new form, the "bloc" (Atlantic Alliance and, to a lesser extent, the EEC and then the EU, in opposition to the Soviet bloc). When some theories tell us about the evolution of the States, it is necessary to understand what kind of State we are talking about. They are not all the same,

globalisation does not have the same effect on all of them. Let us think of the differences between the U.S. and FYROM. What is lacking above all is a description of the internal situation of the State: it is never a monolith, it is rather made up of many systems. What is going through a crisis today is the Welfare State, which has been in great favour for a long time in the second half of the 20th Century.

To point out the problem in cultural terms means to say

very little about the relation between economic globalization and the national States. the changes in progress will not lead only to future international or internal crises. After the dependence/cooperation relation, typical of the Cold War, it should be possible to aim, more simply, at defending autonomy and interdependence.

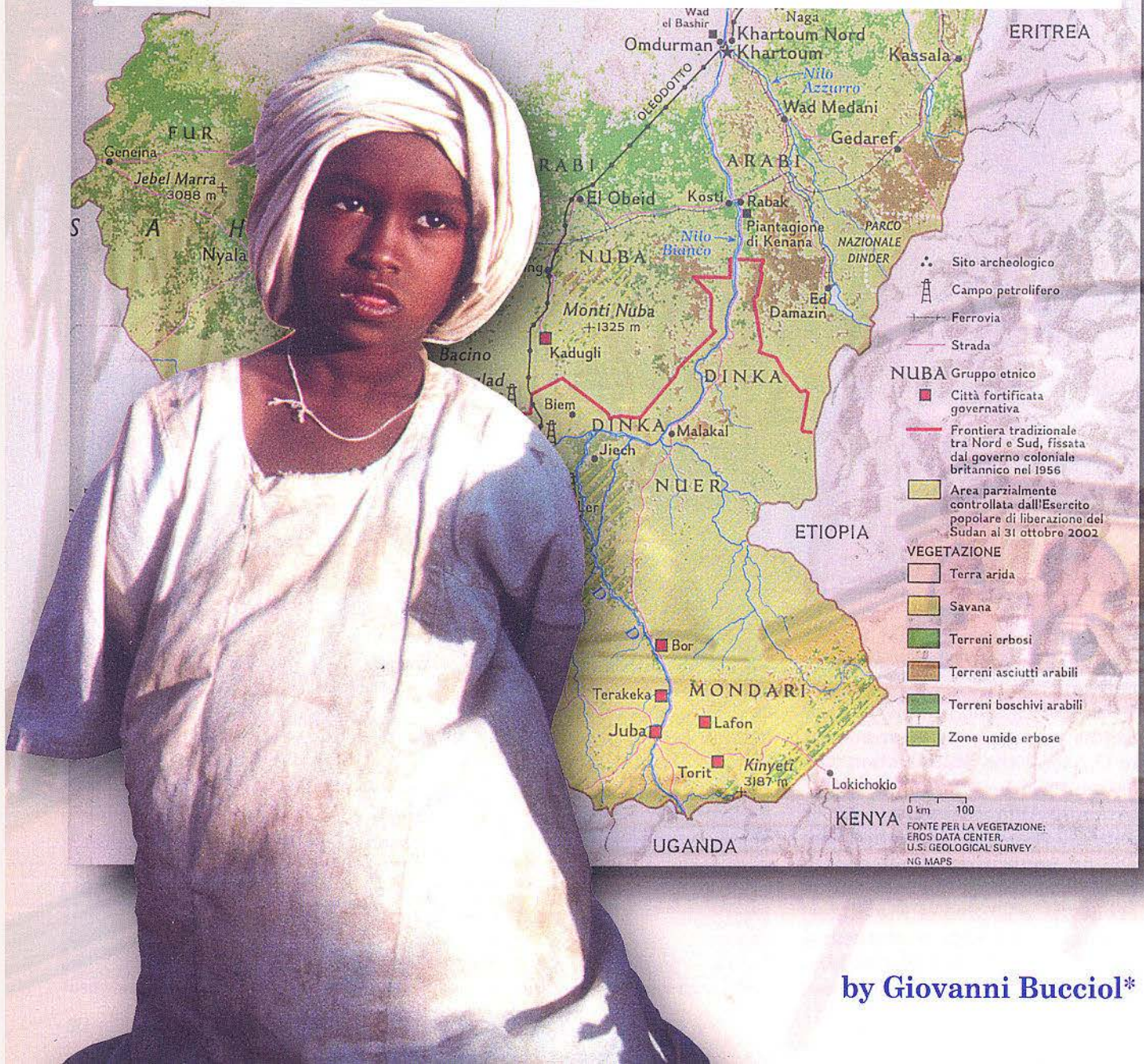
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* *Expert in strategic sciences*

A journey in Sudan, the scene of the longest
conflict in the ancient continent's history

RED AFRICA

The infinite story of the old hatreds that are bathing
the region in blood



by Giovanni Buccioli*

For more than half a century two ethnic groups have been confronting each other: the Arabs, white, Muslim and traditional leaders of the Country, to the north, and to the south the Christian and Animist blacks who for years have been demanding equal rights. The recent agreement on the future structure of the Country envisages a transitional phase of more than six years, with a Government of national unity, followed by a referendum. This is not only the first accord being achieved, it is also a vital opportunity which makes us hope in a peace that has been expected for too many years.

Last year, in June, an agreement was reached in Sudan between the Khartoum Government and the rebels in the south. This should put an end to more than 21 years of fights and grief. The treaty provides for a certain autonomy between North and South, equal sharing of the oil profits, softening of the Islamic law, particularly towards the non-Muslims in the capital, a different monetary system and, in six-years' time, a referendum for the constitution of a national government or the partition of the Country.

Sudan is situated at the confluence of the Blue Nile and the White Nile and its territory covers 2.5 million square kilometres, with 25.5 million inhabitants. It is Africa's largest Country, but only 5% of the land is cultivated. The government is republican, ruled by the military, the prevailing language is Arabic, 73% of the population are Muslim, 16.7% are animist and 5.6% are Catholic.

A TORMENTED HISTORY

Sudan, or Nubia (1) made itself known to the world with the construction of the Aswan dam in Egypt. Northern Nubia was swallowed up by the water and practically disappeared when Lake Nasser was formed, and with it went an immense wealth of traditions, history and culture. "Lower Nubia" was already mentioned in Augustus' time. Several garrisons were established, chosen mainly for strategic reasons. After the defeat of the inhabitants of Meroe, the Meroites were exempted from the payment of tributes with the treaty of Samos of 21 B.C. and the Nubians were granted free access to the temple of Isis of Philae, whose feast was celebrated on winter solstices. The Romans, in exchange, were free to travel the gold routes of the eastern desert, which surrounds Meroe with its vaguely golden-coloured sands. Indeed, Pliny even assumes the existence of a city "entirely of gold", Berenice Panchrisia.

For three centuries the Meroites were loyal allies of the Romans and provided logistic support to the explorers sent by Nero between 63 and 66 A.D. in quest of the sources of the Nile in upper Nubia.



THE PRESENT SITUATION

The contrast between the North and the South of the Country started in 1956, when the British considered that the colonial period was over.

The declaration of independence compelled the various ethnic and linguistic groups to solve their problems by themselves.

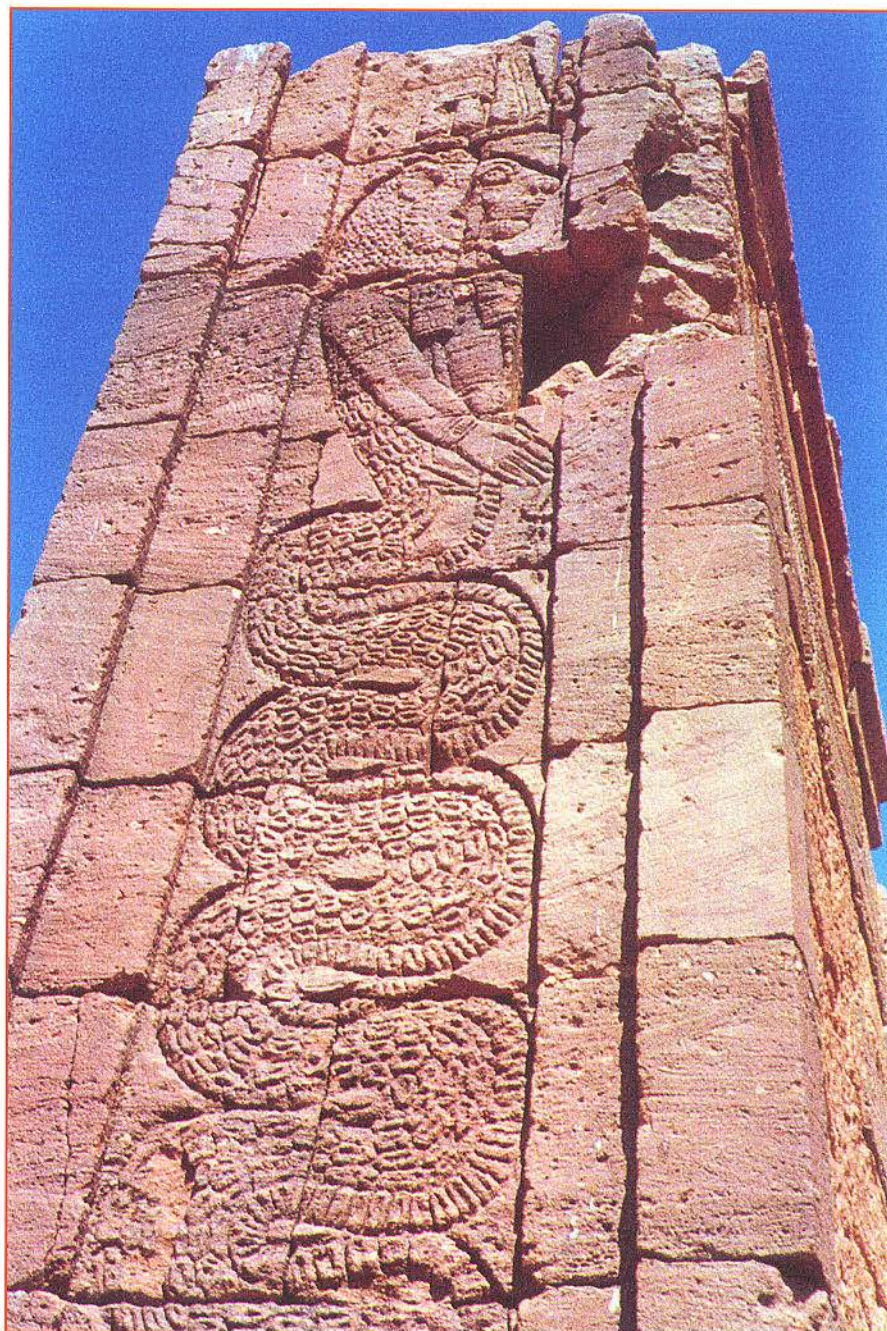
While in the South there are countless tribes with their respective languages, the Arabs in the North have joined together. Bloody clashes are therefore a constant problem in Sudan and in 1983 a civil war broke up, and still continues.

Under the leadership of the former Commander of the Army, Dr John Garang, the Southern Sudanese oppose the process of Islamization.

The whole South, inhabited by a Christian and Animist population, is defended and controlled by SPLA (Sudanese People's Liberation Army), which also favoured the armed defence of the people.

The Liberation Army is against the Islamic regime directed by Khartoum, which does not accept any form of democracy. The Islamic regime is subjected to the *sharia*, the Koranic law, to which everything occurring in the State, in public life and even in private life, must conform.

The Koran does not consider the separation of religion and State. The only separation is that between the world of Islam (*dar al Islam*) and the world of war (*dar al harb*), an expression which includes all the so-called "non believers", i.e. those who belong to other religions.



Meroe's disappearance and the absence of Rome between the 4th and 6th Century A.D. favoured the settlement of the Blemmes, a tribe settled in the Sahara, region between the west bank of the Nile and the Red Sea.

Between the 4th and the 5th Century, numerous missionaries came from Egypt and in about 100 years completely evangelized the feudal states of Nabodia, Makouria and Alodia, which began to decline on the arrival of the Arabs who, in 641 A.D., start-

ed to isolate the Nubian courts from the other Christians of the Mediterranean. The Arab attacks were withstood by Nabodia, whose monarchy merged with Makouria's in the VIII Century, thus ensuring the survival of Christianity until the age of the Mamelukes. The clashes between Moslems and Christians ended with the "*baqt*", a bilateral socio-economic pact. On this occasion the Muslims noticed the military bravery of the Nubians and discovered the gold mines. Between

the 13th and 16th Century the whole Sudan was arabized, after the destruction of the Kingdoms of Nabodia and Makouria by the Mamelukes and other groups coming in successive waves from the Arabian peninsula, and the disappearance of the Kingdom of Alodia which, after the Byzantine immigrations, was replaced by the Sultanate of Funj. Thus the Arabs gained control of the Upper Nile and brought almost all the inhabitants of Sudan under the Islamic faith.

It is interesting to take a glance at the birth, development and extinction of the Mamelukes, from "*maml?k*", a term which in Arabic means "owned" or "slave". In 1230, an Egyptian Sultan bought 12,000 Mameluk slaves with the intent of making a legion of soldiers out of them. But they could not tolerate their condition of serfdom and in 1250 killed the last Turkoman prince and put one of their own on the throne of Egypt, with the title of Sultan. Their rule lasted 257 years, until 1517, when the last Mameluk leader, Tuman Bey, was hanged. Nevertheless, the Mameluks became more powerful than the Ottomans. They were able to use the British carbines and wore a belt with two pistols and a scimitar. On his arrival in Egypt, Napoleon made them his personal guard, thus keeping them quiet. After his departure, the Mameluks got their strength back. On March 1, 1811 Mehmet Ali Pasha ordered the Albanians to exterminate them. Some fled to Nubia but, after five centuries, the traces of this people faded away.

THE ITALIANS IN KHARTOUM

After 1830, the Italian doctors, chemists, geologists, engineers and cartographers are joined by priests, explorers and soldiers. As a matter of fact, in 1875, Captain Romolo Gessi, who in Crimea has

Left.

Representation of the warrior God Apedemak.

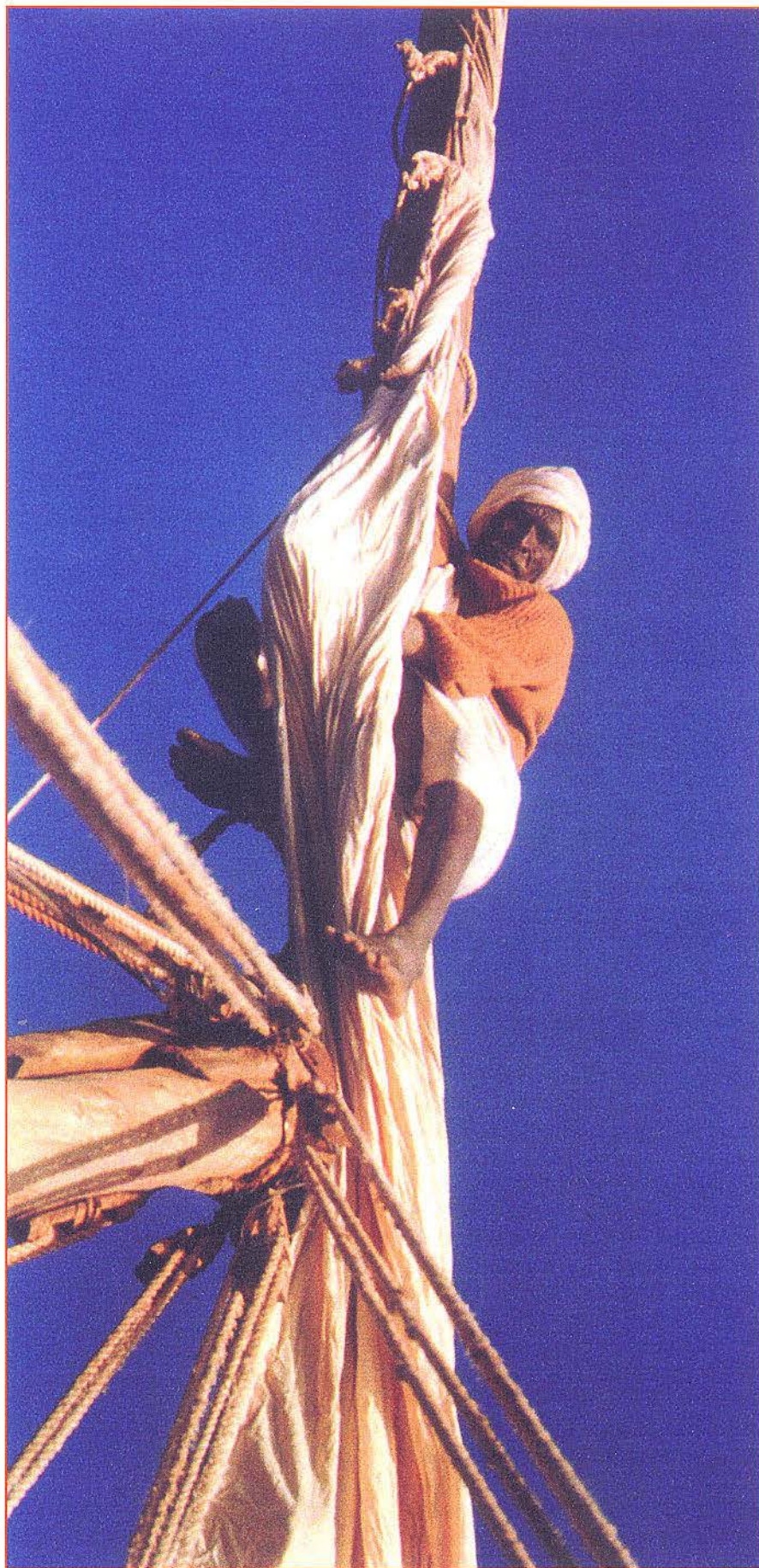
Right.

Unfurling the sails on a boat on the Nile.

been a collaborator of Colonel Charles Gordon's, the legendary Governor-General of Nubia, enters the scene. He is given the task of exploring Lake Albert and this earns him the position of "Governor of the Upper Nile" for 4 years. During his explorations, Gessi is joined by Captain Gaetano Casati, in fulfilment of Gessi's request for an officer skilled in cartography, in order to make topographic surveys. In 1876, Casati ventures to the interior of Africa, but after many vicissitudes returns to Italy. In 1882, Giacomo Bartolomeo Massedaglia, a Venetian, enlists in the ranks of the Officers of the Anglo-Egyptian Army and participates in the first repressions of the Mahdist insurrections in Sudan.

The most important among the missionaries is Father Daniele Comboni, who has recently been canonized. He was born on March 15, 1831, of a peasant family, at Limone sul Garda, in the province of Brescia, grew up in Verona and became a priest. At the age of 26 he left for Central Africa "consecrating his life to Christ, in favour of the African peoples even until martyrdom".

He does not leave with the paternalistic attitude of a rich epulo who looks down on the poor, he wants to spread the Gospel as a man of his time, a "prophet of co-operation". In 1864 he submits his idea to the Vatican: to regenerate Africa through itself, "to save Africa with Africa". Daniele Jarur, a former slave in Sudan, is the first Combonian priest and the first Sudanese bishop. In 1877 Father Comboni founds the Institute of Combonian Missionaries, which in 1882 is also joined by nuns. Its motto is "Negritude or Death". Father Comboni dies





*Omer Hassan Ahmed Al-Bashir,
President of the Republic.*

in 1881. In 1883 the Combonian Fathers publish the magazine "Nigrizia", the missionaries' most influential voice. Saint Daniele Comboni has been a forerunner of the globalization of solidarity, a concept which is often mentioned by John Paul II, because of its supranational connotation. His sanctity was recognized thanks to a miracle for a Muslim woman. On November 11, 1997 Lubna Abdel Aziz is hospitalised to undergo a caesarean section and has a postoperative haemorrhage. The miracle occurs after the prayers said by the Combonian Sister Bianca Benatelli, who had previously asked the permission of Lubna and her husband. The prayer saves the woman.

THE MAHDI'S ERA

Muhammad Ahmed ibn 'Abd Allah, or Mahdi (the well guided), was born in the Dongola province in 1844. In 1883, with the surrender of the Anglo-Egyptian garrison of El Obeid

A MISSIONARY'S WITNESS

by Serena Sartini*

Sudan is striving to come out of a bloody war which has been going on for decades, causing an emergency situation of appalling proportions. We are facing the longest conflict in African history. In this situation, the Combonian fathers are trying to assuage the sufferings of the Sudanese. Since 1857 they have never deserted them, they know their history and are therefore capable of understanding and explain their reality, which is so far from our own. It is precisely for this reason that we have interviewed Father Giovanni Antonini. This 68-year old missionary has lived in Khartoum from 1965 to 1980 and again from 1987 until 1995. In Sudan, he worked in humanitarian activities and to provide aid to the populations at the centres and institutes of the Combonian missionaries; thus, he can give us a direct and synthetic testimony.

With Father Antonini we discover a world where a daily struggle must be conducted in favour of the weakest, who in such a tragic situation are in need of everything. The problems of the refugees are added to those of the people who shelter them. Thousands of people must be fed and cared for. They are the martyrs of war, who cannot even choose where to live. Incredibly, they were born in a land rich in resources, and are entitled to a better future. The possibility of development depends mainly on the immense oil fields. Nevertheless, the hope of the Sudanese must reckon with those who want to grow rich leaving the situation of the majority unchanged.

How many missionaries are there in Sudan?

The Combonian Fathers in the North are 54, and the Combonian Sisters 81. In the South they are respectively 37 and 38. Then there are about 100 missionaries from other religious institutions. Besides we must not forget the local clergy: 130 Sudanese priests just in the North, and they are growing, both in quantity and quality. This makes the Sudanese more mature and capable of assuming direct and responsible functions. As a matter of fact, our task is actually that of supporting the local priests, who later will have to operate autonomously on the territory.

What is the situation from the viewpoint of humanitarian assistance?

The work carried out by the Church has changed throughout the years. It decreased in the south, since the war changed the needs of the population which, being on the run, moves continuously and has no chance of getting systematic, long-term jobs. The primary emergency is hunger, which is a real weapon of mass destruction. This does not depend on the land or the people's inability to work. Hunger is an effect which is tragically wanted by the conflicting factions. The missionaries and the Church, particularly in the south, have a first-priority problem to tackle: feeding thousands and thousands of Sudanese.

In the north the situation is slightly different. It is tense and difficult, this is true, but it has improved, since now it is possible to work more systematically, even if the policy of the Khartoum government goes against the missionaries' activity. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that the Sudanese are trying not to make the situation worse with restrictive laws. I can see concrete steps forward in this direction.

For instance, in the early eighties the Catholics in the Khartoum Archdiocese were about 150,000. Now they are over a million. The increase is due mainly to the immigration of enormous crowds from the south and the constant systematic aid provided by the clergy, especially in the schools.

What are the initiatives carried out by the missionaries?

Our main concern is that of creating the minimum structures for the survival of the population, by providing food, shelter, water and medical assistance. As missionaries, we have the structures which permit us to implement these projects and provide a minimum assistance. But, for example, as far as food is concerned, our policy is that of buying locally the victuals with funds coming from abroad, thus encouraging the local production. Our activity concerns food, medical aid, social assistance and work. In short, the primary needs.

What are, in your opinion, the negative factors which drag on in the conflict and the knotty problems to be solved?

In Sudan, the most disquieting element is the fact that a unitary State was built without the existence of a united Country. The State is there, but there is no national conscience. First of all, because the State consists of ethnically and culturally different peoples. Secondly, because the government is formed by an "Arabized" cultural group which does not recognize to other cultures the freedom and the dignity of existing. With the unification, therefore, an Islamic conscience would be forced on the whole territory. This unleashes the reaction of the Christians and also of the followers of the African traditions, together with the reactions of the Moslems in the south, who do not accept the Islamic model that the government wants to impose.

To say that this is only a war of Moslems against Christians is not the whole truth: more than a religious conflict, it is a clash of cultures, languages and customs, with economic and political elements, which have produced further complications. Altogether, it is a boiling mixture. The Khartoum government is formed by an oligarchy which controls economy, bureaucracy and power, supporting a strong unitary State with an Islamic constitution. The South wants a federal constitution. Thus the various religions of the Country would be guaranteed equal autonomy, together with the liberty of choosing the type of constitution they prefer.

How do you see the peace agreements?

Today there are greater prospects to reach them, since now the international community is deeply involved. The majority of the Khartoum government want the readmission of Sudan in the assembly of Nations and in the international diplomatic system, in order to enter the economic/financial market and to develop the Country's assets, especially as regards oil and mineral resources. But there are still many problems to be solved: first of all, the type of State wanted. Secondly, the legitimacy of the law on the "Sharia", which is only recognized in the north. Then there is a debate on the statute of Khartoum: as capital and centre of the Country, should it accept the Islamic law, or not? If the answer is "yes", will it become a city of Moslems only? It would not be fair. In conclusion, it seems that there is still a long way to go.

* Researcher of History of Civilizations



Mustafa Osman Ismail, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

after a siege of six months, he takes possession of a rich booty. He is considered the new prophet, bearer of justice and peace into the world and, with his charisma, he recruits a very large number of men, a kind of ragtag army, not devoid of a certain bravery. Their number increases continuously and a hierarchic structure becomes necessary: 3 Caliphs are in command of several Emirs, who keep the relations with the subordinate tribes. El Obeid brings him luck, since – following the example of the Czarist armies, which let Napoleon advance into Russia, setting "General winter" against the French – he counters Colonel William Hicks, Commander of the Anglo-Egyptian army with "General desert", lets him advance, loaded with weapons and increasingly short of food and water, and defeats him. Then the Mahdi decides to leave the desert, where he cannot be caught and routed, in order to take Khartoum. On February 18, 1884, the British Government sends General Gordon,

former Governor of the city from 1873 to 1880. The Mahdi blocks the fluvial traffic and cuts the telegraph line, thus putting a strain on the enemy's nervous system. At the beginning of March, the Mahdi starts the siege of Khartoum with 30,000 Dervishes and, on the 20th of the same month, sends a letter to Gordon, inviting him to "surrender, convert and join his army". On August 8, London's Government sends an armed expedition which stops at Debba, 200 km from Khartoum, while the provisions of food are running short. On September 10, Colonel Stewart, the expeditionary force's deputy Commander sets sail towards Egypt with a small escort, with the intention of saving the European community. He also carries a message to the Pope from Gordon, but the flight ends at Berber. On November 12, the Mahdi positions the artillery seized from Hicks and on January 26, 1885 launches the attack. Khartoum falls within six hours and Gordon is killed. Two days later, the capital is reached by Major Kitchener's vanguard, which has been marching towards Khartoum under Lord Walseley's orders, but the British are pushed back by the Mahdist forces. The following day the Mahdi moves to Omdurman, but on June 22 he dies in mysterious circumstances. The city, with 150,000 inhabitants, becomes the capital of Mahdia. The independence lasts 13 years.

But Great Britain does not renounce its possessions and does not tolerate the defeat of 1885. In 1898 it sends Kitchener, now a Colonel, with 20,000 men and 100 cannons. On September 1, Omdurman is taken (2). The British overcome a disorganized and poorly armed enemy. The toll is 48 British dead against 11,000 Mahdists. Omdurman is razed to the ground, the Mahdi's mausoleum destroyed and his re-

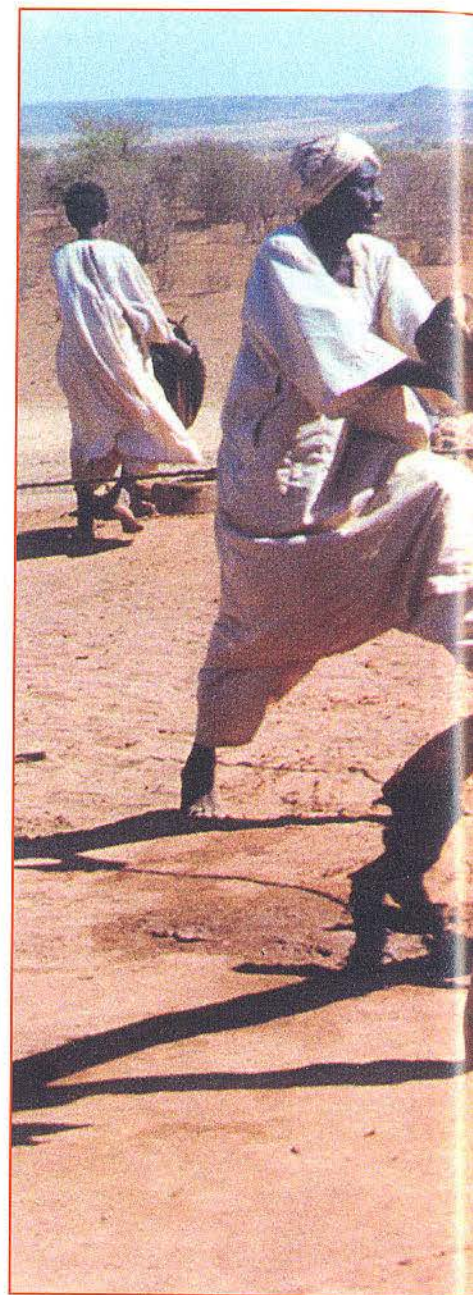
Water wells are fundamental for survival in the desert.

mains dispersed.

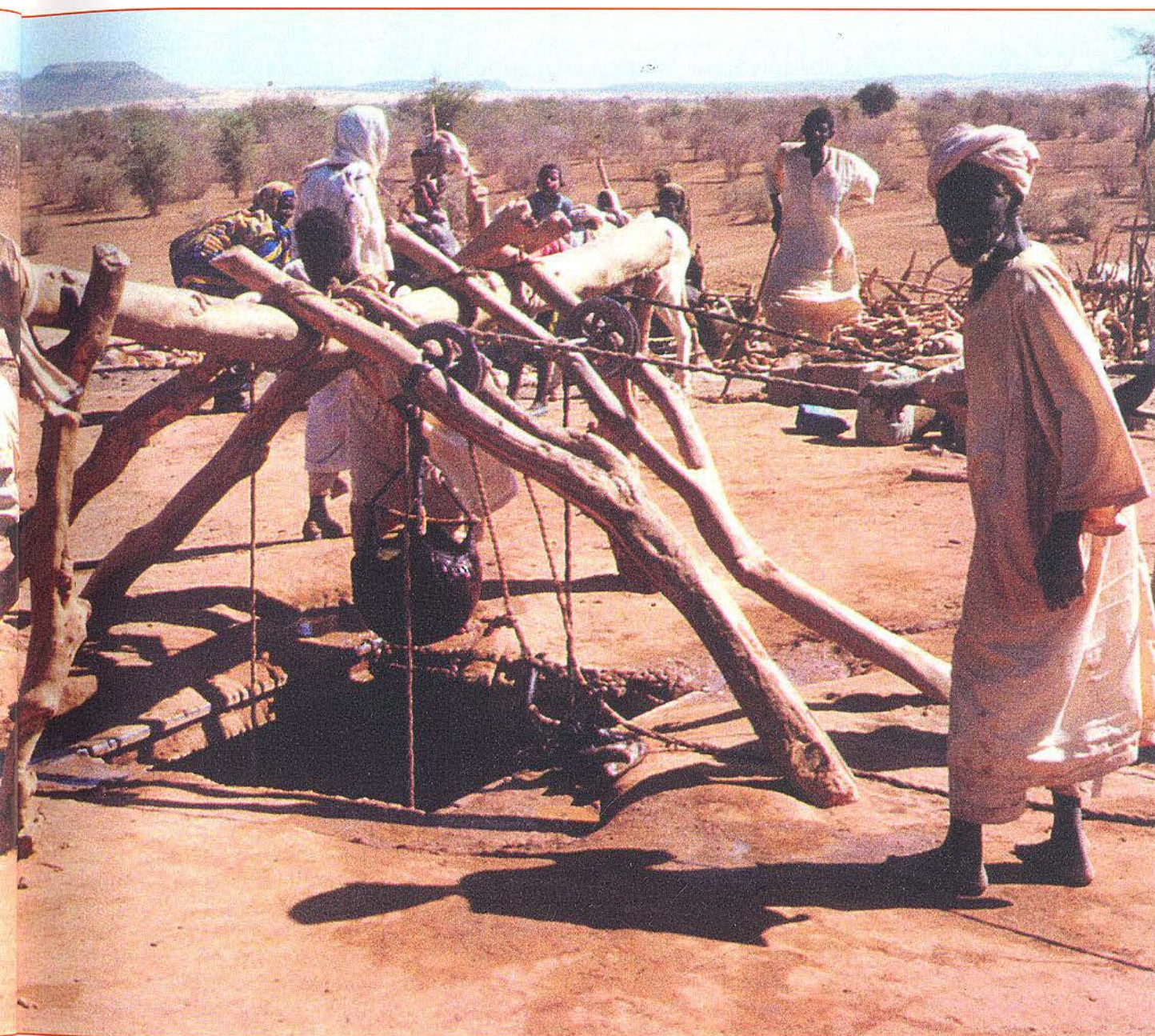
The joint British-Egyptian rule of Sudan continues until 1922. The longed-for independence, for which the Mahdi had been fighting, arrives on January 1, 1956.

THE PRESENT

The military junta, in power since 1989, after having overthrown the last democratically elected Government and exiled the moderate Islamic parties, after the events of 9/11 has become softer and, also to come out of the international isolation, has decided to participate in the war against terrorism. After this decision, the U.S. lifted the economic embargo which had been hard on the Country. The sanctuary given to bin-Laden and Carlos in luxury villas in Khartoum's outskirts are now an ugly memory. In October 2002, the Government and the SPLA, with the American mediation, agreed on a ceasefire which, except for a few cases of small account, seems to hold. The reason: a 1500 km oil pipeline going from the Muglad basin in the south, with a wealth of 3000 billion barrels of crude oil, to Port Sudan. The rebels control the territory and the Government controls the oil. They need each other. Some fear, perhaps wrongly, that the oil profits will never fall into the pockets of the people. But the recent easing of tension seems to be eradicating the ancestral roots of hate and violence between the Arab masters from the north and those who have always been considered the African serfs from the south; between the northern Moslems, Christians and followers of traditional cults, and the farmers and shepherds of the entire territory for the control of water wells and pastures. The



cease-fire has blotted out the guerrilla warfare almost completely, but the recurring draught, hunger, raids of slave traders and the mortal diseases, such as AIDS (3) and leprosy, are unfortunately the cruel evils which the Government is trying to cope with, and which cause the cries of pain from a part of mankind where a child dies every seven minutes. Oil does not provide certitudes of a better future to the tribes and seems anything but a unifying factor. Until recently the U.N. used to para-



chute food and medicines, because Khartoum did not welcome the presence of observers and foreign operators. The majority of SPLA wants full independence from the North, but the leader of the rebels insists on a "united and secular" Sudan, free from Khartoum's theocratic regime.

In the South, the Government is building a number of roads, but its opponents maintain that they are realized to meet the requirements of the oil trade with no respect for the needs of the population. In any case, the oil wells are

surrounded by 5-metre high embankments, floodlit and protected by Government soldiers, in order to prevent and repress the rebels' attacks. At any rate, no major oil company is drilling in Sudan. In the early nineties, when the U.S. included Sudan in the list of the Countries that gave shelter and cover to terrorists, all American companies left the Country. Today there are engineers from China, Malaysia, Canada and some Islamic Countries, and they are attempting a "brand new" globalization experiment in the plains of

Sahel. They form the "Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company" which pumps 240,000 barrels of crude daily. The Government expelled 3000 persons suspected of being terrorists, freed all political prisoners and let the opposition parties "take a breath".

Apparently, for some time, the split has not been between north and south, but between centre and periphery. This is maintained by some top-level intellectuals, who also say that the war is over and the Southerners have come to the north to join the

Arabs, towards whom they show no hostility since by now they are half-breeds. Oil, they say, is a blessing which will keep Sudan united. In any case, north of Atbara the pipeline is patrolled by Mujahidin, also because the area is claimed by the Beja rebels.

In the economic and financial sector, the growth rate has been very low in the period 1965-1980, and even negative in the eighties. The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the industrial Countries have insisted that the African economies, lately including the Sudanese one, should undergo structural reforms that would enable them to exit from a twenty-year period of political and economic failures. The aid started to be reconsidered and linked to the reduction of the public sector, but with no positive results so far. Everybody knew that, in a context of uncertain legal norms and frail institutions, strong market economies could never develop. In the name of "good governance" the recipients of foreign resources – such as Sudan – were asked to proceed to structural changes in the economy and to reform the administrative and political systems. In Sudan's case, hopefully the present "pacification" period will continue and become a real peace. After all, also this Country, just as the Countries which enjoyed decolonization after WWII, was thrown into the wide sea of democracy hoping that it would learn how to swim. The rules of a good democracy, being new to them, have made many of these Countries ungovernable. Rather than governing for the people's good, the new ruling classes had very different and more urgent concerns. They partly failed in their duty to create a national sentiment in Countries where the bonds of tribal and religious loyalty were pre-eminent. Furthermore, they neglected the development of resources – especially oil – within their nation,

and the socio-economic modernization necessary to make up for lost time. The democratic and economic developments must proceed together.

THE UGLY SITUATION IN DARFUR

As we said the recent peace treaty, which provides a legal form to the ceasefire achieved in Khartoum, in October 2002, between the Government and the SPLA, puts a stop, "almost" completely, to more than 21 years of tragedies. In this case, rather than "peace" it is a treaty of "pacification". The Italian diplomacy participated with great dedication, and succeeded in keeping together a quarrelsome meeting. The document's fault is that it does not consider the need to disband the Janjaweed militias, which for more than a year have been slaughtering the populations of Darfur, the western part of the Country, inhabited by black people, most of them Moslems. The "Human Rights Watch" denounces the genocide and declares that the U.N. Security Council does nothing but "monitor" the situation. Those poor populations – 120,000 of them are refugees in Chad and almost one million who have fled to the Sudanese countryside, with no water and food, are protected by two guerrilla movements. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees installed hospitals, reception camps and food-distribution centres far from Chad's borders. But the Janjaweed militiamen get there all the same and terrorize the exiles. In southern Darfur there is also an Italian cooperation organization which, after the end of the Government's prohibitions, imported a shipload of medicines, tents, generators, food, water tanks and blankets. As usual, not all parties concerned are present at the negotiations table. In the

Right.

Watering dromedaries.

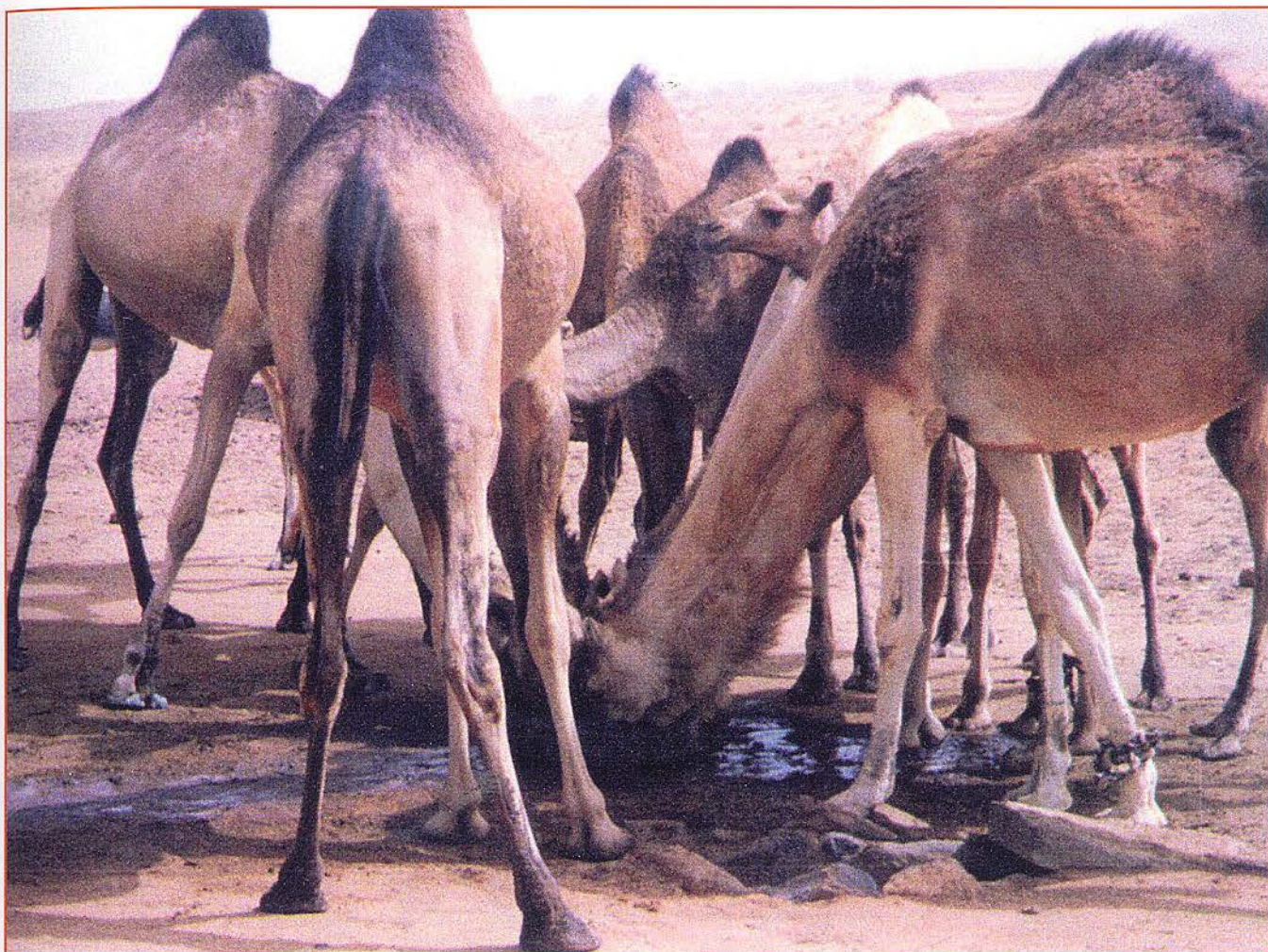
specific case, the Government and the SPLA were present, as if the dispute were between North and South, but the representatives of SLA and JEM deserted the meeting. Also for this reason the accord cannot be considered a real peace agreement.

CONCLUSIONS

Sudan's is a democracy which has difficulties in taking off but, with a serious commitment in favour of freedom, equality and dignity, its development will be possible. A "humane" globalization can be promoted through example, assistance and a dialogue leading to an accord. Globalization, being a wealth-producing system, poses the problem of redistribution and utilization of resources and while, at national level, this task is assumed by the State, at international level there is no precise reference point.

It should not be forgotten that Sudan, which risks to become richer but not very developed, is a mostly Islamic Country. As such it suffers from a certain deficit of democracy.

In 1986, John Paul II, who in his ecumenical travels has not neglected Khartoum, at the inauguration of a number of interconfessional meetings, said that the "identity passions" (5) are the greatest danger. It is precisely owing to the social nature of the religions that the collective life generates and promotes the idea of force, unfortunately meant not as moral strength but as political power. In this case it is essential that the representatives of all religions share the "sense of the divine", as was stressed by the Pope in Assisi on January 24, 2002, against hatred, war and fideist terrorism. The Sudanese



authorities are duly taking note of this.

Finally, Khartoum will have to reconstitute a generation which, from 1983, has been seriously reduced. Since then, in consequence of the civil war, at least 20,000 children have lost contact with their families. Many of them ventured on a travel through East Africa, also on foot, eating leaves and roots, and reached the refugee camps of Ethiopia and Kenya. Some died of starvation and dehydration on the way, or were torn to pieces by lions. Within a project of "permanent resettlement", 3600 children have been received in the United States. But after 9/11 the attitude towards the refugees is changed. The fear of terrorism caused a sharp reduction of the resettlement quotas. Before, the Americans alone received about 70,000

refugees a year, absorbing 70% of the entire contingent fixed by the United Nations.

□

* Major General (ret.)

NOTES

(1) Territory of the Nubians, people of Central Africa, who in the 3rd Century A.D. settled in the land of the "people with a burnt face". The writers of ancient times called all the regions south of Egypt "Aethiopia", that is "lands inhabited by individuals with a burnt face".

(2) Winston Churchill, a young officer at the time, reported: *All of a sudden the dark line which, seen from a distance, looked like a defensive wall, began to move. They were men, not shrubs. All at once*

another huge mass of men appeared on the ridge and the whole side of the hill seemed to start moving towards us.

(3) According to a research conducted by ISPI, Sudan is immersed in Sub-Saharan Africa, where 253 million people have AIDS (70% of all adults and 80% of all children. 15,000 new cases occur in the area every day, 95% of them in the developing Countries.

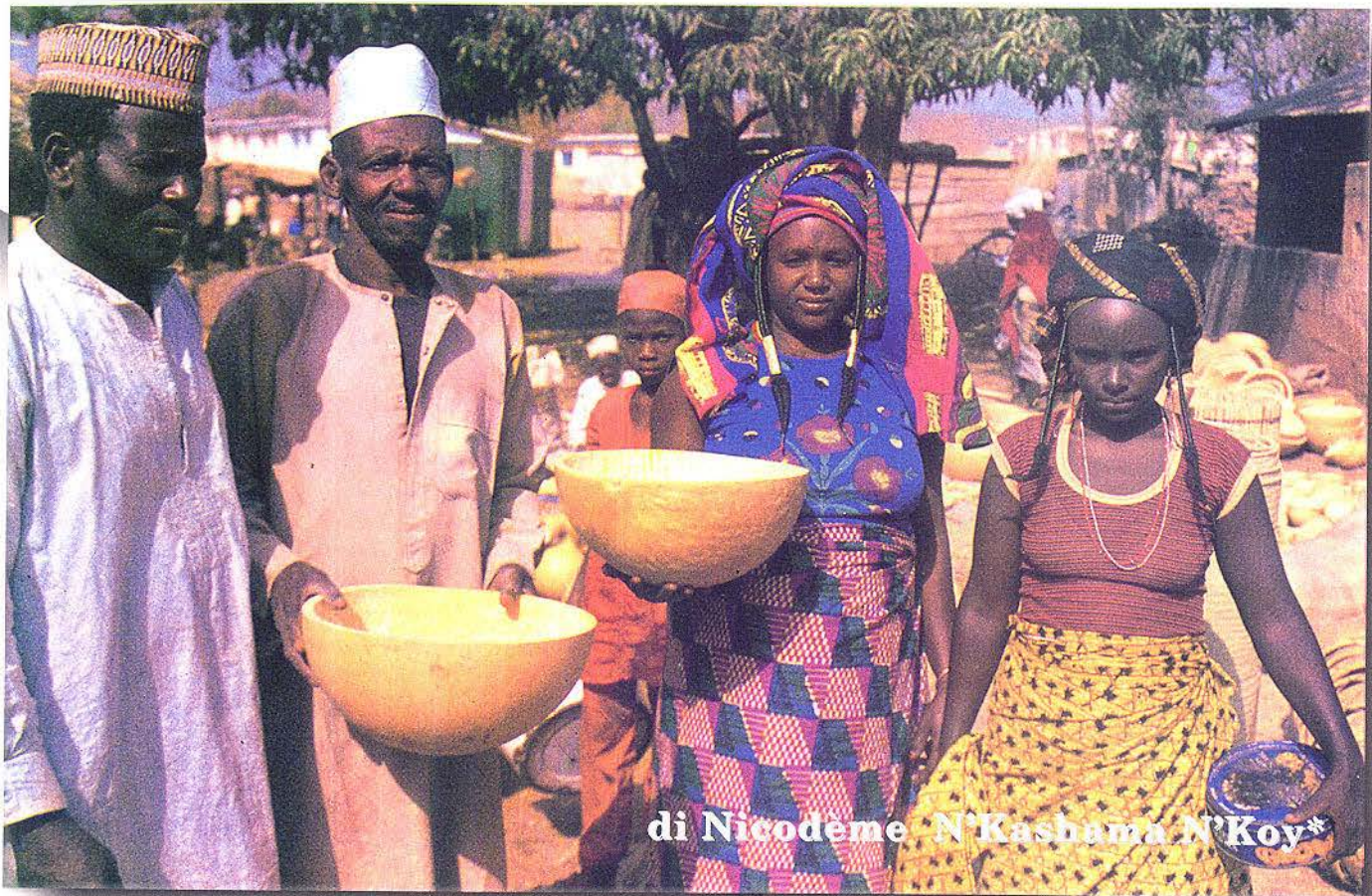
(4) The term has been borrowed from "sustainable development". According to the Brundland Report (UN) of 1987, this is a development capable of meeting the needs of the present generations without jeopardizing the future generations' possibility of satisfying theirs.

(5) The manifestation of the need to recognize ourselves, often mixed with a longing for power which tend to use a religion as an instrument of hostility towards other religions.

A comprehensive view of the Black Continent, rich in indigence and full of immeasurable resources

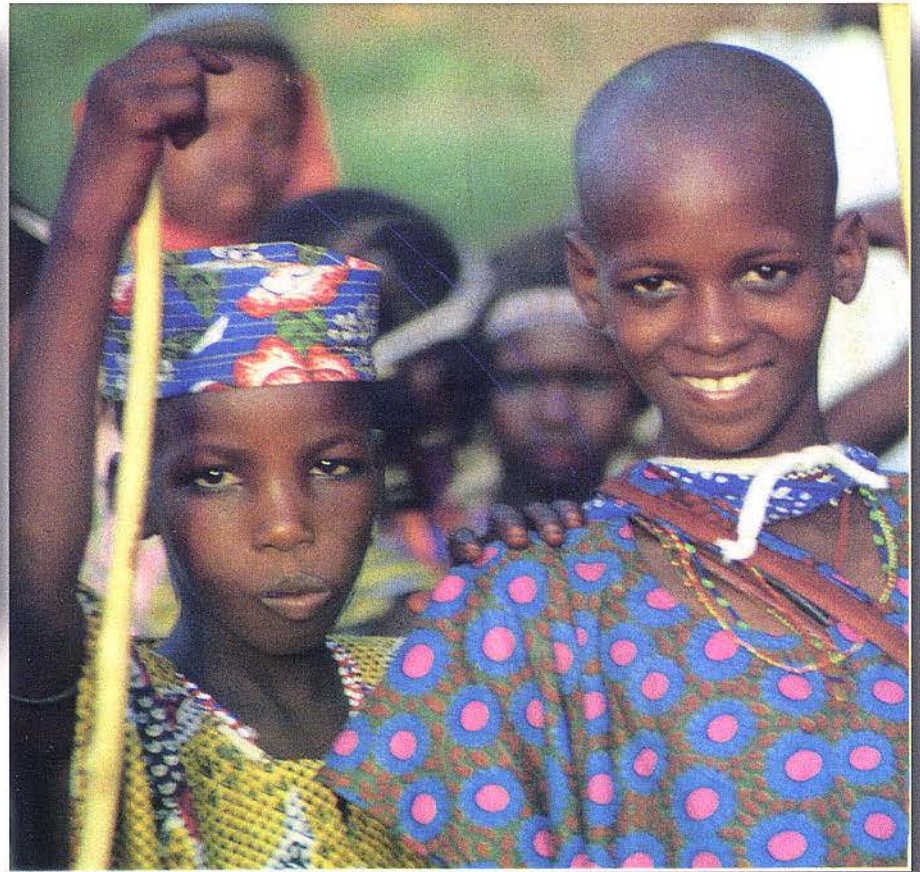
AFRICAN PROSPECTS

In the future, with a wise distribution of aid, Africa might indeed give a valid contribution to globalization



di Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy*

The African problems are also at the root of an often illegal immigration, which swarms daily into the West. The commitment of the most advanced Countries, if wisely directed, could solve many difficult situations. Europe, for its part, could take advantage of the proximity of a Continent, which is potentially capable of providing, in the near future, numerous useful opportunities in many different ways. Starting precisely with the correct use of its immense human and natural resources. Which are more and more indispensable for the welfare of the world.



After a period of colonization (from 1880 to 1960) and forty-four years of independence, the Black Continent is confronted by a future full of uncertainties. It looks as if Africa has no hope of achieving a socio-economic development capable of guaranteeing a peaceful and prosperous future. Africa, which has been for centuries a conquered land and repository of cheap labour, seems to draw all the evils of our time upon itself. In addition to poverty, famine and disease, Africa has become a war land that the UN cannot pacify. One can mention, for example, what happens in the Democratic Republic of Congo where the conflict, sparked off by the downfall of the Mobutu regime, has been going on for about eight years. Other cases are those of Sudan, where the slaughter of the Southern peoples continues, and the Ivory Coast, where the elections have produced an explosive climate.

AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT PASSES THROUGH EUROPE

The Africans tend to identify colonialism with the root of this critical situation, whereas the Europeans attribute this state of things to the absence of a stable political system, able to govern in a democratic way and with transparency, and also to the difficulty of providing for the vital needs of its people. In practice, nobody wants to assume the responsibility for the stagnating socio-economic situation prevailing in most of the continent. The days of colonization are but a memory and, after forty-four years of independence, we would expect a greater capability of self-management, but this is quite far from reality. Therefore Europe and the United States must renew their interest towards Africa, so as to promote a stable socio-economic development and overcome the several conflicts that pervade the Continent.

In particular, Europe has a special relationship with Sub-Saharan Africa, which dates back to the colonial presence of France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Italy. Thus, in this sense, the European Union is the heir of ancient bonds and, better than others, can conceive a new way for the integration of the Black Continent which, in collaboration with the excellent job done by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) and private enterprises operating in Africa, could improve the cooperation already established after the independence.

The European Union, busy with other issues, such as the enlargement to the Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, tends to push to the background the role of Sub-Saharan Countries, already beset by a

drop in foreign investments and the decrease of their market shares. In this sense, the lesser attention given by the media and public opinion to the African problems after the end of the segregation regime in South Africa, which attracted the international interest for quite a while, has had, paradoxically, negative results.

THE MANY UNCERTAINTIES

We could ask ourselves why Sub-Saharan Africa and the African governments fail to solve these situations by themselves. The answer cannot be ready and immediate.

Black Africa is troubled by a poverty indissolubly connected with a state of war that in many

nations is endemic. Lack of respect for human rights, absence of transparency in managing the general good, public health, population increase, food and education give a complete picture of a situation that – following a long series of debates among the Countries of the Black Continent – originated an important agreement between the European Union and 77 African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries, which was signed at Cotonou, the capital of Benin, on June 23, 2000.

This agreement, which took 18 months of intensive talks, replaced the historical Lomé Convention – twenty years old – and ratified the adoption of a new model of cooperation, under the influence of the liberalization of trade, in order to solve the many





existing problems and allow the integration of the African Countries in the world economy, respecting the goals of a sustainable development. On the economic level, they stressed public and private investments together with macro-economic and structural reforms, as well as the development of commerce and industry.

One spontaneously wonders whether these projects were implemented and to what extent and what is the balance. The European Union has at its disposal the will and the means to cope with this situation and, besides the gradual writing-off of the poorest Nations' debts, it supplies about half of their financial sup-

port. But we must take into consideration that the E.U. is interested, first of all, in the solution of the problems concerning its members, since ruling means prevention and capability of planning according to one's own capacity, in order to be able, afterwards, to provide for the necessities of others. This is a rule of



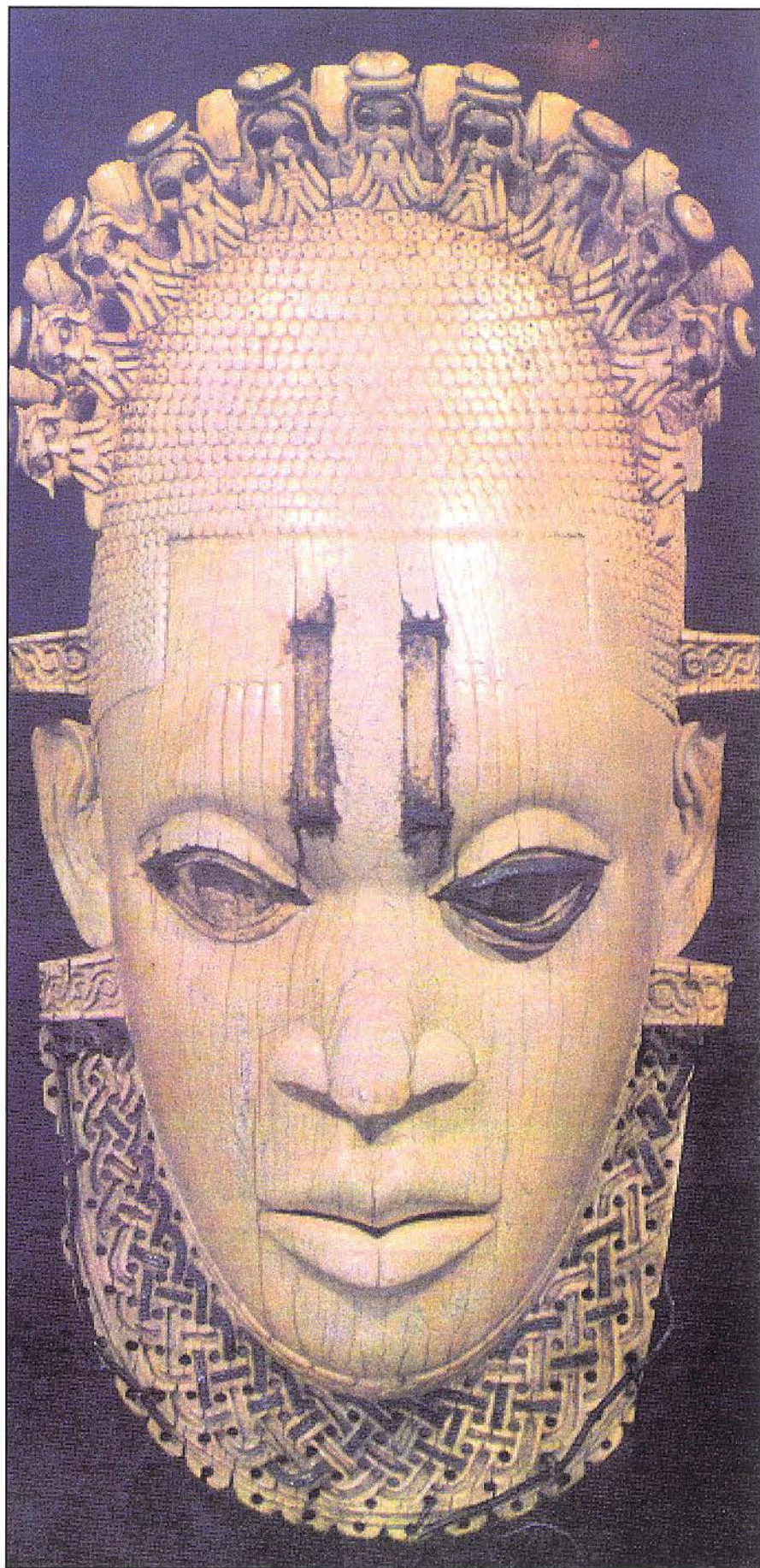
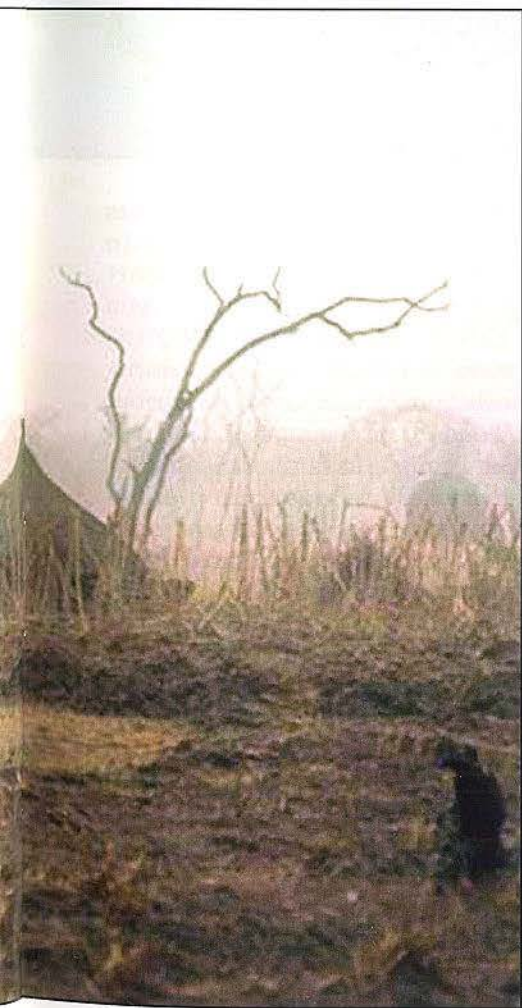
good government that Africa should make its own. Even though it needs the help and support of the other Continents, it cannot found its development, its economy and its hope for a better future only by relying on others' help. This may be useful when it is placed on the foundations laid by one's own means.

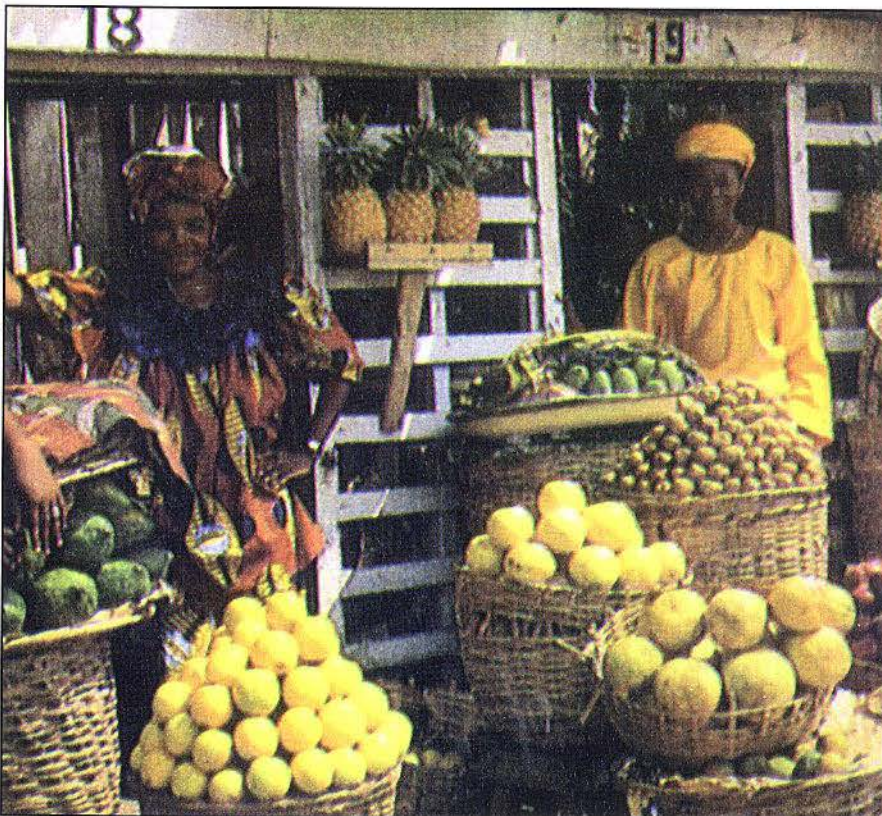
Africa needs the international solidarity especially on the occasion of natural disasters, wars, and when it is driven to ruin by the blindness of some of its rulers. Faced with these situations, the European Union never stood back, on the contrary, it was always ready to intervene, involving its members. But what is also needed is a development originating from Africa itself, with important investments for socio-economic development and for the production and trade of its



products on the international market. This aspect is the hinge of the African problems, because without investments on human capital and infrastructure, and the strengthening of its Institutions, nothing durable and solid can be achieved. But the Black Continent's deficit between savings and investments has to be blocked. In fact, indebtedness is a plague that does not permit to take off, eats the resources and prevents any future growth. To begin with, capitals are needed to fill the gap in public debt, and to invest on the improvement of human and material resources.

In order to better understand the situation suffice it to consider the data concerning the world quota of export of goods from the Continent, which went from 6.3% in 1980 to 2.5% in 2000.





Africa exports less but imports more. It suffered bad results in terms of annual rate of export growth (6.3 %) compared to Asia (13.6 %). From 1980 to 2002 the prices of typical African products, such as coffee, cocoa, sugar, coconut oil and cotton remained unchanged. For example, as far as cotton is concerned, there was a drop and a great instability in price, which is today half of what it was in 1980.

As for sanitary problems, they can be solved only thanks to the help of the international community. There is no other way to defeat the many epidemics which chose their domicile next to African poverty and destitution. The famine problem could be solved by turning to private investments coming from abroad and targeted to the development of the agricultural sector.

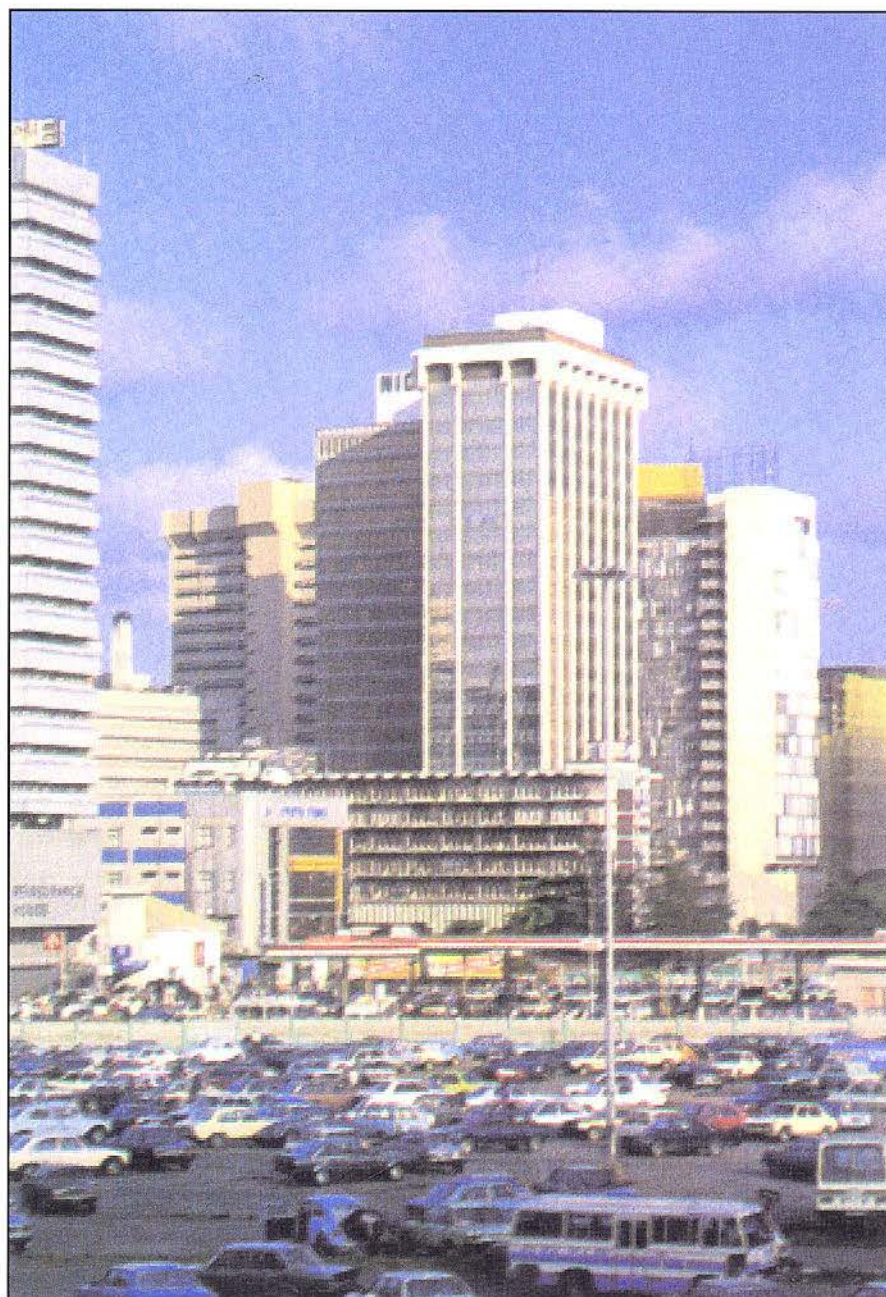
But first there is an essential problem to be solved, something



we take for granted, i.e. drinking water.

CONCLUSIONS

If on the one hand the European Union recently made it known its intention to transfer to Africa more than 3 billion and a half euros each year, on the other hand it is necessary that this amount be truly available. Many resources destined to the African Countries are kept frozen for years because sanctions, war or bad management prevent the allocation of funds, as there is no guarantees that the people will truly benefit from them. The dilemma, therefore, is between giving help to those who can best use it, or help everybody. In the second case, one acts in the hope that some money reaches its destination in a reasonable time,



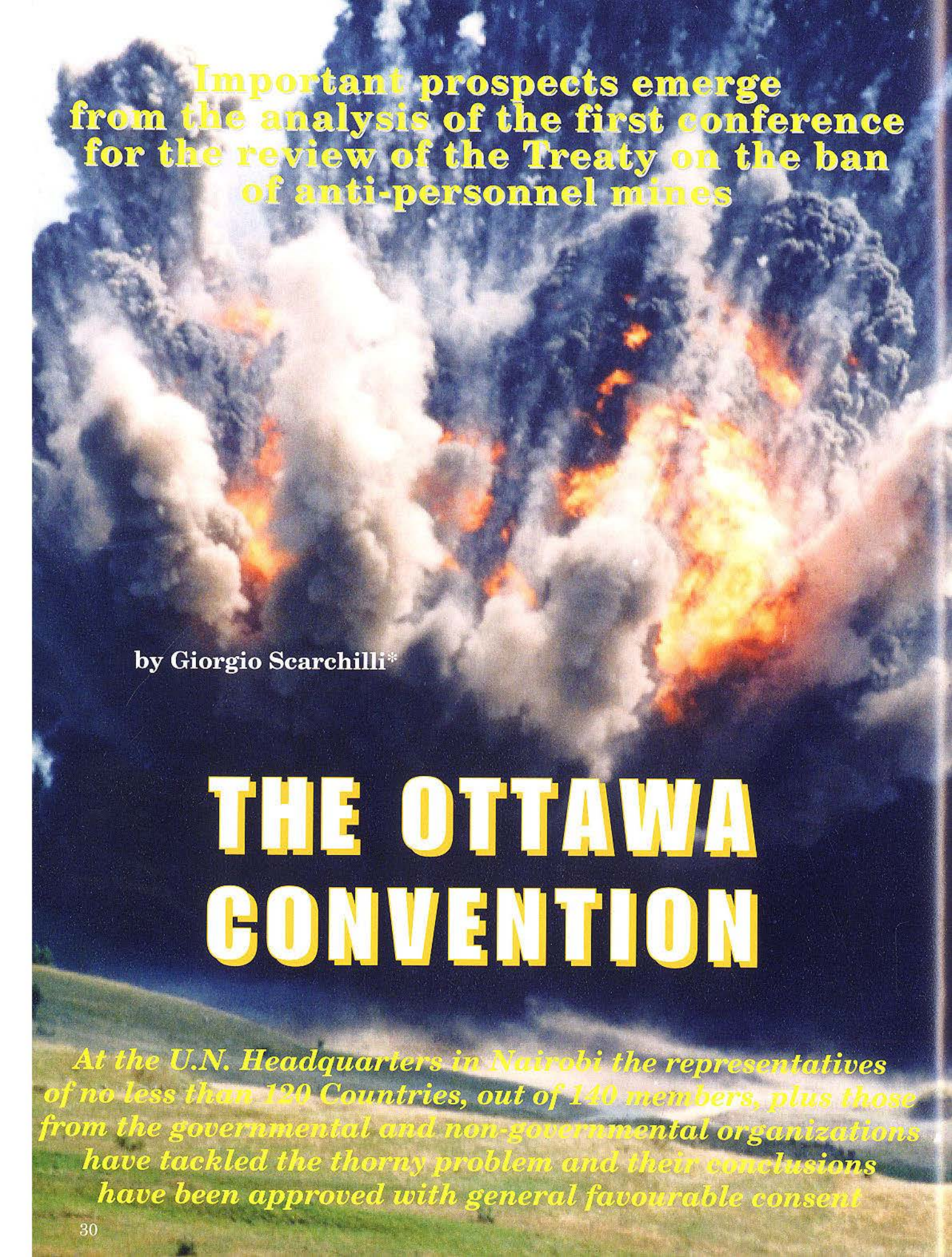
whereas in the first we demand that 100 % of the aid has a successful result, but we have to reckon with a long time, while dealing with people who cannot afford to wait.

In short, sometimes the African problems may appear at first quite far from our reality, but on a second thought we realize that they are not so distant. Let us just think of illegal immigration and the many daily attempts at clandestine landing. In this respect, the European Union, and Italy in particular, need to stop what could become a real exodus of

millions of people, via Maghreb, towards the Old Continent. A strong commitment in Africa could solve also this situation and Europe could take advantage of the proximity of a continent which has enormous human and natural resources, whose availability will be essential in the near future.

□

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**Important prospects emerge
from the analysis of the first conference
for the review of the Treaty on the ban
of anti-personnel mines**

by Giorgio Scarchilli*

THE OTTAWA CONVENTION

*At the U.N. Headquarters in Nairobi the representatives
of no less than 120 Countries, out of 140 members, plus those
from the governmental and non-governmental organizations
have tackled the thorny problem and their conclusions
have been approved with general favourable consent*

The meeting reexamined the decisions made in Ottawa in 1997, agreeing on a working plan for the successive four years. The initiatives served to synthesize the main initiatives undertaken by the participant States in the first five years of activity; illustrate the plans for clearing operations in the Countries where the presence of anti-personnel mines is reported; produce evidence of the number of incidents caused every year by those devices; discuss and approve the “Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009”.

The Conference found that a great progress has been made on the reliability of information. It is envisaged that in the next five years the arsenals not in line with the Convention should be destroyed, proceeding, at the same time, with the clearing operations.

Among the subjects connected with armaments control and limitation, as time went by the ban on mines has been acquiring a greater and greater emphasis, with the consequent formulation of proposals within special Forums established to prevent, in particular, the diffusion of anti-personnel mines.

The origin of the production of large quantities of land mines goes back to the recent past. In fact, most of the mines existing today were conceived and produced during WWII. That conflict brought about the large-scale use of land mines, made with the dual-purpose of establishing an active obstacle limiting the enemy movements and protecting one's own forces.

In particular, in the post-war period – between 1950 and 1980 – the growing operational requirements caused the rapid development of these devices and their spreading systems, including airplanes and helicopters.

Therefore, the improved employment systems and the large quantities available led to the diffusion of million of mines, used in the numerous conflicts which

marked the second part of the 20th Century.

As a result, if on the one hand the most industrialized Countries produced most of the mines now in circulation, on the other many developing Countries used them in regional and local conflicts, in which governmental armies and paramilitary troops often confronted each other.

At the end of the eighties the considerable attention of the media towards the pernicious conse-

quences of the diffusion of those devices, especially against the civilian population, started to awaken world public opinion and the international community.

The Ottawa Convention is the conclusion of the process conducted within the “Conference of the States Parties in the Convention on Certain Conventional Arms” (Protocol II on inhumane weapons) held in Geneva in May 1996.

Until that moment the issue of anti-personnel mines had been dealt with through limited agreements which only envisaged restraints in their employment, but the accords were not sufficient, considering the difficult conditions of the Countries involved in the conflicts.

Therefore, in the mid-nineties some Governments (including Italy), and the main governmental- and non-governmental organizations took a diplomatic initiative which led to a treaty for a total ban on anti-personnel mines, called “Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-personnel mines and on Their Destruction”. The final meeting was held in Oslo in September 1997 and the signature of the Document by the first 119 Coun-



tries took place in Ottawa on 3 and 4 December 1997. The Convention came into force on March 1, 1999.

It is very important now to examine the results of the first five-year period of the activity, the envisaged Action Plan 2004-2009, the content of the conclusive Declaration of the Nairobi meeting, and Italy's role within the convention.



THE CONVENTION

If compared with other treaties on armaments control, the Ottawa Convention is relatively short. It consists of only 22 articles and is written in a simple and effective language.

The preamble clearly points out that the treaty aims at...*put an end to the suffering and casualties caused by anti-personnel mines, that kill or maim hundreds of people every week, mostly innocent and defenceless civilians and especially children, obstruct economic development and reconstruction, inhibit the repatriation of refugees and internally dis-*

placed persons, and have other severe consequences for years after emplacement.

The Convention specifies what is meant by anti-personnel mine...*designed to be exploded by the presence, proximity or contact of a person and that will incapacitate, injure or kill one or more persons. Mines designed to be detonated by the presence, proximity or contact of a vehicle as opposed*

to a person, that are equipped with anti-handling devices, are not considered anti-personnel mines as a result of being so equipped.

The main obligations deriving from the treaty can be summed up in the pledge by the States Parties not to use, develop, produce, acquire, store and sell anti-personnel mines and in the prohibition to provide help or back-up to the activities forbidden by the Convention.

Furthermore, Art.7 "Transparency measures" provides for the destruction of those devices, excluding those employed for the development of techniques and

training activities aimed at detection and clearing.

As any other treaty on armaments control designed to promote mutual cooperation and total transparency, the Ottawa Convention promotes the exchange of information among the States Parties through a Geneva-based control Agency. The first pieces of information were exchanged 180 days after the enforcement of the Treaty (March 1, 1999). Every year the Agency informs the U.N. about depots and number of mines stored, kept for training and/or research, position and limits of mined areas, programmes for the destruction of surplus mines and clearing of areas, technical characteristics of the mines and measures adopted in order to protect the population.

A system is also envisaged for settling disputes between the States Parties of the Convention, which provides for the possibility of asking explanations directly to a State or through the Assembly of the States Parties.

The Treaty is supervised and administered by the United Nations. Up to now, 75% of the States have joined and 144 have ratified and applied the Convention in full.

As for the main accords on disarmament, the Treaty has an unlimited duration and is open to all Nations. The activities to be carried out collectively within the Treaty have been determined on the occasion of the First Conference of the States Parties (Maputo, 3-4 May, 1999). In this circumstance the signatory States agreed to create five Committees of experts, tasked with the examination of the operational possibilities on the subject (general notions and operations, access to information on mines, destruction of mine lots, technology and assistance to victims). At the same meeting it was further decided to hold two plenary sessions every year and a revision Conference

five years after the Convention's coming into force.

THE CONVENTION FROM 1999 TO 2004

The first Conference for the review of the Convention was held in Nairobi (Kenya) from November 29 to December 4, 2004, with the participation of 120 States Parties, a number of observers from non-member States and several representatives of governmental- and non-governmental organizations. On that occasion, the work carried out in the first five years of im-



plementation of the Accord was analysed. It was generally acknowledged that the objective of ending the suffering caused by anti-personnel mines had not been achieved yet, despite the enormous progress made through the synergy between the humanitarian measures adopted and the actions aimed at destroying the devices in excess or scattered. Among these measures there is the cooperation and assistance of the States Parties, transparency through the exchange of information, and actions aimed at contrasting the activities forbidden by the Convention.

Listed below are the main results reached by the five-year cooperation, unprecedented for the commitment and unanimous participation of the parties concerned. As regards the adhesions, on December 3 and 4, 1997, in Ottawa, and then up to the coming into force of the Convention (March 1, 1999), 133 Countries signed the Convention on the basis of Art. 16 (which, in order to foster the universality of the Treaty, envisages the possibility of joining even in absence of a signature and/or ratification), by expressing the intention of ratifying it with a national law.

Subsequently, until December 3, 2004, eleven more Countries joined, bringing to 144 the number of Countries willing to destroy the mines not used for training and research, and to proceed to the complete clearing of their territory. The results of these agreements led to a drastic reduction of anti-personnel mines.

Of the 50 Countries which had been producing those devices before 1977, thirty-three are States Parties and, in compliance with their pledge, they have stopped to produce or market mines. Also some non-signatory Countries, such as the U.S., China, the Russian Federation, India, Pakistan and North Korea, although they did not sign the Convention as States Parties, have de-facto adopted the criteria of the ban on the commerce of anti-personnel mines.

Since 1999 the employment of mines has been going down sensibly; nevertheless some non-mem-



ber States continue to produce, keep and employ these explosive devices.

Today we can see the first results of the Convention, which in the Preamble declares that the destruction of the existing anti-

personnel mines is a fundamental principle. For the State Parties the deadline was four years after the entry into force of the Convention, therefore the destruction should have been completed by February 2003. Nevertheless,



even if the majority of the signatory Countries completed the disposal of their mines within the set time limit, for a total amount of about 37 million devices, 17 States Parties, owing to financial problems, still have to dispose of about 11 million mines and presumably will not be able to destroy them before 2012 or 2013.

Much larger is the probable number of mines in the hands of the non-signatory Countries. According to the "Land Mine Monitor Report 2004" of the ICBL (International Campaign to Ban Landmines) the anti-personnel mines stored in those countries could be around 180 million.

Another point was the situation of the search and clearing of the mines possibly located in the territories of the States Parties. In this regard, there was a review of the Nations' notifications of the mined – or possibly mined – areas, the type and quantity of the devices and the measures adopted to safeguard the population.

At the present time, 46 Countries have notified the presence of mined areas; their clearing programmes are expected to be completed between 2009 and 2014. Many of these programmes, though, depend on the funds made available on the basis of Article 6, according to which the Countries that do not have the resources for clearing the areas under their jurisdiction can ask for the assistance of the States Parties, which must contribute according to their means. Since 1999 approximately 1150 million dollars have been set apart in favour of the neediest Countries. For example, Bosnia Herzegovina received 10 million dollars from various European Countries for clearing operations, while Afghanistan obtained about 75 millions between private contributions and aid from Western Countries. Iraq, whose mapping shows the presence of mines and UXO (Unexploded Ordnance) on about 8000 square kilometres,

needs – according to reliable sources – an appropriation of around 350 million dollars, a sum which, in any case, would not permit to complete the clearing activities before 2009.

In short, since 1999 only 3 of the 49 Countries controlled have ended the clearing activities (Costa Rica, Djibouti and Honduras) while the remaining 46 are still working. It must be stressed that in many of these Countries there have been fights over the last decades (Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Bosnia, Congo, Mozambique, Eritrea, Iraq), but also in

concept allowed many States Parties to intervene in emergencies for medical care, rehabilitation, psychological support, economic aid and the adaptation of the respective laws.

Furthermore, the Convention envisages the implementation of specific programmes aimed at informing the civilian population on the danger of anti-personnel mines. Between 1999 and 2003 about 30 million people have been taught about the risks represented by the mines and the need that the dangerous areas be appropriately marked.



Nations like Greece there are mines that were laid during WWII and, in some areas, both in the north and in the south, there are fenced and marked areas.

During the Conference there was also a discussion on Article 6, which provides for the assumption, by the States able to do it, of the burdens connected with the assistance, care and rehabilitation of those injured by mines. From 1999 to this day the concept of victim was extended to include not only those who suffered physical damages, but also to the psychologically hurt. This widened

The importance of these measures is obvious, considering the very high number of incidents caused by mines and unexploded ordnance which, according to the "Landmine Monitor Report 2004", in the five years after the Convention's enforcement, have been about 42,500. In this regard, it must be noted that this number includes only the incidents reported, but presumably the yearly total varies between 15,000 and 20,000. In particular, it is important to point out that, in 2003, twenty-three per cent of the recorded incidents

Annual average of victims caused by land mines

	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
Afghanistan	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	1800	1200
Albania	no data	no data	no data	191	35	8	7	
Angola	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	270
Bosnia	632	290	149	95	100	87	72	54
Cambodia	4301	2293	2148	1155	862	828	833	755
Colombia	122	94	59	50	143	268	627	666
Croatia	124	121	94	58	22	32	24	9
Mozambique	211	130	134	60	29	80	47	14
Nicaragua	13	18	27	11	9	17	9	3
Senegal	5	167	198	78	65	56	48	20
Yemen	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	no data	9

involved people less than eighteen years old.

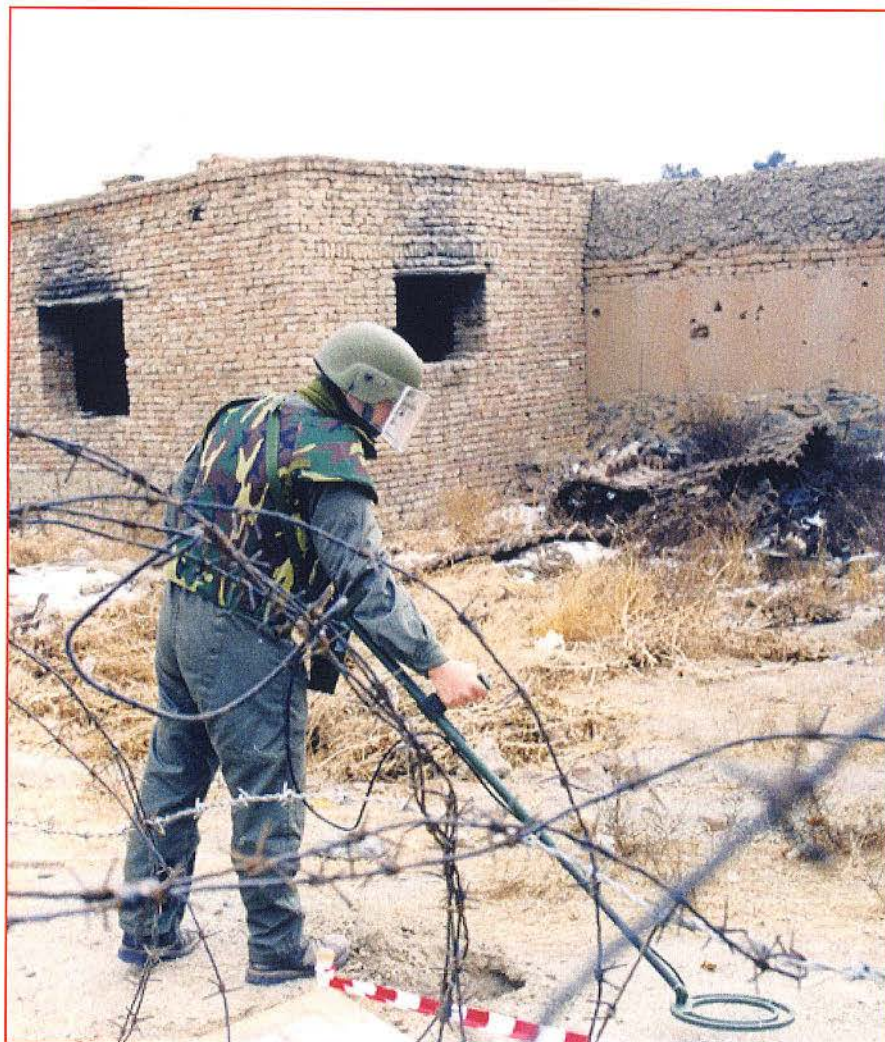
THE ACTION PLAN 2005-2009

The Nairobi meeting discussed and approved the "Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009". The 70-point document sketches the common lines and the goals to be achieved within the next five years. In particular, it was agreed that during that period the States Parties would undertake to support the universalization of the Convention, especially through the participation of non-party States, destroy the surplus mines still stored inside the States Parties and non-member Countries, assist the victims, improve the exchange of information, the co-operation for training and financial aid.

As regards the first objective, eight activities were singled out. All parties concerned would have to implement them in order to involve the Nations which have not joined yet (25% of the world total). Such actions are a clear spur to the State Parties to promote the validity and the necessity of the Ottawa Convention's dictates in every existing forum, including the regional Organizations engaged in armaments control.

The second goal, which concerns the destruction of stored mines and clearing of mined areas, was summarized in twenty activities aimed at achieving the primary objective of getting rid of all the existing lots and proceeding to the indispensable clearing of the areas concerned. The removal of the mines is also essential for utilizing large areas which belong to the developing Countries. The other goals, listed in 22 points, concern the assistance to the victims.

The remaining actions are centred on the increase of transparency and cooperation among



the States Parties. These actions are unanimously considered the real success of the Treaty and, for the next five years, will constitute the mainstay of the Convention. Within this framework, very precious will be the contribution of regional, governmental- and non-governmental organizations (Emergency, Halo Trust, International Campaign to Ban Landmines, etc.) which, through a precise action of coordination aimed at achieving an effective cooperation, will be able to facilitate the realization of the goals of the "Action Plan".

THE NAIROBI DECLARATION

The Conference ended with the Nairobi Declaration signed by the highest attending authorities (for Italy, the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, Sen. Mantica). This conceptual document sums up the goals achieved and those still to be reached and points out the pledge by the States Parties to pursue the universalization of the Convention for the total ban of anti-personnel mines, renewing their efforts aimed at: destroying the exceeding mines and those possibly stockpiled in their depots; clearing mined areas within the territories under their jurisdiction; assisting the victims; contributing with personnel, equipment, and financial resources to the aid programmes in favour of the poorest Countries; condemning the production, retention and employment of mines.

ITALY'S PLEDGE

Italy signed the Ottawa Convention on December 3 1997, ratified it on April 23, 1999 and became a State Party on October 1, 1999.

Actually Italy is one of the Convention's forerunners. In fact,

vis-à-vis the preceding trend, already in 1993 there had been a turnabout which, in the first months of 1994, had led to stop the production and export of such devices. Later, Law 374 of November 3, 1997 (Norms for the Ban of Anti-Personnel Mines) regulated the matter within our Country.

On January 1, 1999, Italy possessed about 7 million mines, a number not very different from the average in the European Union. With a programme started in February 1999, the destruction of these devices was completed in November 2002, four years earli-

At the moment, on the basis of the proviso of Art.7 of the Convention, the Armed Forces hold a little over 800 antipersonnel mines, for training and research only.

This amount is far lower than it is permitted by law.

Italy is one of the States which, in conformity with the Convention, provides the appropriate support to the UN bodies dealing with aid to the Countries affected by the mine problem, honouring the principles of the Convention. In 2002 the national appropriation was about 9 million and 5 million in 2003.



er than decided by the Convention and in line with the legal measures which followed Law 374/97 (Law 106 of March 26, 1999 – "Ratification and Implementation of the Ottawa Convention and Modifications to Law 374/97" and the Decree of August 1, 2000 "Regulations on the Destruction of Stocks of Anti-personnel Mines"). This activity was carried out at the Military plants of Baiano in Spoleto and Noceto di Parma.

Also many governmental and non-governmental organizations, together with several institutional bodies, are present in a large number of Countries affected by the mine problem, where they carry out the activities connected with mine clearing and assistance to the populations.

Within the Italian Armed Forces, the Army has given a remarkable contribution carrying out countless clearing operations with its Explosive Ordnance



Clearing Teams – employing also especially trained dogs – in all the crisis areas where our units were engaged, taking also initiatives aimed at training local personnel. In Afghanistan alone, 3500 antipersonnel mines have been found and destroyed.

The Ministry of Defence is the National Authority for the enforcement of Articles 7 and 8 of the Convention (“Trans-

parency measures” and “Facilitation and clarification of compliance”).

CONCLUSIVE REMARKS

By way of conclusion, we can make some comments concerning the difficulties in the implementation of the Ottawa Convention.

First of all, the desired universalization, i.e. the degree of participation of States, regional governmental and non-governmental Organizations, where there are obvious contrasting signals deriving, on the one hand from the great progress made thanks to the new adhesions and, on the other, from the persistence of significant absences. As a matter of fact, if the high percentage of signatory States (75%) corresponds to “only” 25% non-members, it must be said that that the latter have a non-negligible specific weight. Suffice it to say that three of them are permanent members of the U.N. Security Council (China, Russia, and the U.S.). Furthermore, it must be pointed out that some non-signatory Countries are parties to other Treaties concerning the limitation of armaments and, in particular, have signed international agreements dealing with similar aspects, such as the “CCW-Certain Conventional Weapons”, with the intention of providing, albeit in another forum, a tangible contribution to world disarmament. This is the direction of the economic undertaking of the U.S., which has announced its probable participation in the ban of land mines from 2010, expressing its intention of increasing its annual budget in favour of mine-infested Countries from 117 to 164 million dollars.

On the contrary, the involvement of the Regional Organizations (OSCE-Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe; EU-European Union; MERCOSUR-Common Market of the South, an international organization for economic development formed by Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay) GOs (Governmental Organizations), NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations) that can be considered the global-level implementing bodies of the norms of the Convention, is really very deep.

Another critical element is clearing the areas where the presence of anti-personnel mines has been notified. It is quite clear that in this sector the titanic effort just been started requires large resources that not every State can afford. The realization of this effort necessarily implies the preparation of accurate financial medium-term programmes. Besides, the objective,

in order to make public opinion aware of the danger and supportive of the initiatives under way. The main objective is the definition of the extent of the phenomenon through the survey of the communities damaged by the presence of mines and the categories affected by them, both physically and socially. Other goals are those of providing an adequate medical assistance,

personnel and the necessary resources, one has to face the difficulties inherent in the coordination of organizations which, albeit interrelated in the achievement of common goals, are actually structured in different ways, especially as concerns the procedural aspect.

"A Mine-free World" is the final goal set in Nairobi and this implies the universalization of



legitimate and understandable difficulties connected with the clearing activities clash with the legitimate interest of the developing Countries to speedily reclaim the cleared areas, to the advantage of the economy and welfare of their people.

Finally one should also point out the difficulties encountered in assisting civilian populations and mine victims. Here the efforts are also centred on prevention, using the mass-media's contribution to instruct people on how to recognize these devices,

carrying out appropriate programmes of physical and psychological rehabilitation, reinstating in the economic life of the community the social groups and persons that have been hit, establishing, moreover, laws and norms aimed at safeguarding the rights of the stricken populations and particularly the victims'.

This complex field of action involves a number of Institutions, such as Armed Forces, regional Administrations, GOs and NGOs and international Forums. Therefore, besides finding specialized

the Ottawa Conference which, through transparency, mutual trust and global involvement aims at widening consensus, particularly in the direction of a public opinion whose attention is also attracted, day after day, by other very serious and often unsolvable emergencies.

□

** Colonel,
Chief,
Armaments Control Office,
Army General Staff*

Interview with Lieutenant General Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa Commander in Chief of the Army

THE CHILEAN ARMY IS READY FOR THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE

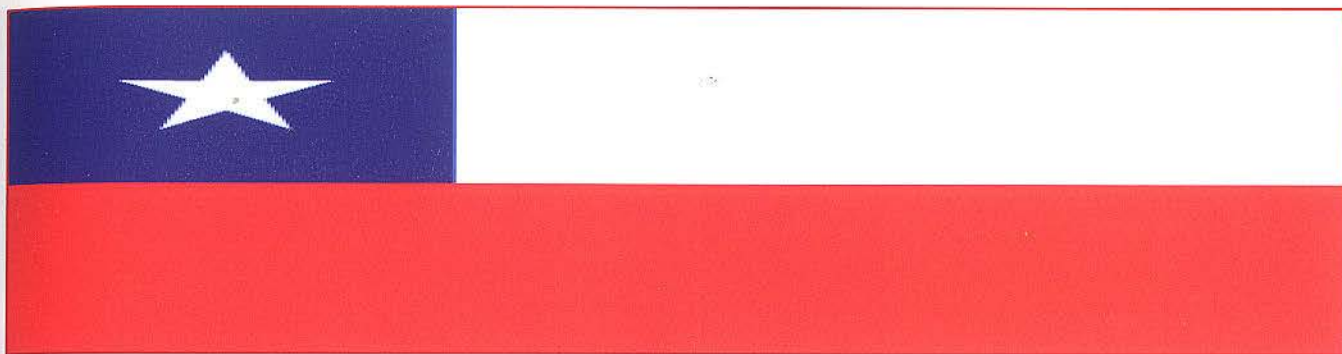


by Giuseppe Maria
Giovanni Tricarico *

Sudden changes in the scenarios cause sensible operational variations in the military instruments. We are no more facing only a conventional threat, but we have to confront unforeseeable risks which, over long and undetermined periods, could take diverse and generally asymmetric forms. Terrorism, which has come pressing on the forefront of the political, economic and military scene, is not the least of them. Today's armies are engaged in a process of adjustment benefiting from international cooperation and collaboration without excluding, on the other hand,

sensible technical and industrial choices, also in consideration of the new "Stabilization" and "Reconstruction" operations, conducted within "Nation Building" programmes in joint and multinational environments.

Let us see how the Army has tackled and solved these problems in Chile, a Country of ancient traditions, very close to Italy in virtue of human and cultural bonds.



The conflicts which in the last decade have characterized the world scene have transformed and widened the tasks of the national Armies. As a matter of fact, it is not enough to prepare an instrument able to operate in high-intensity environments against a well-defined enemy, but it is also necessary to conduct post-conflict operations of "Stabilization" and "Reconstruction". In addition to knowing how to "win the war" we must above all "win the peace".

An example of this is the present situation in Haiti, where our troops intervened under UN mandate. In my opinion, the most important and transcendent aspect is the work of the Engineer company, which operates over there building communication facilities, restoring infrastructure etc. while the Infantry Unit is carrying out security missions.

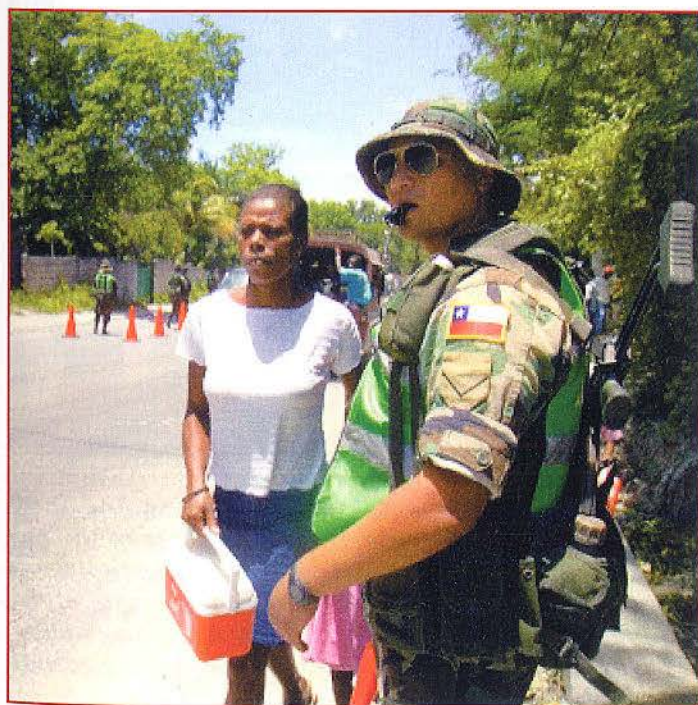
Did this new reality entail any change in the Army's organization? Will there be any transformation in the future?

Naturally. Of course the fundamental role of the Army is the defense of the national sovereignty, but the missions abroad of our Service will continue with a greater and greater commitment.

It is well known that Chile is strongly engaged in favour of international stability, which is considered an important part of its interests.

In the present context the Army, together with the other Services, participates in "Stabilization" operations decided by the UN. These missions are part of the strategic role of "International Cooperation" and have had a remarkable increase in the last years. At present, we participate in UNIFIL in Cyprus, SFOR in Bosnia-Herzegovina and MINUSTAH in Haiti.

In order to meet these challenges, and also to play other strategic roles, the Army, for some



years, has been going through an improvement and transformation process aimed at acquiring a more modern, technical and flexible force, strategically very mobile, with a rapid deployment-capability and able to participate and interact with other forces in a wide range of military operations, both on our own territory, in defence of our sovereignty, and abroad, in favour of world peace.

In practice this situation has been considered during the process of institutional modernization and concerns the reorganization and restructuring of the force. Among other things, we are taking the first steps towards the employment of professional soldiers, in order to have them participate in this type of operations abroad since, according to our Constitution, conscripts cannot be employed for that particular duty.

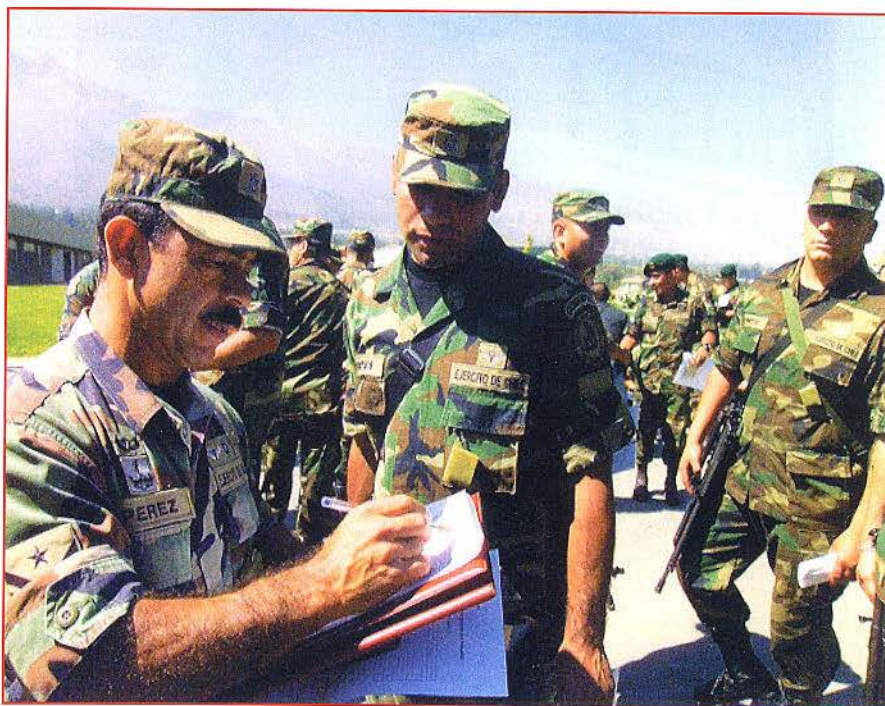
A land military instrument, in order to be able to meet the future challenges, must have a wide range of capabilities and complementary and specialist assets to be employed for all CRO (Crisis Response Operations) activities, including the "Stabilization" and "Reconstruction" missions, typical of a post-conflict phase. What do you think about it?

As a matter of fact, a land military instrument, in order to meet the new challenges, must have a wide range of capabilities and complementary resources. During our intervention in Haiti we continue to make important experiences which help us in implementing these elements.

Today the crisis situations are characterized by chaotic scenarios where armed conflicts between factions mix with humanitarian crises, crimes, interruptions of productive capacity, infrastructure deterioration; in

some cases the situation is made even worse by catastrophic natural disasters.

These problems have different dimensions, and normally require diverse and often simultaneous responses. In theory, it would seem ideal to intervene at first with a military force to separate the fighting parties or control the armed threat, and then fight hunger and diseases, in order to start a physical and moral reconstruction. Nevertheless, often facts do not conform with our plans, and what becomes necessary is a harmonious interaction of the various components of the mission, since the Armed Forces do not – and should not – have all the capabilities required for a humanitarian mission. Multifunctionalism requires coordination and interoperability, not only among military forces, but also among these and the different civil functions. As the situation



moves towards stability, the military strength must make way for civil institutions, so as to consolidate the reconstruction. It is obviously up to the people to recreate their sovereignty and work for their own development. Further-

more, the preparation and integration with the forces of the nation hit by a crisis is vitally important for the achievement of the objective. We must always work with them and never against them.



The main international analysts agree in considering the fight against terrorism as the new “world war”. Do you think that, in order to win this war, we only need an outstanding intelligence service and a good police, or that the Army could be useful as well?

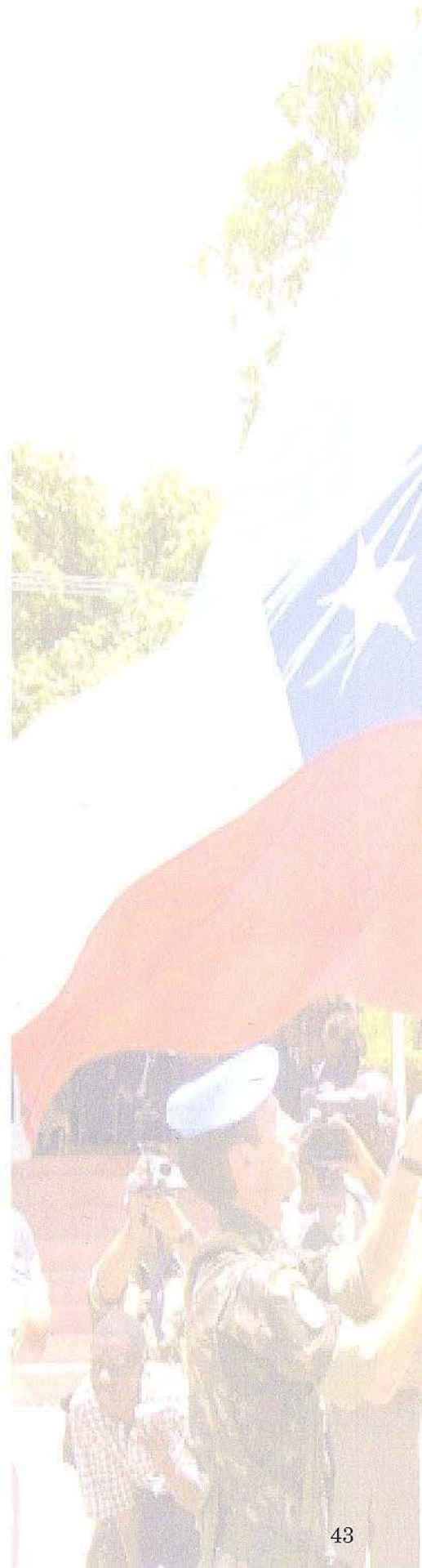
The response to terrorism, as is the case with most asymmetric threats present in today's strategic scenario, requires a multifunctional solution which includes the interaction of several elements whose conduct will have a different intensity, depending on the threat.

In Chile, threats such as terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime and other asymmetric ones, are mainly confronted through the coordinate action of the Police forces, but the Army must always be on the alert in case its collaboration is requested. The quantity and lethality of the means employed by terrorists today, and the determination guiding their

actions, can strike an unlimited number of citizens. In these circumstances, the Government will use all instruments and capabilities of its Institution, coordinating them in order to face the threat.

In view of this, even though this is not its main mission, the Army is ready to provide the Country with various operational capabilities, such as logistics, clearing of mines and other explosive devices; detection, control and decontamination from chemical agents. Moreover, it is important to consider that the institutional information agencies are integrated and provide a permanent contribution.

The modern operational scenario is characterized by more and more unforeseeable threats which compel the Armed Forces to carry out many different tasks and, as a consequence, to acquire new capabilities. The military in-





struments of today must curtail costs, thus reducing their capabilities. Can this quantitative cutback be offset by an improvement in quality?

The achievement of greater capabilities with less resources is a challenge common to all modern Armies. The instrument's modernization and transformation process pursues, among other things, the imperative of shaping units which, albeit smaller, must be more flexible, rapid and strong. We are reaching this objective, first of all by introducing an appropriate technology. This does not mean replacing soldiers with robots, but rather improving our operational capabilities with the help of technology.

In our Army this pursuit of a new effectiveness is also supported by an appropriate didactic and military culture, which includes education, specialization, instruction and training and is based on modern strategies, centralized planning, decentralized execution and intensive use of simulation. The men and women in our Army are our most important wealth. They have been – and still are – the motor of the transformation aimed at serving the Country in the best possible way. The quality of the personnel has been our first priority for quite a time, but we do not neglect the technical aspect. Well trained and motivated soldiers are irreplaceable, and provide flexibility to the whole organization.

Finally, in the context of international operations, it is necessary to look for the highest level of integration with the other institutions of national defence, as well as with our allies in the region and other parts of the world, and create the necessary synergies in view of obtaining increased capabilities.

Until a short time ago, the Armies often used to conduct autonomous Research and Development activities on

new military technologies. Today they are so complex and costly that they need the participation of large industrial groups. What is the synergic relationship between the Army and the defence industry in your Country?

The development of these relations is made rather complex by two characteristics of our sector. The first one is the small size of our Armed Forces: they are a rather limited market for the firms investing in research and development.

The second characteristic is that there are no great conglomerates of similar industries capable of using their knowledge also in favour of defence.

However, in the last years there was a significant increase in the number of national firms wishing to acquire the capabilities needed for meeting the military requirements, thus joining the State-industries which normally carry out these functions. (FAMAE, ENEAR, ASMAR). An example of this are DTS and SISDEF. These two state-controlled firms deal with research regarding special solutions, including adaptation of products to a customer's specific needs.

Furthermore, it is well known that the development of military talents and the establishment of multidisciplinary working groups with members from Armed Forces and Universities, have given rise to great impulses and widespread creativity.

The transformation from conscription professional Army is considered one of the main requirements of the modern Armed Forces, in order to meet the present and future challenges in an effective manner. This is an advantage, but involves also difficulties in the recruitment and a progressive ageing of the Service. Do you agree?



For this and other reasons, the Chilean Army has opted for a programme called "Professional Soldier" (SLP) which, for economic reasons, envisages, for a start, the recruitment of 2000 professional soldiers for a four-year term. This will enable us to complete almost entirely the units covering the crucial areas of the territory.

The programme will allow us to get round the recruitment and ageing problem by calling into service reservists and conscripts (SLC) of the year, who actually did their military service, and have them can carry out their functions, in determined units, for a non-renewable period of four years.

No legal status has been created for the call into active service, we have applied the current laws. The difference lies in the goals and in the rules applied to the call-up.

In practice, the non-renewable four years could seem disadvantageous and not interesting to those called into active service. But some incentives have been created in order to enable the candidates to overcome their fear of wasting four years of their life. During this period, for instance,





they will enjoy a number of facilities for taking up or completing technical or university studies. In fact, out of the first 500 recruited SLPs (500 of them will be recruited each year, until they reach the number of 2000 in 2007), about 100 are registered in technical schools and universities, where they attend courses which last exactly four years. The whole system is coordinated by the Commanders of the operational units, who get easier terms in order to contain costs, and organize the facilities in favour of the students.

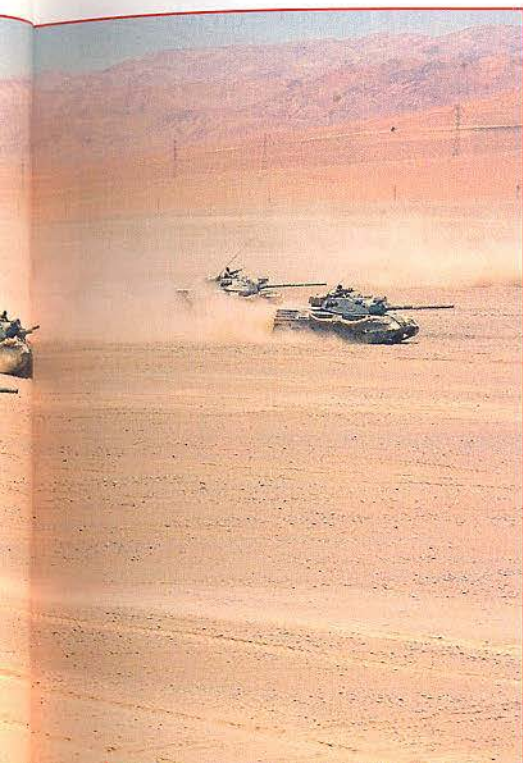
Facilitations are also envisaged for those who want to join the NCO School. Actually they only attend an academic year, instead of the normal two-year course. This must be done before the end of the second year of duty, because those who are admitted must be replaced according to the yearly selection process which is carried out through the establishment of quotas for the operational units,

in order to give all candidates the opportunity of participating in the SLP programme.

The pay is reasonable. The salary of an SLP reaches about 190,000 pesos, similar to the salary of a Corporal, and he enjoys the same rights. We must underline that those who are called on active duty are considered professional soldiers, but they are actually Corporals in the Reserve, as provided by the current regulations.

At the present time, at the peak of the selection process for the call-up on active duty of the second group of 500 SLPs, the results are encouraging, with an annual rate of resignations of about 20 out of 500. Approximately 3500 candidates participated in the selection process, which is decentralized in order to give equal opportunities to SLCs and reservists. This means a ratio of 1 to 5.

The system adopted by the Chilean Army intends to remedy the said problems (difficulties in recruitment and ageing of person-



nel) and it works well in our reality, since it can reconcile conscription and SLPs.

The Modern Armies need personnel willing to be highly mobile in long periods of out-of-area employments, and also a high standard of life. How can these requirements be harmonized?

The formation of the Chilean soldier has always been based on a mainly vocational model. This is why, despite the fact that he has a good standard of life based on several benefits granted to the family as an institution – housing, medical assistance, schools – he is morally and spiritually willing to make sacrifices. An incentive to

this fighting spirit and stamina is the awareness that the institution will always take care of the maintenance of the standard of living of his family through a complete system of welfare and assistance.

Another commitment of the Army is that of improving the cultural level of its personnel. As far as conscripts are concerned, schooling, specialization as well as assistance when they return to civilian working life, have been promoted and this proved to be an important incentive. Similarly, those who wish to continue their military career have also the opportunity to attend professional courses abroad.

Multinationalization is a constant factor in today's operations. In the past it was difficult to find multinational Headquarters at tactical level while now we see, in several Theatres, coalition Commands even at level lower than Brigade. What are the preparations and initiatives adopted in your Service in order to raise the level of interoperability of the Command structures?

As I said, the Army tries to integrate its capabilities with those of the other forces of national defence and those of other Armies in the Region. Within this framework, it develops programmes of evaluation, formulation of common procedures, schooling and training. These interoperability projects acquire a regional dimension through special studies on integration, carried out with other Countries of the Southern Cone of America. Finally, they are strengthened through a project called "Pursuit of interoperability in peace operations" which started in 2004 and is still under way within the "Conference of American Armies".

** Colonel,
Editor-in-Chief
of "Rivista Militare"*



Interview with Lieutenant General Peter Leahy,
Chief of Staff of the Australian Army

IN THE SERVICE OF THE COUNTRY AND FOR THE LIBERTY OF PEOPLE



by Enrico Magnani*

Australia seems far away, but is actually much closer than we imagine. It is inhabited by proud and determined people and can count on expert and brave soldiers who participated in numerous multinational operations, distinguishing themselves for their professionalism and sense of duty. Our conversation with Lt. Gen. Leahy provides us with a great deal of information on the efforts of the Country towards a structural, operational and technological reorganization of the military instrument.



General, could you describe the Australian Army of today to the readers of "Rivista Militare"?

The Australian Army is a modern, balanced force comprising reservists and permanent soldiers. Today the Army's strength is approximately 45,000. We deliver our fighting power through combined teams which include elements of infantry, armour, engineers, aviation and signals supported by a range of combat support and combat service elements.

We are already well equipped but expect significant improvements to our capabilities with the introduction into service of the European Armed Reconnaissance Helicopter. We have also decided to acquire fifty-nine M1A1 Abrams tanks, which will improve our firepower and protection.

Our troops are currently serving all over the world. We have conducted a range of peace support operations in the Asia-Pacific region in recent years, in Bougainville, East Timor and the Solomon Islands. These deployments have been highly successful. Most of these troops have now returned to Australia. We have maintained a contribution to the Coalition operations in Iraq and we also provide a wide range of support to UN Operations in Africa and the Middle East.

Few people know that, even excluding the two World Wars, the Australian Army was involved in a number of complex and tough military campaigns, like Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam, all completed with very good results. What lessons were learned from these campaigns so different from each other?

The Australian Army has a distinguished history in fighting beside its Allies in every major conflict of the twentieth century. Australia is a remote, island-continent, so every time we go to war we are reminded that logistics and training are the ingredients of success. Our people have never let us down. Our soldiers are resilient and



very versatile. But , in peacetime, we have sometimes lost sight of the fact that we need to be able to rapidly deploy well away from our bases. Fortunately, we have never had to fight a battle on our own soil. Nevertheless, security issues of various types have demanded a response from us over the years. In addition to Vietnam and Korea, we have provided troops to major UN missions in Cambodia, Somalia and Rwanda. The lesson is that we must maintain readiness and deployability.

Australian and Italian soldiers worked together for the first time in East Timor in 1999. What can you say about this experience, which showed Australia's dramatic capability of organizing and leading a "coalition of the willing" in a few days? What are your comments about this cooperation, considering that it was the Italian Army's first operational experience in a tropical area?

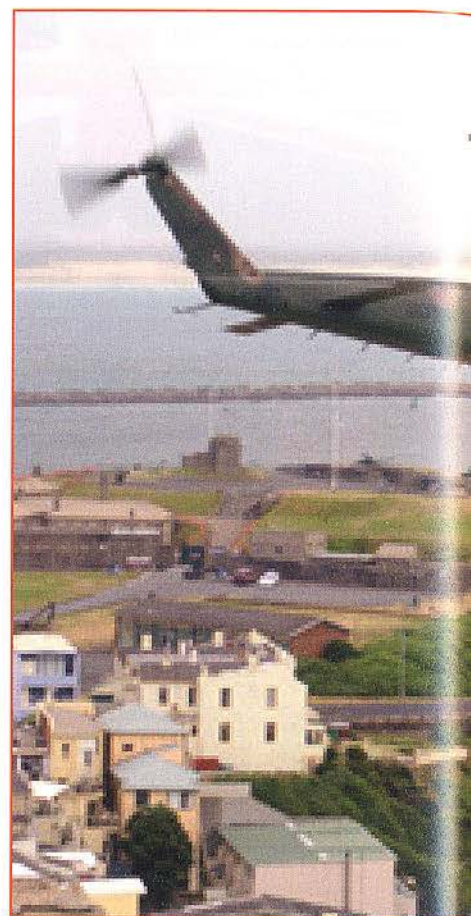
Our East Timor experience was very important. Since the Vietnam War we had largely been planning to conduct operations on Australian soil. For this reason, a major off-shore operation – especially as lead-nation of a Coalition – presented us with a very large challenge. We were successful, but this emergency highlighted some deficiencies in our deployable logistics and our strategic agility. These problems have been addressed by the Government, with the result that we are a more agile and more potent force than we were in 1999. The evidence that we had absorbed the lessons of East Timor came with our rapid deployment of forces as lead-nation in the Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands (RAMSI). As they always do, our soldiers performed extremely

well. Their individual skills and professionalism ensured that some deficiencies in equipment did not undermine the success of the mission.

We were most appreciative of the support provided by the Italian Army during the INTERFET deployment. Many Australians can trace their ancestry to Italy and therefore we were able to find liaison officers and interpreters very easily from among our own people. Your troops acquitted themselves very well. It meant a great deal to us Australians to see troops from as far away as Europe willing to undertake a risky operation in our region. Today we are serving together again in Iraq. I know that this will deepen the ties between our Armies.

Looking at Bougainville, Timor, Afghanistan and Iraq, we can see that the Australian Army was deeply engaged in different kinds of regions. What was the experience made in those peculiar operational profiles that went from mountains to jungle and deserts, from peace-keeping to high-intensity operations?

The high tempo of diverse operations has taught us very important lessons. The key lesson of all our recent experience has been the importance of the Joint and Coalition Operations. As a medium power, Australia has real limits on its ability to project force. In the Global War on Terror (GWOT) we have developed very effective techniques for operating in Coalition with the US. This is a huge benefit to Australia. Likewise, the Army has been reminded that we need the support of our Navy and Air Force to deploy, sustain and re-deploy ourselves. Joint support is vital to increase our reach



An "Iroquois 649" helicopter of the Australian Army.

back to fire support also. This has been an important force multiplier in both Iraq and Afghanistan.

Finally, the ability to conduct war fighting and peace operations from the tropical islands of the South Pacific to the deserts of the Middle East and the snowy mountains of Afghanistan, reminds us that resilient, adaptable, highly trained soldiers are the most important component of our Army. Our soldiers have performed superbly in the last decade and we must continue to train and equip them to maintain their winning edge.

Since the end of WWII Australia has been in the front line in peacekeeping operations in the Middle East,



Africa and Asia with different organizations. What is the record of the participation in these missions?

As I mentioned above, Australia takes its responsibilities as a founding member of the United Nations very seriously. We have provided support to UN observation missions in the Middle East for over thirty years. We also had long-standing commitments to the UN mission in Kashmir. Recently, Australia was a major supporter of the UN missions to Cambodia, Somalia and Rwanda. We have established a reputation for fairness and decency in the conduct of such operations. Successive Australian Governments have regarded the UN as an important force for the world's good and we have punched above our weight in terms of willingness to support the military operations of the UN.

Looking at the past, the peacekeeping doctrine is deeply changed. What could be the future of these operations?

I believe we entered an age of great complexity in the land environment. The Australian Army has acknowledged this through the adoption of a concept termed "Complex War Fighting". Essentially, the convenient boundaries between peace operations and war fighting have eroded. The USMC reached this conclusion a few years ago, through the concept of the "Three-Block War".

However, the emergence of highly lethal non-state actors, the proliferation of hand-held anti-armoured/anti-air weaponry and the phenomenon of state failure have all coalesced to radically alter the threat environment. These provide the elements of complexity to which I alluded earlier. In





Left.

Preparing for a decontamination operation.

Right.

Special forces on training.

the Australian Army we have always asserted that the best peace-keeper is a highly capable warrior. It is possible to step down from war-fighting to peace-keeping. But the reverse does not apply.

The UN mission in Somalia demonstrated how rapidly the nature of a mission may transform. These changes in the threat environment will make peace operations more dangerous and will demand that arbitrary distinctions between war fighting and "Operations Other than War" break down. The force packages that deploy into humanitarian crises will need a high level of protection and survivability in order to be able to exercise discretion and nuance in the escalation of the use of force.

We have spoken on the Australian Army of yesterday and today. What about the Australian land force of tomorrow? How will it be organized? What will be the relationship between man and technology?

Our Army is currently engaged in a major modernization programme. My directive is that the Army is to be "hardened". In other words, I want it to be harder to hit and harder hitting. This will entail transforming from a predominantly light infantry army to a light armoured Army. This will also entail a degree of cultural change. The "hardened" Army will be more robust and agile. It will also be networked. It is my intent that these changes be implemented by 2012 as a milestone to the "Seamless Force

2020". This will be the fully networked Australian Defence Force, which will link sensors and shooters seamlessly throughout the battle space. Ultimately, the individual soldier will become a "node" of this network system.

Historically the Australian Army has always had strong ties with the ground forces of the other English-speaking nations, such as the US, the UK, Canada and New Zealand. What is the level of cooperation with these Countries? In particular, what can you say on the origins, the present and the future prospects of the ABCA programme?

The ABCA (US, UK, Canada and New Zealand) arrangements are of deep historical as well as practical significance to the Australian Army. In particular, our close relationship with the United States gives us access to technology and doctrine that would be beyond our reach as a medium sized power. We maintain an active standardization programme with the ABCA powers, also through the placement of reciprocal exchange officers in one another's nations.

The Australian Army, also due to its massive engagements, has recently reinforced the role of the reserve, a bridge between the Armed Forces and civil society. Australian reservists for the first time have been engaged in the Timor operations. How do you evaluate this experience? Do you plan to continue in this direction?

The role of reservists has always been very important to the Australian Army. For most of our first century as a nation, we pre-



dominantly relied on reservists. The Australian Regular Army was only created in the aftermath of the Second World War. So the history and ethos of the reserve is central to our identity, as a nation and as an Army. The vast mobilizations of men in the two global conflicts of the last century were essentially comprised of citizen soldiers.

In recent times our reserve system was based on the old Cold War paradigm and envisaged the reserve only playing a significant role in the event that another nation launched a massive invasion of Australia with conventional forces. Since the East Timor crisis we have sought to make the reserve more relevant to the complex environment of the 21st Century.

The law has been changed to make reservists available for overseas deployment. Rather than providing a "surge" of mobilization capability, we now want them to provide skills that are not readily available in the regular force. For example, many of our surgeons on recent operations have been reservists. We also rely

on the reserve to reinforce and round out our permanent units on operations. Recently we have raised the readiness of components of our reserve forces to assist in Homeland Security Tasks.

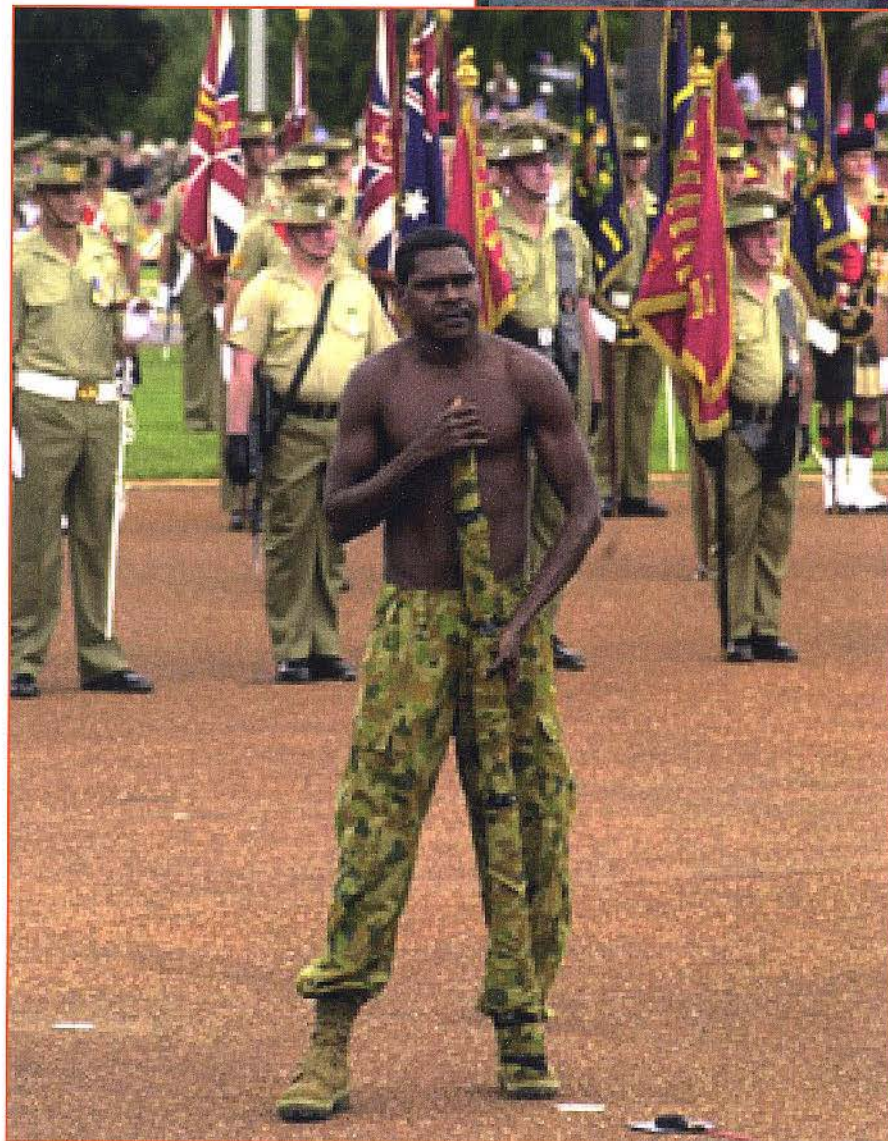
Your question referred to the deployment of a company of reservists with one of our regular battalions in East Timor. This was definitely a success. The troops served very well with their regular counterparts. We also hosted a visit to East Timor

Right.

A column of "Leopard" tanks waiting for embarkation.

Below.

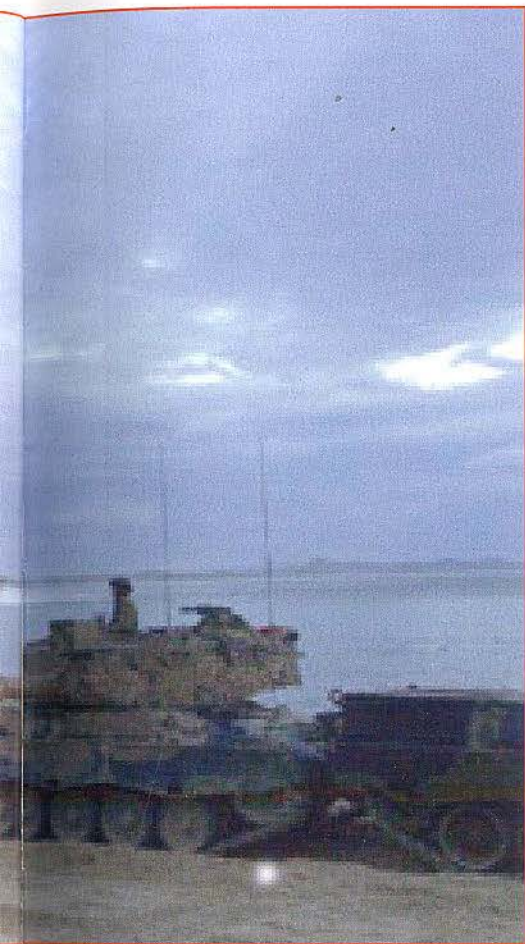
Ceremony for the Native Troops Centennial.



many of their employers, and they were very impressed at the skills their people were developing in their military service.

The new threats to international stability forced many nations to strengthen their capability to respond. The Australian Army, together with the other Services, the intelligence community and the federal and local police forces, has recently upgraded its non-conventional answer capabilities, beginning with the SAS Regiment. Please, allow me a provocative question. Do you think that the recent worldwide emphasis on special and elite forces risks to reduce the combat capabilities of the Armed Forces?

No. Every Army will need to maintain a balanced force struc-



ture. We have enhanced our Special Forces and we are moving towards multi-agency task grouping with police and a range of other agencies to expand on our joint synergies. Over time, I predict that some of the skills that are currently the monopoly of the Special Forces will be dispersed more widely throughout the conventional forces. In particular, as we network the Army, I envisage a future in which individual soldiers can orchestrate the effects of air and space platforms and reach back to fires from a range of assets. Our SF people have already acquired these skills. Over time I think that this will become a routine land force capability. Because of the increase of the lethality of weapons, I believe that there will be an enduring requirement for the combat weight of conventional forces. Furthermore, as Iraq has demonstrated, there is a need for combat weight

and also manpower to conduct stabilisation operations after the enemy conventional forces have been destroyed. All of this suggests that we will require "mass and weight" for the foreseeable future.

For years the Australian Forces have had the strategic task of defending the continent. Some years ago, however, Canberra has opted for a more active presence in the region, demonstrated by the increased presence of Australian soldiers abroad. How did these choices influence the Australian Army's doctrine and mentality?

Our primary mission is the defence of the Australian nation and its interests. We now live in an era when our geography alone does not provide us with security. We need to be able to operate both on our own soil and – where necessary – to deploy away from Australia.

Our Army has a joint and deployable culture. We rely on our RAN and RAAF comrades to deliver us into the Area of Operations, to support us with fires and logistics and to get us home. As events in East Timor and the Solomon Islands have reminded us, we cannot be a secure nation in an insecure neighbourhood. As a result, our Government has directed us to maintain the ability to conduct operations within our immediate neighbourhood. The Defence White Paper released in December 2000 formally directed that the Army be capable of simultaneous deployment of a Brigade and a Battalion Group within the immediate region.

We have remedied the deficiencies in our deployability and sustainability, which were experienced during the INTERFET deployment. I believe our doctrine for Manoeuvre Operations in the Littoral Environment (MOLE) is





sound. The evidence of recent operations, such as the RAMSI in the Solomon Islands, is that we are headed in the right direction. The current Defence Capability Programme is enhancing the Joint Capabilities to enable joint littoral manoeuvre. We are satisfied with that.

What are your future programmes? I refer to what appeared in the specialized press about MBTs, AFVs, Artillery, helicopters and logistic assets.

The amended Defence Capability Programme details all of these plans for the next 10 years. Key enhancements to our land forces will be achieved by the procurement of the replacement MBT, and the upgraded AFV/APC fleet. This will contribute to my end state of a "Hardened Army". Our Armed Recon Helicopters are entering service and the AIR 9000 project will deliver additional

troop-lift assets. All of this will be underpinned by networking, to enhance the situational awareness and communications of the individual soldier and to link us more effectively into the joint team.

Speaking about the Australian military perception, we could not avoid remarking the "special relationship" with New Zealand. However, Wellington seems to be taking different decisions in its defence and security policy. How are these differences affecting the historical interoperability between Australian and New Zealand units?

The bonds between Australia and New Zealand are very deep. They will not be affected by different emphasis in our force structure. The Kiwis have made different strategic choices. That is valid. They face an entirely different range of challenges and a dif-

ferent environment. We do a lot of collaboration with them and the cross-fertilization amongst our people is very important to both Armies and occurs at every level. We maintain a high degree of interoperability with the New Zealand Army. In a very recent regional contingency, we have worked very effectively with them.

An article published some months ago on the "International Defence Review" said that the Australian Army is on the way to become like the USMC in terms of combat force projection capabilities. Could this model really be very similar to the Australian Army of tomorrow?

I have always believed that the USMC has much to teach us in terms of littoral manoeuvre. They have a similar emphasis on individual training and a small-team ethos. However, it is not a valid comparison to state that we can "project force" in the same way that a Superpower can. That is not the guidance that our Government has given us and our capabilities stop short of entry by air and sea into a hostile environment at this stage.

In the past, due to the geostrategic position of Australia, the naval and air forces were prevalent in the definition of the national defence policies. Is this still the case or, in consideration of the most complex situation in the region and in the world, is there more balance among the Services?

I think every modern sophisticated Defence Force now understands the importance of joint

Lieutenant General Peter Leahy was born in Melbourne on October 30, 1952. After secondary school, he attended the Royal Military College. Assigned to the Royal Australian Regiment as Platoon Leader, he was later Deputy Commander of the 5th Mechanised Regiment and Commander of the 8th Infantry Regiment. From 1981 to 1982 he served in Hong Kong as Operations Officer and Company Commander of the "Princess Mary's Own" 10th Gurkha Regiment".

From 1997 to 1999, Gen. Leahy commanded the 3rd Brigade and the Rapid Deployment Force in Townsville.

He was an instructor at the Cadet Officers School at Portsea, and a teacher of Tactics at Singleton's Infantry Centre. In 1987 he was assigned to the U.S. Army Command and General Staff at Fort Leavenworth, where he remained until 1999 as an instructor of Combined Operations and Counter Revolutionary Warfare.

In 1993 he was named Military Assistant to the Army Chief of Staff and, from 1994 to 1995, held the position of Director, Army Research and Analysis Centre. In 2000, after a period as Chief of Staff of the Australian Theatre Command, he was appointed Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army.

Gen. Leahy attended Staff Courses in Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, and is a member of the Australian College of Defence and Strategic Studies. In 1974 he graduated in Military Studies at the New South Wales University and, during his stay at the U.S. War College, graduated in Military Art and Sciences.

In 2002, Gen. Leahy was promoted to Officer of the Military Division of the Order of Australia, of which he had been a member since 1975, in recognition of his distinguished service as Director of the Research and Analysis Centre. For his activity at Fort Leavenworth, he was awarded the U.S. Army Medal for Distinguished Service.

On June 28, 2002, Lieutenant Leahy was appointed Chief of Staff of the Australian Army.

synergies. I have insisted that my people bring a joint perspective to every thing that we do. For a period after the Vietnam War there was a tendency to consider the Defence of Australia in terms of sea denial by the RAN and the RAAF. Even during this period the Army was heavily engaged in operations away from Australia: I have already mentioned Cambodia, Somalia and Rwanda. These were predominantly land force deployments. Regardless of the absence of the threat of invasion, the Army was heavily involved in operations. I think this raised the awareness among the Government and policy communities that the land

forces are a very flexible instrument of national power. Moreover, the post Cold War Period has expanded the demands that are placed on the ADF. Our current assessment is that a direct conventional attack on the Australian continent is very unlikely. But as East Timor, the Solomon Islands and the GWOT have demonstrated, regional and global contingencies can arise with very little warning. Inevitably, the Army seems to be called on as the force of first resort in these situations.

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** Journalist*

Five years have passed since the first enlistments, and the contribution of women to the Service has been outstanding

THE FEMALE COMPONENT, A PRECIOUS RESOURCE FOR THE ARMY

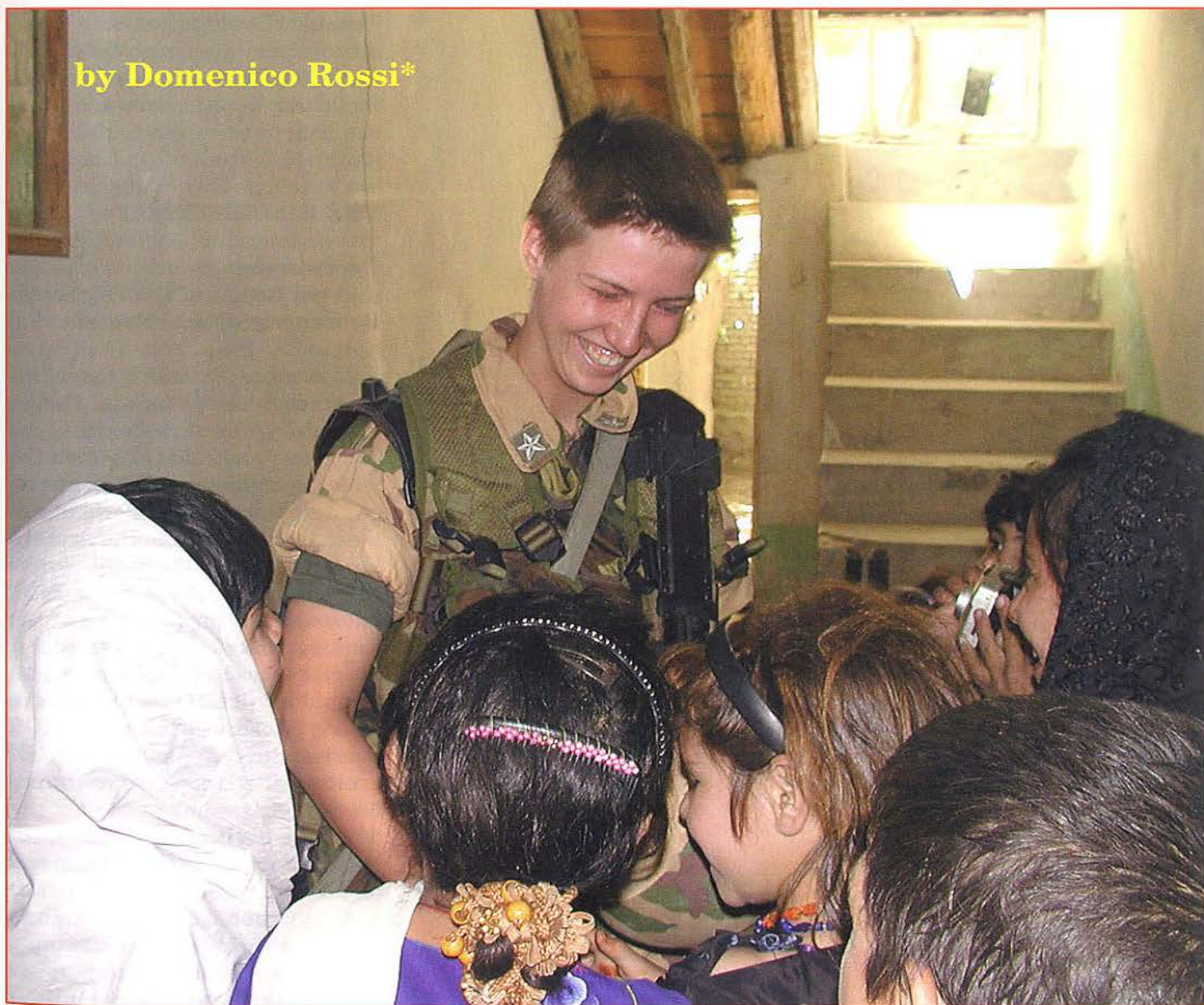
At home and abroad, in the most diverse theatres of operations there is a tangible enrichment of the professional and human potential

Law no. 380/1999 has gradually opened the military to women, without precluding them from any task and career, through an annual quota set by the Minister of Defence with the advice of the Equal Opportunities Commission. At the same time, an infrastructural adaptation is taking place, for the safeguard of the national architectural obligations. Within 2005 the enlistment of 2350 female Volunteers for a one-year prefixed term (VFP 1) is envisaged. The presence of women has been essential in the Theatres of Operations, and proved quite precious in the relations with the local populations.

From 1999, when Law no. 380 was issued, allowing women to join the Armed Forces, up to the present day, long steps have been made to fully integrate the female personnel from the point of view of recruitment and employment and, by now, this integration is a fact devoid of any kind of discrimination.

In time, the women's presence in the Army has been increasing, owing to the greater number of regulars included every year, and as a consequence of the professionalization process of the Armed Forces, which allows women to enter every category and role. At present, the women

by Domenico Rossi*



RECRUITMENT				
EVOLUTION OF MAXIMUM PERCENTAGE QUOTAS FOR THE RECRUITMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL				
	2002	2003	2004	2005
OFFICERS ACADEMY	20%	20%	20% (V.a. e TRAMAT) 100% Corpi	100 %
OFFICERS DIRECT ASSIGNMENT	100%	100%	100%	100 %
NCOs	20%	20%	20%	100 %
VFB/VFP4	30% Conc. Str.	30% Conc. Str.	15%	20% VFB 100 % VFP4
VFA/VFP1	/	/	/	10 %

in the Army are 1392 and represent 1% of the regular strength of the Service, as will be shown in detail further on.

So, let us look at the main points regarding this interesting subject and the developments related to recruitment in particular, examining the data of the last three years, and the growth forecast of the highest percentage quotas to be assigned to female military personnel; women's integration within the military organization with regard to their positions, be they operational, training or logistic, with a mention of the lessons learned from the operational employment at home and abroad; infrastructural issues and their predictable developments; an overall analysis of the professionalization process and how it affects the female component of the Army.

THE RECRUITMENT

Recruitment trend and evolution of the Highest Percentage Quota System

Law no. 380/1999 prescribes that, yearly, a Ministerial Decree should fix, for each Service, the categories and roles for which the female personnel will be recruited, and the percentage quota of their enlistments. So, the first enlistments for the Military Academy took place in September 2000, following the timely notice of the first recruitment, and they followed each other according to a functional plan aimed at constituting prioritarily the cadres (Officers and NCOs), and then at recruiting the troops, whose number is higher.

On the basis of the analysis of the data referring to the trend of the competitions, two different types of considerations arise. In the first place we note that, considering only the year 2000, the number of applica-

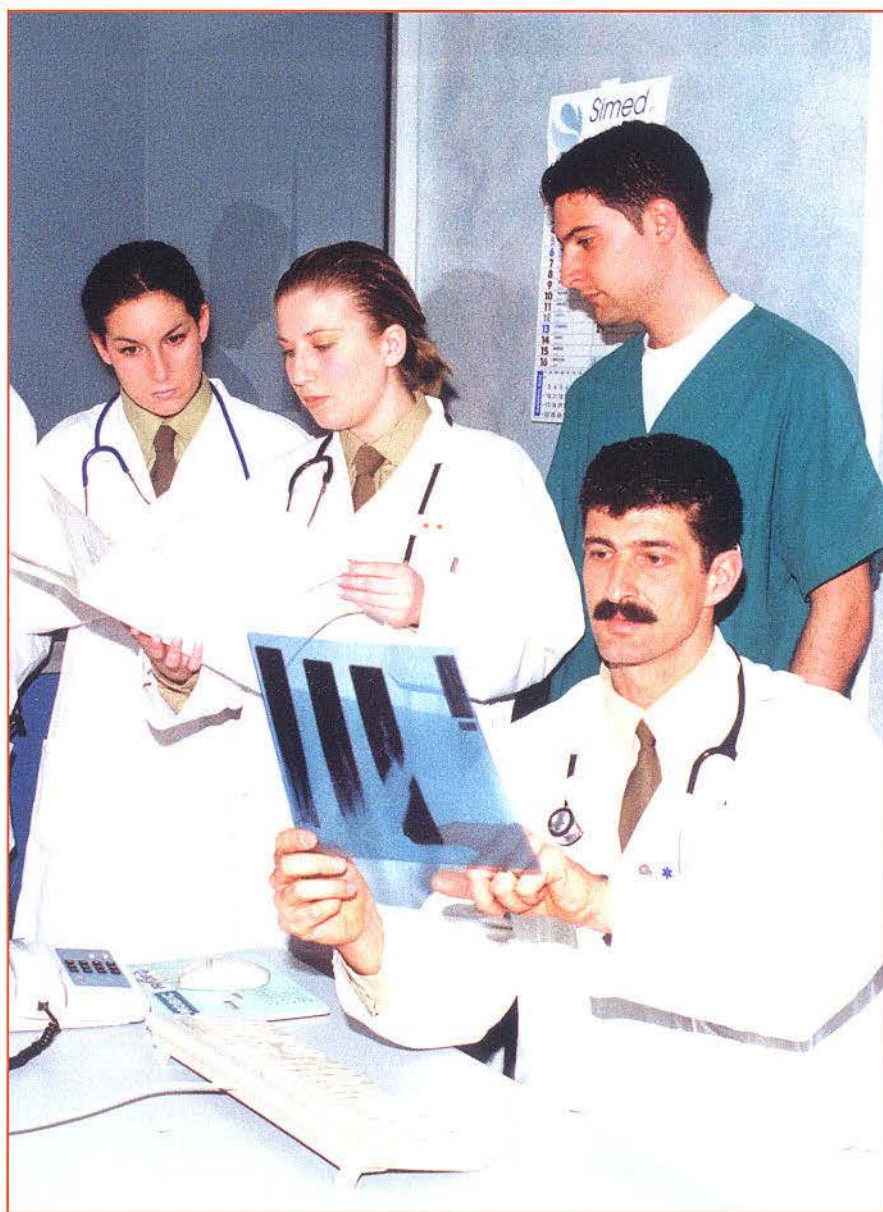
RECRUITMENT				
OFFICERS MILITARY ACADEMY				
		2002	2003	2004
COMPETITION VACANCIES	Total	243	198	191
	Men	195	158	121
	Women	48	40	70
APPLICATIONS	Total	5.578	6.519	6.806
	Men	4.410	5.250	5.528
	Women	1.168	1.269	1.229
ADMISSIONS	Total	243	198	191
	Men	226	185	175
	Women	17	13	16

RECRUITMENT				
OFFICERS DIRECT ASSIGNMENTS				
		2002	2003	2004
COMPETITION VACANCIES	Total	55	24	42
	Men			
	Women			
APPLICATIONS	Total	374	301	346
	Men	226	206	227
	Women	148	95	119
ADMISSIONS	Total	34	25	Competition being held
	Men	31	22	
	Women	3	3	

tions was so great that it could nearly be equated to that of the male personnel, with no comparison with the situation in the other European Countries. That can be ascribed to the innovation represented by the first recruitment open to women and to their expectations, which had been repressed till that moment. In the following years, the number of applications was essentially steady, until it levelled off at a medium value, which varied, according to the typology of the competition, between 1/5 and 1/7 of the applications submitted by male candidates; therefore these values proportionally reflected the percentage quotas of the recruitment concerning the above mentioned categories of personnel, which had previously been fixed at 20 % and 30 % respectively of the competition vacancies announced by the annual Ministerial Decree. Secondly, it was noticed that, with respect to the female positive reaction to the announcements of competitions, the number of women later admitted to attend training courses at Institutes of education and training Organizations was definitely inferior to the vacancies. In particular, leaving out the year 2000 that, as we said above, does not really count, on the basis of the analysis of the data referring to the remaining years (2001, 2002 and 2003; data for 2004 are to be confirmed) we see that the percentage of positions held by female personnel, compared to the positions available, statistically amounts to 30 % for Officers; 20 % for NCOs and 40 % for Short-Term Volunteers.

If we get to the heart of these data, we notice, as a key factor common to all the typologies of competitions mentioned above, the presence of a considerable gap between the applicants and the number of candidates for the first selective examination (cul-

RECRUITMENT				
NCOs				
WARRANT OFFICERS				
		2002	2003	2004
VACANCIES	Total	175	163	132
	Men	140	131	95
	Women	35	32	26
APPLICATIONS	Total	14.206	17.717	19.993
	Men	12.195	15.000	17.737
	Women	2.011	2.717	2.256
ADMISSIONS	Total	175	163	132
	Men	165	161	125
	Women	10	2	5



RECRUITMENT				
TROOPS				
SHORT TERM VOLUNTEERS				
		2002	2003	2004
VACANCIES	Total	3.500	8.500	6.398
	Men	2.450	7.540	5.458
	Women	1.050	960	940
APPLICATIONS	Total	5.508	29.934	48.583
	Men	4.242	25.294	41.059
	Women	1.266	4.640	7.524
ADMISSIONS	Total	3.500	8.500	6.398
	Men	3.196	8.270	5.954
	Women	304	230	444

tural test), i.e. -41 % for Officers, -56 % for NCOs and -34 % for Short-Term Volunteers (VFB). However this did not significantly affect the statistical distribution of women in the single list envisaged for the admission to the following test, as the same situation prevailed for male personnel.

A more significant percentage drop of female participants, compared to males, was noticed in the subsequent physical selection aiming at ensuring the respect of the minimum standards of employment. In fact, we should take into consideration the negative impact that both gymnastic/sports tests and medical selections have on female personnel (both cause a higher percentage of exclusions among women than in men). Such a drop is detrimental to the personnel that had already passed the cultural tests, and whose temporary list, instead, contains a female component in line with the estimated quotas.

The situation will have to be analyzed again with regard to the changes made to the recruitment quotas by the Ministerial Decree for 2005. In particular, this regulation envisages, for the female troop component a percentage of 20% VFBs and 10% VFP1s. For the other categories of military personnel (Officers and NCOs) the system was changed by totally opening the recruitments. As to the above mentioned percentage set VFP1s (10 %), it should be underlined that, though it might seem quite reductive at first glance, it will allow the inclusion of no less than 2350 women in a single year, i.e. about double the current female presence in the Army.

As far as the infrastructural facilities for female personnel are concerned, we can say that this aspect has up to now caused the gradual inclusion of the female

RECRUITMENT	
FEMALE PERSONNEL	
CURRENTLY IN THE ARMY	
CATEGORY	NUMBER
OFFICERS	97
CADET OFFICERS	35 (19 del 185° e 16 del 186° corso)
WARRANT OFFICERS	18
CADET WARRANT OFFICERS	8 (4 del 6° e 4 del 7° corso)
SHORT-TERM VOLUNTEERS	915
CADET SHORT-TERM VOLUNTEERS	319 (6° conc. - 1° bando)
TOTAL	1392



troops in the military instrument, but it has not affected influenced the recruitment of female Officers and NCOs, because their educational course (identical to that of the male personnel) has given us enough time. On the whole, the elimination of this last remnant of the current system of "blockage" is imminent, and this will allow the Services to come into line with the other European armies.

Military Schools

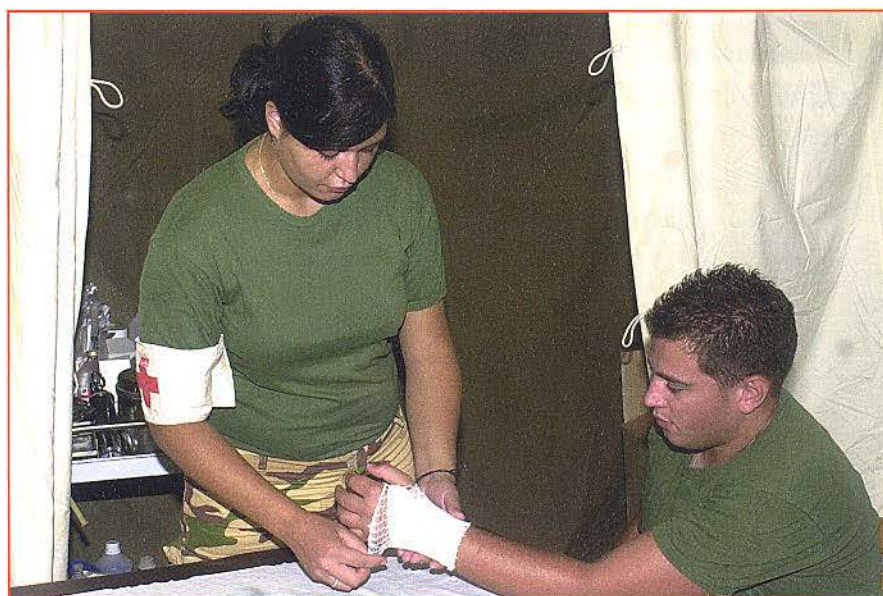
The attendance of Military Schools (Nunziatella in Naples and Teuliè in Milan) is not compulsory by law, as it cannot be compared to a real recruitment, but the Army intends to allow women to attend them as soon as possible, because by attending these schools they would be entitled to benefit from a reserve of spaces in the competitions for becoming Officers. The attendance of those Schools is also considered a good qualification in the recruitment of NCOs. For this reason, the infrastructure of these schools is being adapted, albeit taking into account the architectural restrictions regarding their ancient buildings.

INTEGRATION OF THE FEMALE PERSONNEL

Employment in Operational Activities

The female military personnel are deployed at home and in all the most important Theatres of Operations where the Italian Army is present.

Within the national territory, they are regularly employed in the surveillance of crucial points (Operation "Domino"). In this, as in all other circumstances, the female Volunteers gave good opera-





INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

IN ITALY

↓

Operation "DOMINO"
Surveillance crucial point





OUT OF AREA

↓

Employment
in all THEATRES





INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES IN ITALY

- There were no particular problems
- Behaviour characterized by great commitment and responsible adaptation also to the most critical situations



INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL			
EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES OUT OF AREA			
(Situation as of November 1, 2004)			
OPERATION	THEATRE	FEMALE PERSONNEL	% FEMALE PERSONNEL
NATO HQ	Albania	0	0
NATO HQ	FYROM	0	0
"JOINT FORGE"	Bosnia	5	0.6
"JOINT GUARDIAN"	Kosovo	40	1.4
"ISAF"	Afghanistan	20	2
"ANTICA BABILONIA"	Iraq	53	2.2

INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES OUT OF AREA

LESSONS LEARNED

There are no conceptual contraindications to the operational employment (they were extremely useful during searches/interactions with local people of the same sex, investigations)



Excellent capability of adaptation

Successful employment in CIMIC activities ("key of success" to enter the Arab female world, otherwise unreachable)



INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OUT-OF-AREA OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

LESSONS LEARNED

Physical limitations in performing some operational duties




tional results, without causing any serious problem.

Outside the Country, the female personnel are being employed everywhere, with the exception of Albania and FYROM. The box on the left contains all the data regarding the strength of each contingent of the Army as of November 1, 2004.

In this respect, the absence of female personnel in some operations was not the result of a choice made by the Service, but it was caused by accidental situations, such as, for example the fact that some "low-intensity" Theatres of Operations at "low intensity", have been up to now manned by Units made of One-Year Volunteers. These personnel consist of men only, as it is made up exclusively by young men called up for conscription (which is not apply to women).

At present, if we consider that the criteria by which tasks and training courses are assigned to personnel do not depend on gender, we can say that the operational employment of male and female military personnel does not differ at all.

Generally, our data show that the inclusion of female personnel in the contingents employed in operations abroad, and also in very risky missions and in degraded environments, did not stop our units from achieving excellent results. Women displayed an excellent capability of settling, performing the duties deriving from their tasks without showing any behavioural difference in comparison with their male colleagues. In particular, the presence of female personnel was essential during Civil-Military Cooperation (CIMIC) and humanitarian activities in favour of peoples whose culture and habits are considerably different from West's. Suffice it to think of the Afghan and Iraqi societies, within which it was possible to talk to the female

world, which otherwise would have been inaccessible. Nevertheless, there were some operational tasks where the employment of female personnel presented objective limitations due to the specific physical capabilities required (paratrooper, rifleman), or was considered inappropriate in cases of reduced or poor logistic support (prolonged activities, escorts to convoys). Hopefully, for these needs a minimum equal standard will be established for operators of both sexes.

Lessons Learned

As mentioned above, the employment of female personnel proved to be essential as regards the operations carried out in the environments where there was a culture completely different from the Western one. The possibility of conducting activities precluded to the male colleagues, such as searches and investigations in local women's circles helped to increase the consideration of the national Contingent as a whole.

During Operation "Antica Babilonia", the most recent in chronological order, where women were largely employed, the integration was easy, often thanks to the expertise developed in previous out-of area missions. It is necessary to examine the possibility that under particular circumstances, characterized by a considerable numerical minority of women compared to men, the cases of female solidarity and complicity could grow, or that the female personnel could become more turbulent and competitive, with marked manifestations of seniority claims (to the detriment of younger colleagues) and a supposed superiority of branch, role or task. Furthermore, another possibility is being monitored: the fact that, given the numerical exiguity which



INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OUT-OF-AREA OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

OPERATION "ANTICA BABILONIA"

Easily integrated also thanks to previous missions



Opportunity of selecting personnel from a physical point of view, regardless of gender (the fighter is exposed to risk regardless of sex)





INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

EMPLOYMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL IN OUT-OF-AREA OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

OPERATION "ANTICA BABILONIA"

It is being studied in depth:

1. Competitiveness instead of solidarity among women in small female contingents
2. Behaviour during fighting activity, with the awareness of being potentially responsible for actions which could determine the death of even hostile humans





INTEGRATION OF FEMALE PERSONNEL

NEGATIVE EVENTS

Disciplinary measures for events/accidents rare and isolated, had no negative influence on the integration process





INFRASTRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

CRITERIA ADOPTED

1. ABSOLUTELY EQUAL TREATMENT
2. "PRIVACY" ONLY IN QUARTERS
3. ASSIGNMENT OF FEMALE PERSONNEL TO UNITS ON THE BASIS OF AVAILABLE SEPARATE BEDROOMS
4. POSSIBILITY OF ORGANIZING CENTRES OF FEMALE QUARTERS GROUPING PERSONNEL FROM DIFFERENT UNITS -

ESPECIALLY DURING OPERATIONS



INFRASTRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

PROBLEMS YEAR 2005

1. ENLISTMENT OF **2350** FEMALE VFP1 VOLUNTEERS
2. IMMEDIATE AVAILABILITY OF **1350** BEDS
3. BEGINNING OF INFRASTRUCTURAL WORKS AIMING AT DOUBLING AVAILABILITY DURING 2005



INFRASTRUCTURAL PROBLEMS

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

**ADAPTATION PLAN FOR BUILDING
DESTINED TO BECOME COMMON QUARTERS
FOR VOLUNTEERS
(BETTER QUALITY OF LIFE)**

END OF CONTRACT WORKS



BY THE END OF 2008

characterizes the female personnel at present, there could be the beginning of attitudes marked by the manifestation of a boasted capability of being always up to the assigned task, without any psychological break-down, in view of the overwhelming attention from male superiors and colleagues.

Finally, the attitude displayed by female personnel during combat activity is being tested, in order to determine the onset of attitudes that could give rise to questions or doubts about the necessity of replying to the enemy fire or on the awareness of being potentially responsible for actions which could cause the death of other human beings, even if they are identifiable as hostile.

THE INFRASTRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

As far as the solution of the infrastructural problems is concerned, the lines of approach of the Service – confirmed by the directive of the Army General Staff concerning the planning of logistic support for 2004 and 2005 – have as their objective to put the "servicewomen" in the same conditions of their male colleagues, trying to avoid ad-hoc solutions, which could seem forms of unpopular privilege.

Therefore, it was decided to realize appropriate conditions of privacy only in the sector of quarters.

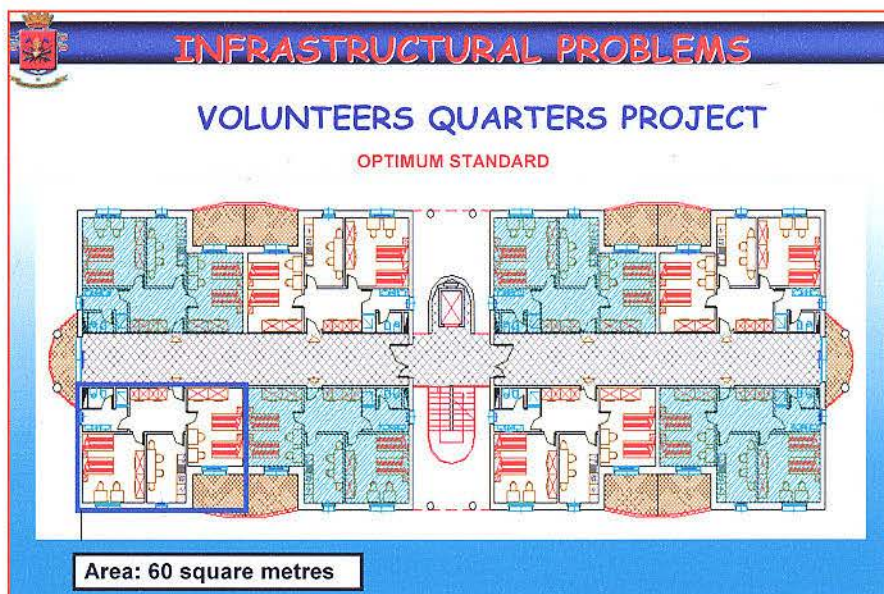
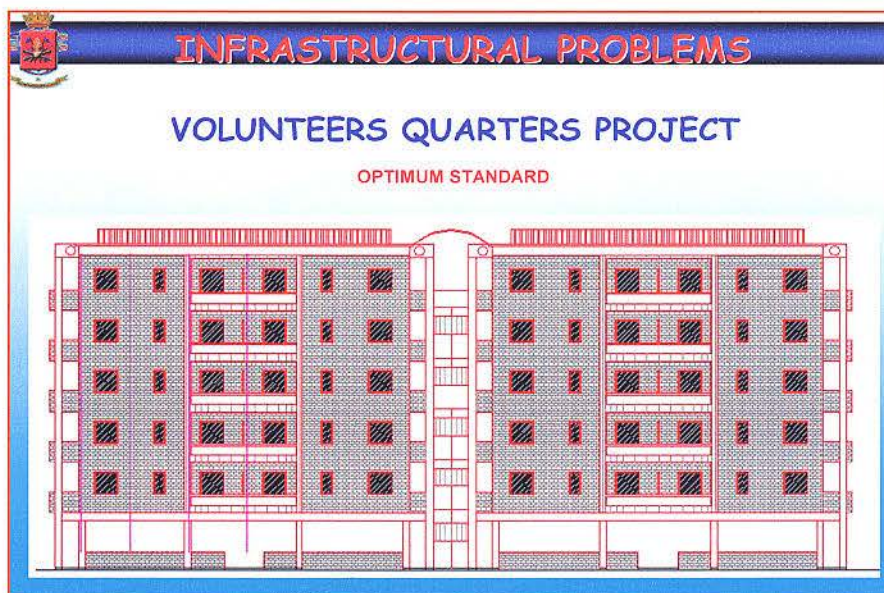
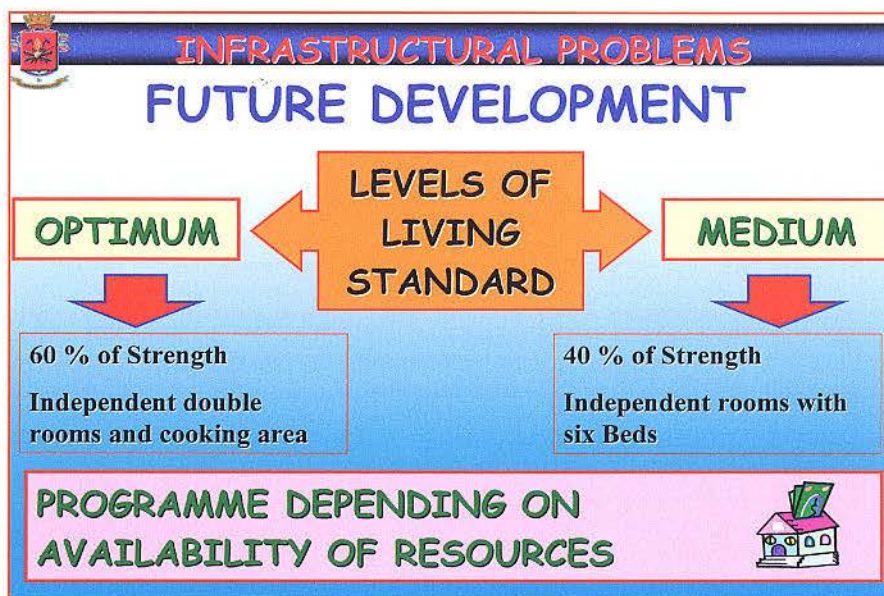
The assignment of female personnel to the various bodies and units is not subordinate to the presence in the barracks of better-quality rooms in comparison with men's, but to logistic possibility. This concept assumes a greater validity for the lodging during the out-of-area operations, where "equal treatment" has to be pursued and necessarily harmonized with the need to

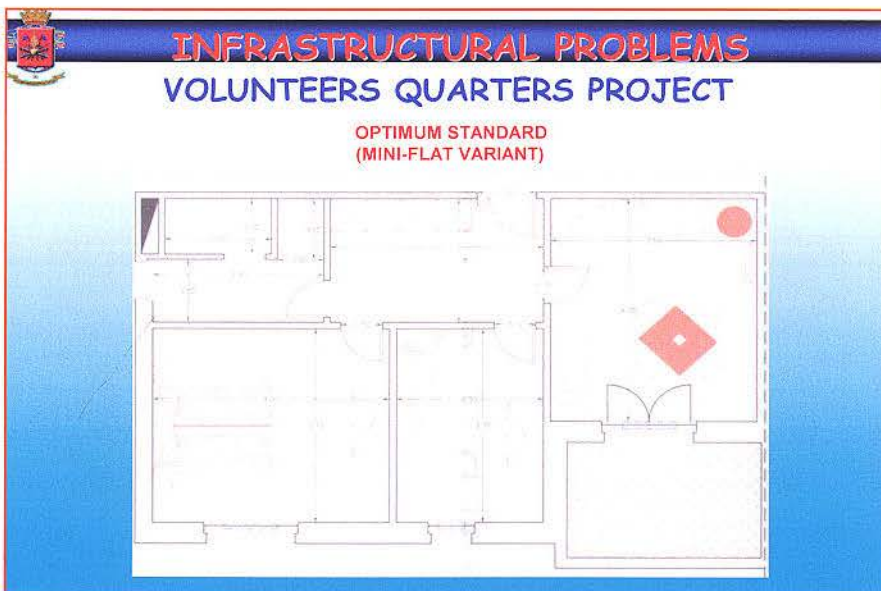
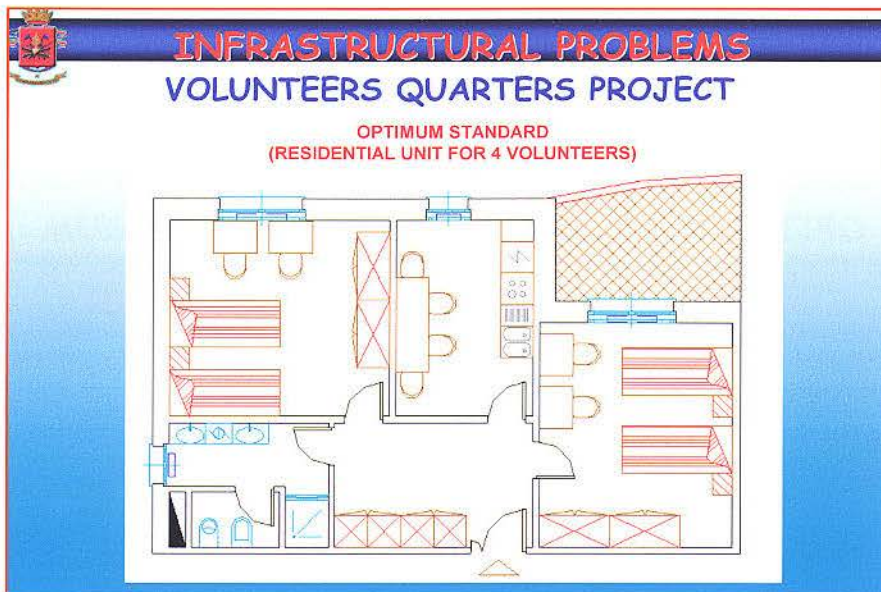
make the best use of all the available rooms, considering that the number of beds has to be planned on the basis of the strength of the unit deployed. As a consequence, this issue can only be specifically evaluated by the Commanders – for each cantonment – with regard to the actual situation.

Within this context, and following the issue of Law no. 226 of August 23, 2004 (called “Professionale 3”), the spotting of premises for the organizations and units which are going to be manned by VPF1s over the year 2005 is now under way. It is clear that the requirements will be met in 2005, with the execution, if necessary, of suitable infrastructural works.

In the future, however, the issue of female personnel’s quartering will find a solution within the wider context of the programme already under way, concerning the adoption of the buildings to be used as Volunteers’ collective quarters, an adjustment which is of great importance for the Army, as it paves the way for the improvement in the living standards of the quartered personnel.

In particular, within this programme, it was envisaged to contract within 2008 all the works needed to adjust the Volunteers’ quarters, adopting an “optimum” living standard for an indicative percentage of 60 % of the strength, with independent double rooms and a separate room for study and leisure time, a cooking area and a bathroom; a “medium” standard for an indicative percentage of 40 % of the personnel, with independent rooms (with a maximum of 6 beds each) and shared bathroom, properly restructured and improved (it was also decided to improve the functionality and comfort by installing power sockets and light spots near each bed).





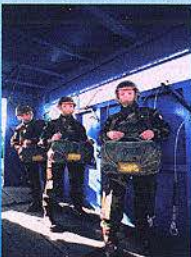
CONCLUSIONS

POSITIVE BALANCE SINCE FIRST ENLISTMENTS:

- Enrichment of human potential
- Keystone in CIMIC sector
- End of quotas also for troops

PROBLEMS:

- Infrastructural adaptation
- Employment in situation/jobs requiring high physical standards

However, the pursuit of this goal is strongly affected by the well-known scarcity of the infrastructure budget of the Service.

FINAL REMARKS

The conclusions we can draw from the presence of female personnel in the Army, five years after the first enlistments, are quite positive, as shown by the very good results achieved in the various Theatres of Operations where the Service is deployed. The choice made by the legislator with Law no. 380/1999 was an essential one. It allowed a gradual inclusion of the female component in the military instrument, according to quotas which are to be set yearly by a Decree of the Minister of Defence, upon previous agreement with the Equal Opportunities Commission. So the Army could concomitantly and gradually adjust its infrastructure in order to guarantee some privacy, also in buildings under particular architectural restrictions, due to their historical and artistic value. The positive experiences acquired also allowed to eliminate the quota for the recruitment of Officers and NCOs. In the short and medium term, this goal will be reached as for the Troops.

This wise policy of recruitment was successful on the plane of operational employment at home and abroad. It should be remembered that in the Italian Army, unlike other foreign Armed Forces, women serve on an equality basis, with no restrictions about the assignment to branches or combat specialties. Particularly in the Theatres of Operations, where the employment situations are promiscuous and quite stressing for the personnel, there was no problem in the interrelation between sexes, neither for enlisted men and women nor along the chain of command. As for operational employment, there were no preclusions even in the most risky Theatres, while the pres-

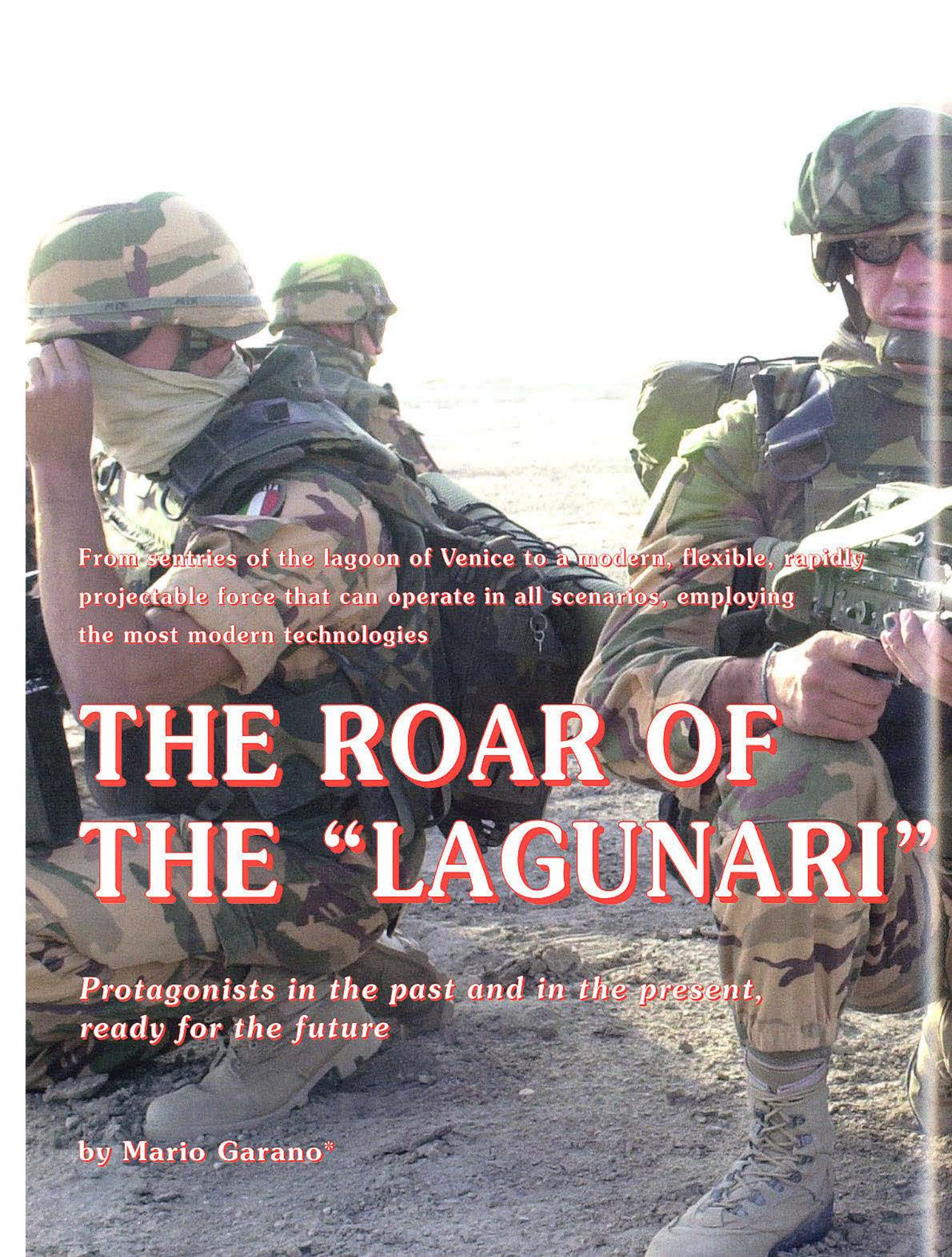


ence of women in uniform proved very positive in the CIMIC sector, especially as regards the relations with the local people, thanks to the empathic qualities of the female personnel.

In conclusion, the recruitment of female personnel in the Army proved to be vitally important in this peculiar historical moment, characterized by the transition to an entirely professional instrument, thanks to the ensuing enrichment in terms of capabilities and human resources.

□

** Major General,
Head, Legal & Economic
Affairs Division,
Army General Staff*



From sentries of the lagoon of Venice to a modern, flexible, rapidly projectable force that can operate in all scenarios, employing the most modern technologies

THE ROAR OF THE “LAGUNARI”

*Protagonists in the past and in the present,
ready for the future*

by Mario Garano*



Heirs to the "Fanti da Mar", the marine infantrymen of the "Serenissima" Republic of Venice, the "Lagunari", a special branch of our modern infantry, are employed in crisis areas where they have earned the high esteem of the allies and the acclaim of the populations.

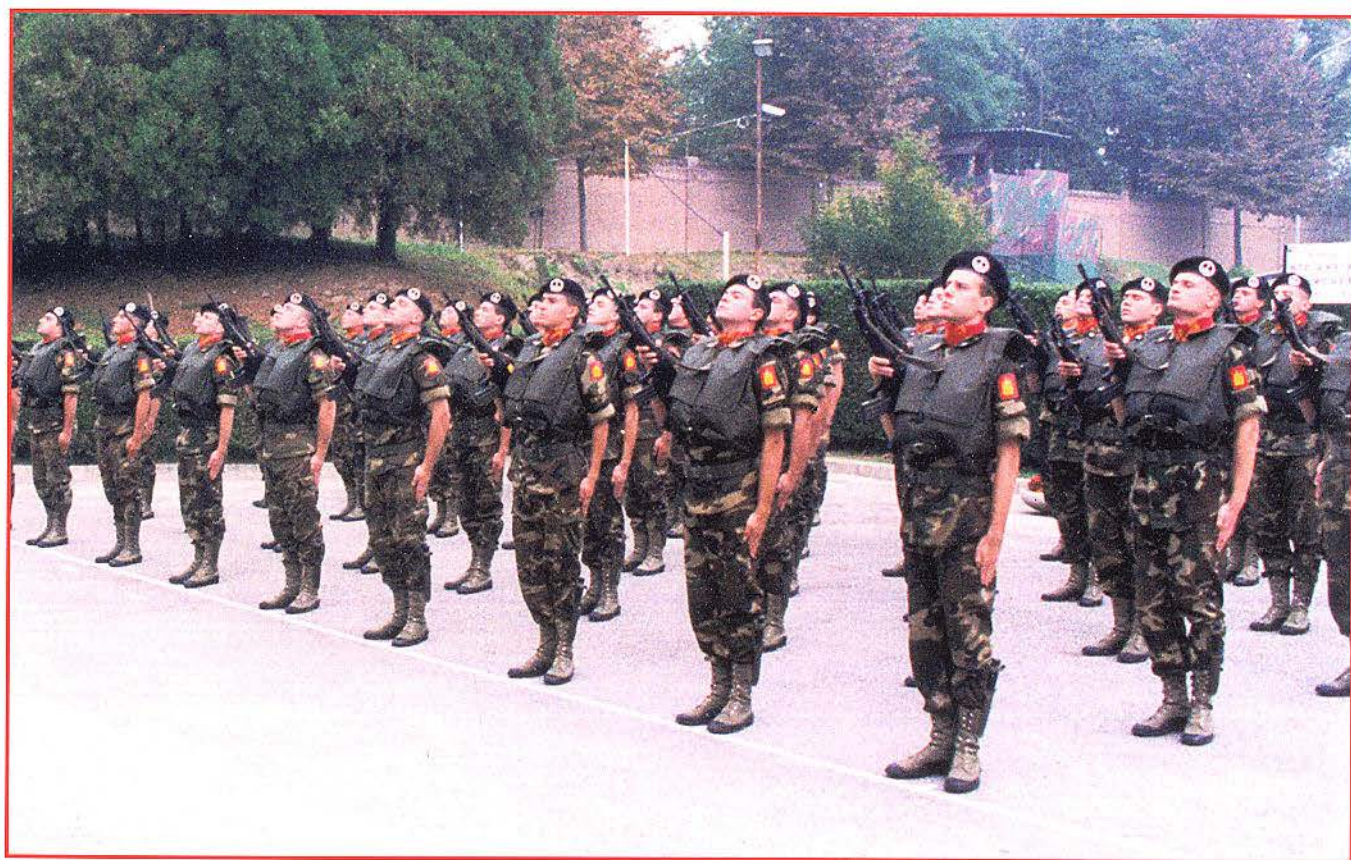
Working under the banner of the winged Lion of St Mark, in the last two years they have been engaged in numerous activities, both in Italy and abroad, and lately in Iraq, with results which – in the words of the Army Chief of Staff, Lt Gen. Giulio Fraticelli, at the Meeting of the “Lagunari”, held in Mestre on 30 and 31 October – *show without doubt the professionalism of Cadres and instructors, the high quality of the volunteers and their distinctive reliability and rigour. The “Lagunari” are Venice’s Fusiliers, the heirs to the “Fanti da Mar” of the “Serenissima”, the Most Serene Republic of Venice. Proud of their traditions, aware and convinced of the transformation involving the whole Service, the “Lagunari” have left their traditional role of sentries of the lagoon and now – General Fraticelli stressed – are performing the tasks typical of the modern operational contexts, in which the Army is more engaged, answer-*

ing to the growing need of long-distance projections. It is in this context that the Army General Staff is conducting a number of studies and investigations aimed at strengthening the capability of joint amphibious projection, to be achieved through the implementation of the necessary synergies of resources between the Army and the Navy. It is a long and exacting task for which, considering the financial resources available, it is necessary to make every effort in order to eliminate or avoid the useless duplication of assets which are already present in the Services. This entails new tasks for the “Lagunari”, one of the most specialized and esteemed Regiments of our Army.

It is matter of transforming a Regiment, whose employment was mainly the defence of the national territory, into a rapidly projectable and technologically advanced instrument, capable of intervening in the various crisis areas. Actually, today there are approximately 7500

soldiers deployed in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans, while 4500 more are engaged every day in the activities of Operation “Domino”.

These tasks were also pointed out by the Chief of Staff of Defence, Adm. Giampaolo di Paola, in his message to the Meeting “Within the ongoing process of transformation of the Armed Forces, the “Serenissima” Lagunari Regiment will shortly be called to acquire a direct synergy with the Navy’s “San Marco” Regiment, in order to constitute an operationally joint Landing Force, which is going to be one of the strong points of the high-readiness projection capabilities of our military instrument. This was certainly a very high recognition for the “Lagunari” who, despite being the youngest special branch of the infantry, have been capable of writing extraordinary pages, in Italy and abroad, also with the supreme sacrifice, in Iraq, of Captain Massimo Ficuciello and 1st Corporal Matteo Vanzan.





The “Lagunari” – added Adm. Di Paola – have given extraordinary proofs of courage, authority, professionalism, sense of responsibility and humanity, which obtained many acknowledgements and attestations by our allies as well as the local populations.

From the assistance to the victims of the floods in Polesine (1951, 1966, 1976) and the refugees from the earthquake in Friuli (1976) and Irpinia (1980-1981), to the public-order operations in Sardinia (1992, Operation “Forza Paris”) and Sicily (1993-1997, Operation “Vespri Siciliani”). From the participation in “Mission T” on August 29, 1953 before the return of Trieste to Italy (the “Lagunari” were deployed between Marano Lagunare and Villa Vicentina, in the

province of Udine, and Ronchi dei Legionari, in the province of Gorizia) to the operations in Bosnia Herzegovina (1998 “Constant Forge”), Kosovo (1999-2000 “Joint Guardian”, 2001 “Consistent Effort”, 2002-2003 “Decisive Endeavour”) and Iraq (Operation “Antica Babilonia”, 2003-2004).

The “Lagunari” have belonged to the Army since 1877, when they became part of the 14th Sapper Company of the 2nd Engineer Regiment. In 1883 they were incorporated into the two companies of the “Lagunari” Engineers of the 4th Pontonier Regiment.

Adm. Di Paola and Lt Gen. Fraticelli announced their synergic employment with the Navy as landing troops. This entailed the operational reconfiguration of the Regiment as a light-infantry

unit with both land and amphibious capability in any environment. Traditionally, their origin goes back to the “Fusiliers of Venice”, recruited by Doge Enrico Dandolo, in order to have them participate in the 4th Crusade for the conquest of Byzantium (Constantinople), which was taken for the second time in 1204 (the four horses that still adorn St Mark’s Basilica bear witness to that victorious expedition).

These forerunners of the “Lagunari” (and of the American Marines) were stationed at San Nicolò di Venezia Lido, in the “Quartiere Grande” or “Soldier’s Palace”. In 1591, Doge Vettor Pisani (1324-1380) ordered to construct, precisely behind the Abbey of San Nicolò, quarters for the

troops – there were 40,000 men in the 4th Crusade – and stables for the horses (the so called “Ser-raglio”) which became later the “Guglielmo Pepe” barracks (after a Calabrian general from Squillace, who had been Commander of Venice’s Army and died in exile in Turin in 1855). The Pepe barracks became the historical home of the “Lagunari” Regiment Headquarters, before its transfer in 1999 to the “Edmondo Matter” barracks (a captain of the 5th Infantry Regt, “Marche” Brig, who fell during the capture of Oppacchiasella on September 16, 1916 and was posthumously awarded the Gold Medal for Military Valour). The “Matter” barracks used to be the home of some units of antiaircraft artillery, had been a convent in earlier times, and during WWII had quartered some German units. Today they are a state property and there are several plans about their future use, including an international university structure.

If the amphibious role of the Lagunari were emphasized, i.e. that of marine assault troops, landing forces in particular, one could discover that they can be descended from the “Fanti da Mar”, i.e., in a way, from the forces embarked on the fleet of Consul Caius Duilius, who in 260 B.C., in the waters of Mylae, defeated a Carthaginian fleet of 120 quinqueremes, twenty more than the Romans’.

Caius Duilius’ victory was probably due to the testing of a new type of combat, half naval battle and half land fight – one could call it amphibious – which introduced the technique of “boarding” through the use of “grappling irons” which grappled the enemy ships, enabling the assault forces to fight as they did on land, hand-to-hand, a kind of combat where the Romans usually prevailed. In fact, as many as 45 Carthaginian ships were sunk, 31 were captured, 4000 enemies died and 7000 were taken prisoners. At the

Roman Forum the battle is commemorated by the “Rostral Column”, decorated with “rostra”, or grappling irons of the Roman quinqueremes. Thus the Romans preceded not only the “Lagunari” but also the Marines, whose history begins in 1775 with a meeting of the Navy Committee at the Turn Tavern of Water Street (in the port of Philadelphia) that set in motion the constitution of the Corps, which was ratified by the U.S. Congress on November 10 of the same year. Also the Marines, who had developed as an amphibious force, have had to adapt to the changing operational scenario, with new and more flexible structures of employment.

But let us go back to the “Pepe” barracks. Built on a square plan around a large courtyard, the structure is, for the “Lagunari”, a symbol of the ideal continuity of line which makes them worthy trustees of a glorious tradition, born with the “Fanti da Mar” and supported by the “Cacciatori del Sile” (light infantry), the Royal Ships Regiment of the Kingdom of Sardinia (established in 1821 by Carlo Felice) and the Bourbon Royal Corps of Marine Infantry, already employed since 1806 as fusiliers and in boarding and landing operations.

The “Fanti da Mar” distinguished themselves for their valour, in particular in 1570-1571 at Famagusta; during the Candian war (1645-1669); in the attempt to force the port of Venice (on April 20, 1797) carried out by three French warships (a *casus belli* for the fall of the “Serenissima”, decreed by the *Maggior Consiglio* on the on the successive May 12, in order to avoid the sack of the city; in the extreme defence of the Republic of Venice during the siege of 1848-1849, with the participation of the “Cacciatori del Sile”, a Venetian Corps of volunteers of about 500 men, organized by the cities of Treviso and Padua, who were the protagonists of a daring coup de main against



the Austrian positions on the Cavallino. The valiant Venetian defence ended with the intervention of Marshal Radetzky who took the city back under Austrian rule. The “Fanti da Mar” survived in the Sardinian and Bourbon Armies. They were not in-



cluded in the new Army of the Kingdom of Italy from 1861 to 1877, but reappeared with the Lagoon Engineers until 1933 and, in the defence of the Lower Piave (June-July 1918) deserved three Silver Medals and six Bronze Medals for their military valour.

At the same time, the Navy had been continuing the traditions of the Marine Infantry, establishing – in 1861 – the Royal Navy Infantry Corps, which was disbanded in 1878 but maintained a number of special units within the crews of the ships. They were

trained for land operations, and in the capture of Tripoli (1911) earned the title of “Garibaldians of the sea”; the Gold Medal for Military Valour was awarded to their flag, which later became the Navy Flag, which is kept aboard the flagship of the Fleet.

In October 1917 a battalion of sailors from the bases of Monfalcone, Grado and the Lower Tagliamento took part in the defence of the Cortellazzo bridgehead, near Venice, and the same year became a Marine Regiment which participated, with its three battalions, in the defence of the Lower Piave. Its flag, donated by the city of Venice on May 1918, was awarded the Knight's Cross of the Military Order of Savoy and a Silver Medal for Military Valour. On November 3, 1918 the Marine Regiment landed at Trieste with the Bersaglieri of the 7th and 11th Regiment, carrying the Italian Tricolour also to Istria and Dalmatia. On March 17, 1919, the Marine Regiment, on Venice's request, took the name of "San Marco" and adopted the badge with the winged lion, the centuries-old symbols of the city. After the war it was reduced to a battalion, but at the beginning of WWII became a regiment again,

distinguishing itself at Tobruk, in Tunisia and at Cassino, and – together with the paratroopers of the "Nembo" – in the War of Liberation, before reversing to battalion level (the "San Marco") within the "Folgore Division".

The Army, for its part, recreated its amphibious branch and, on January 15, 1951, in the "Pepe" barracks, the Lagoon Forces Sector was constituted with three Coastal Lagoon Battalions, for the defence of the Upper Adriatic. The Sector was subordinate to Padua's 5th Territorial Command for training and employment, and to the Upper Adriatic Autonomous Maritime Command for disciplinary matters. Its first Commander was Rear Admiral Giorgio Ghe. On October 15, 1951 the "San Marco" battalion joined the Lagoon Forces Sector for what concerned training and disciplinary matters, while remaining under the "Folgore" Division for its operational employment.

The "San Marco" was organized like an infantry battalion, but its personnel belonged almost entirely to the Navy. On January 1, 1952 the Lagoon Forces Sector – which meanwhile had constituted its new "Marghera" and "Piave" coastal battalions – passed under the exclusive command of Padua's 5th COMILITER (Territorial Military Command) and, on January 1, 1953, became subordinate to the 5th Corps, which had been established on May 1, 1952. On January 1, 1955 the Landing Craft Group was constituted on the island of Sant'Andrea (Vignole), formed by Navy personnel. On January 15, 1956 this group was renamed Naval Craft Group. On July 1, 1957 the "San Marco" battalion was transformed into the "Isonzo" battalion, with personnel and materials from the Army. On September 1, 1957 the Lagoon Forces Sector, which since 1956 had been commanded by Army Colonels, was renamed Lagoon Regiment and, on October





25, 1959, in St Mark's Square, received its combat flag.

In 1963 the existing battalions became mechanized/amphibious and, in 1964, the Lagoon Support Unit turned into a tank battalion, equipped at first with "Sherman" tanks and then with M/47s. This was the 22nd "Serenissima" tank battalion of San Vito al Tagliamento (Pordenone), heir to the 22nd tank battalion which, together with the 4th, 23rd and 24th, had formed the 33rd "L Tank" Regiment, constituted in Parma in 1939. On May 24, 1964 the Army reorganized the branch and created the "Serenissima" Lagunari Regiment, while the Navy reconstituted the "San Marco" battalion which on the 10th of June of the same year received its Combat Flag during a ceremony held in the waters of Naples aboard the cruiser "Garibaldi".

On October 20, 1975 the "Lagunari" were reorganized again, becoming the "Amphibious Troops Command", subordinate to the "Folgore" Mechanized Division, stationed in Treviso. After the disbandment of the "Marghera", "Piave" and "Isonzo" battalions, the Amphibious Troops consisted of the 1st "Serenissima" battalion and the "Sile" Amphibious battalion, whose spearhead was the Scout battalion. In 1975 the "Isonzo" battalion was mechanized and became the 41st "Modena" mechanized battalion, while the 22nd "Serenissima" tank battalion became the 22nd "Picinini" tank battalion, and both units joined the "Gorizia" Mechanized Division. Furthermore, the Amphibious Transport company became an amphibious battalion, the "Sile". The "Piave" battalion, in its turn, was mechanized and

became the 1st "Serenissima" Lagunari battalion.

On June 25, 1984 the "Lagunari" were recognized as a special Branch of the Infantry as of January 9, 1951. On August 26, 1984 St Mark the Evangelist was proclaimed Patron of the Amphibious Troops and of the whole Branch.

On October 13, 1992, within a further reorganization of the Army, the First Battalion lost its autonomy and the following day became part of the reconstituted "Serenissima" Lagunari Regiment, which incorporated also personnel from the disbanded "Sile" amphibious battalion.

Today the Regiment is organized as follows: Headquarters and HQ Company, stationed in Mestre, Matter Barracks; 1st "Serenissima" Lagunari Battalion at Malcontenta's "Bafile" barracks, and Naval Craft Company

on the island of Sant'Andrea. The Regiment belongs to the "Pozzuolo del Friuli" Cavalry Brigade, a Major Unit of the Defence Forces HQ in Vittorio Veneto (Treviso).

It is also interesting to see how the "Lagunari Association" was born. On June 17, 1985 the "Amphibious Lagunari Troops Association (ALTA) was granted juridical status. It had been constituted in Venice on June 15, 1983 in the wake of the "Italian Lagunari National Association", founded in Udine in 1972 by a group of "Lagunari", both in service and retired.

In the words of the current President, Dr Francomario Colasanti, ALTA *does not only intend to keep alive the memory of the distant days when, united by toil and commitment, our members contracted a bond of solidarity which will unite them forever as "brothers in arms", but also wants to be the synonym of a social activity based on the experience gained in those days.*

The Association has 33 sections in Veneto and others in Bergamo, Novara and Rome, with more than 3000 members who, every two years, participate in a National Gathering.

Last year's meeting was held in memory of Massimo Ficuciello and Matteo Vanzan and also to welcome the Regiment that had just returned from Iraq, after a four-month assignment in support of the civilian population. The "Lagunari" performed their mission with a professionalism and humanity which were highly appreciated by the Iraqi people, thus keeping high the name of our Country. The next meeting, the seventh, will take place at Jesolo.

As regards the synergy with the Navy, the Fleet avails itself, among other things, of a "Landing Forces Command (COMFORSBARC) located in Brindisi, which controls the "San Marco" and "Carlotto" Regiments as well as the Landing Craft Group.

Besides COMFORSBARC, the Navy has another tactical-level Command in charge of the amphibious sector: COMGRUPNAVIT (Assigned Forces Naval Group Command) located in Taranto and mainly responsible for the naval aspects connected with the conduct of amphibious operations.

COMFORSBARC is mostly tasked with the conduct of ground



operations. The activation of a European amphibious force has been recently decided in order to participate in EU and NATO operations. Its members are the Countries (Italy, Spain, France, United Kingdom and Holland) participating in the "European Amphibious Initiative", which has recently improved the al-



ready existing amphibious cooperation with SIAF (Italian-Spanish Amphibious Force) and UKN-LAMPHIFOR (Anglo-Dutch Amphibious Force). The European Amphibious Force (discussed since 1999) enters into action when required. Italy participates with the National Amphibious Force, consisting of the "Garibal-

di", "San Giusto", "San Giorgio" and "San Marco" ships, the helicopters of the Amphibious Combat Unit and the Landing Force ("San Marco" and "Carlotto" Regiments).

The European Amphibious Force will have to be capable of deploying about 5000 men, i.e. a Brigade, with the naval and logis-

tic support necessary for its autonomy. The Force Command will be multinational. After the envisaged Army-Navy synergy, also the "Lagunari" will participate in this force.

□

** Journalist*

A body of strategies that can be adopted in order to remarkably reduce the negative consequences of external events

COPING STRATEGIES

In a profession, and obviously in everyday life, it is important to make use of cognitive, emotional and behavioural capabilities in order to deal with problematic and stressing situations

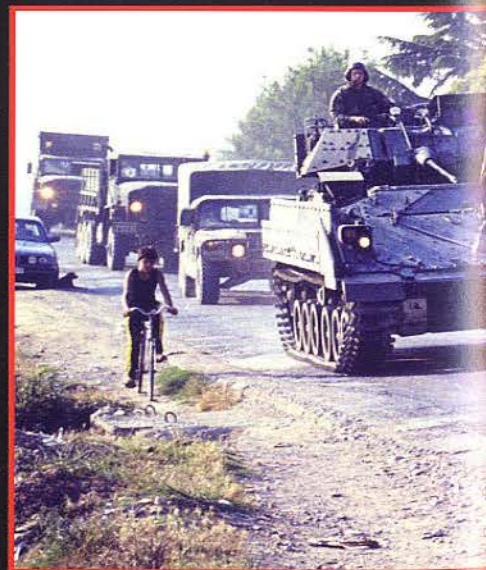
In this way one can assess the individual reliability in terms of employment and organize readjustment programmes after long periods in high-intensity Operational Theatres, so as to ensure the efficiency of the personnel, also from the psychological viewpoint, and safeguard their inner sphere.



by Filippo Di Pirro*

The operational engagements in which our Service has been involved for some time inevitably entail a greater exposure of the personnel to critical events that can be very damaging from the psychological viewpoint, and to extreme situations where, quoting Bruno Bettelheim's definition: *we are suddenly catapulted in a number of conditions in which our adaptation mechanisms and our former values are no longer applicable and some of them could indeed endanger the very life they were*

supposed to protect. Thus we find ourselves devoid of all our defensive system, are hurled to the bottom and, in order to reemerge, we must build a new set of behaviours, values and ways of life suited to the new situation. This is nothing new, and one can understand that, if the task of our organization is "to defend", the exposure to risk and the management of critical situations is inevitable. Reading again an old but interesting book by Major Cesare Agostini, MD, a neuropsychiatrist engaged in



Carnia during the First World War, we find some cues for interesting reflections.

In May 1917 Major Agostini was operating in an area which included the border Carnic valleys which at Creta Verde, Pal Piccolo and Timau, on the mountains of Dogna and in Canin faced an Austrian pass strongly fortified on the opposite peaks.



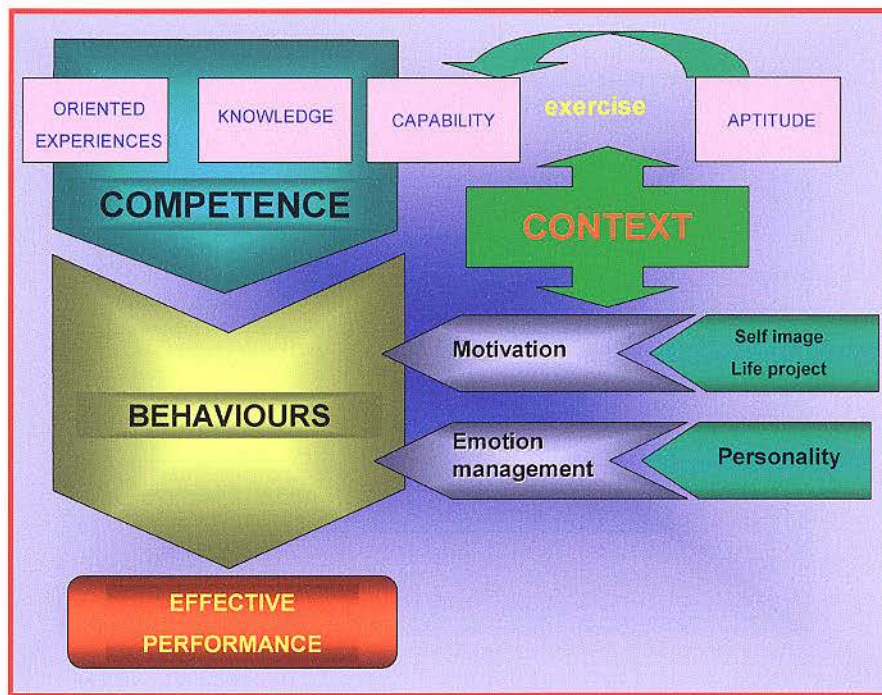
Professionalization

- ☞ Entirely volunteer and professionalized personnel.
- ☞ More detailed and complex training course.
- ☞ Operational employments in high-intensity theatres.
- ☞ Greater exposure to critical situations.
- ☞ Increased emotional commitment.

Major Agostini had the opportunity to observe and study the soldiers who, during these combats, suffered neuropsychiatric problems. The operations were taking place in an area characterized by narrow valleys, surrounded by almost inaccessible mountains, with roads often closed by snow, where it was impossible to conduct large scale operations. Due to the almost immediate contact with the enemy, there were frequent duels of small ar-

tilleries, hand grenades and rifles. Night surveillance was continuous; resupplying, patrolling, observation and life in the trenches were very wearying. All this entailed an uninterrupted trickle of dead and wounded, together with the wearing out caused by the protracted toil and extreme mental tension. The doctor, in a passage of his study, writes that *"Very numerous and interesting are the acute and transitory cases directly caused by the new and difficult conditions of this kind of war in predisposed and constitutionally emotional individuals. I say "predisposed" because in the family anamnesis of these subjects it is generally possible to find notes of neuropathic inheritability in a broad sense, together with numerous, evident dysmorphic and psychic forms of precocious imbalance, both sentimental and volitional. The number of soldiers struck by emotional psychoneurosis is particularly high among the young recruits exposed to combat for the first time, and increases*





In this sense, the Army is making a radical change in its organization, with the constitution of streamlined and dynamic units, with more professional and better trained personnel, very unlike the “entrenched” ones mentioned above. As a matter of fact, the soldier is requested to operate in highly critical and unstable scenarios which entail efforts of adaptation and tolerance of situations caused by various physical and psychological stressors, that can be very intense and protracted. Another important aspect of the deep change in the military organization is represented by the recent suspension of conscription. This implies a different type of personnel no

in the fights preceded by heavy shelling”.

Having made the appropriate considerations about the nosological definition of a psychiatric illness and its etiologic aspects which, in any case, should be read within the psychiatry of the times, it is interesting to note that not only the context of the employment (war event and combat) and the living conditions (difficult and often desperate) were taken into account, but also the man was considered, with his emotional, affective and distinctive components which make every individual unique in his reactions and in his ways of responding and facing risky and critical events and situations.

The predisposition and emotionality described by Agostini are a reference to the personality and psychology of each individual and characterize his emotional endurance, and his response to critical and stressing situations. Quoting a thought by Carlo Levi, “*the future has an ancient heart*”, we can say that this part of history somehow represents the “ancient heart” of our present; also today, despite technological

progress and new equipment, soldiering is still characterized by the great commitment requested of man as such, who plays a determinant role in facing and managing critical situations.

The military now engaged in the various operational theatres are exposed to risks and difficulties which must be known and understood, since the ways of facing them are different.

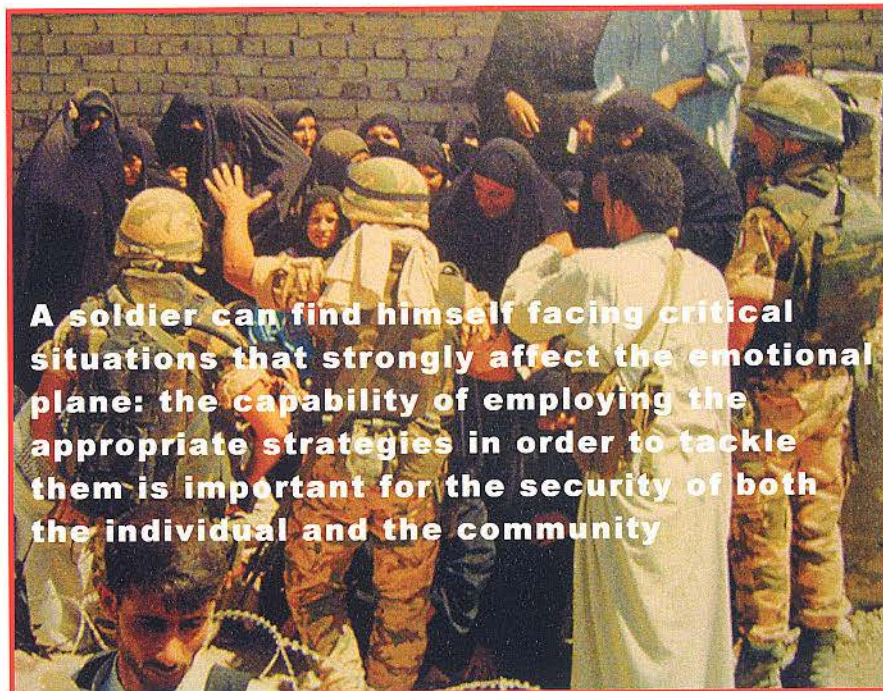
more consisting of citizens “removed” from their reality, against their will, for the duration of conscription. Therefore, recruitment and replenishment of the units must also be different. Today the service must open itself and offer opportunities of training, growth and employment to the young citizens, men or women, who approach the military organization and

PSYCHOLOGICAL RESOURCES

- **COGNITIVE, EMOTIONAL AND BEHAVIOURAL CAPABILITIES APPLIED BY THE INDIVIDUAL IN ORDER TO TACKLE PROBLEMATIC AND STRESSING SITUATIONS.**
- **NATURE AND QUANTITY OF AVAILABLE RESOURCES ARE IMPORTANT FOR KEEPING AN ADEQUATE PSYCHOLOGICAL BALANCE AND MENTAL HEALTH.**
- **STRESSING SITUATIONS BEING EQUAL, THE AVAILABLE RESOURCES CAN LIMIT OR CAUSE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL DISCOMFORT AND MITIGATE OR WORSEN A CRISIS SITUATION.**

ask to join, taking with them their history, motivations and expectations. This will obviously affect the selection of the personnel, who must be chosen with care, taking into account the various prospects of employment and stay in the Service, keeping in mind that, in order to be able to rely on an efficient and effective organization, one should invest primarily on the individual, in training and educative terms, with the objective of having personnel that can perform tasks requiring not only a specific technical and professional preparation, but also a constant and purposeful training which can also provide a high level of psychological efficiency. Therefore, today the entire military organization is characterized by volunteer and professional personnel; more complex and composite training cycles; operational employment in high-intensity theatres; greater exposure to critical situations; increased emotional commitment.

This means that one of the qualifications required is an appropriate psychological attitude, according to the foreseeable operational engagement, which should consist of the cognitive, emotional and behavioural capabilities that an individual can put into practice in order to confront problematic and/or stressing situations involving a certain exposure to risk. The nature and quantity of the resources, together with the capability of using them properly, are in fact important and decisive in order to bear the emotional efforts deriving from the employment in operations (operational fatigue) while maintaining the psychological balance and mental health, in the perspective of the concept of "resilience", i.e. the capability of facing and overcoming the adversities of life, coming out strengthened or



A soldier can find himself facing critical situations that strongly affect the emotional plane: the capability of employing the appropriate strategies in order to tackle them is important for the security of both the individual and the community

even transformed (Grotberg, 1996).

In other words, it is the possibility of reacting to difficulties in a positive manner, succeeding in using the experience in order to build the future through a behaviour showing the wish to fight and come up with all the energy necessary to resist the stressing situations.

Resilience is not a simple and single quality, but rather the result of different factors which, as a whole, form an homogeneous structure: the simultaneous presence of these factors permits to go through stressing circumstances without physical or mental impairment. Among them we can single out: commitment, control, taste for challenges as an incentive to grow, perceiving them as spurs and not threats, with the open mind and the flexibility which allow to resist even in the most adverse conditions.

On the other hand, these factors also make the individuals different since, given the same stressing situation, the available resources and the ways of organizing them in a functional way can either limit, or cause, the risk

of a psychological discomfort and worsen, or alleviate, a crisis.

This is nothing new, since in the military the human and psychological components have always been taken into account by the Commanders. Clausewitz, in his book, "About War", wrote: "If we take a general look at the four elements that form the atmosphere into which war moves, i.e. danger, physical toil, uncertainty and chance, we will easily see that a great strength of character and intelligence is necessary to penetrate safely and successfully into an element so difficult to master. This strength follows the various changes deriving from circumstances and, in the words of writers and reporters of military events, takes the name of energy, firmness, willpower and strong character. The first question that comes to mind is what we mean precisely with this expression. Obviously not a violent display of feelings nor a rapture of passion, since this would contradict our normal language, but rather the faculty of continuing to follow reason, even in the midst of the strongest excitement, the most violent storm of passion".



REACTION TO EVENTS

1. **ELABORATION OF THE IMMEDIATE EMOTIONAL RESPONSE**
2. **EVALUATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EXPERIENCE THROUGH RECOGNITION AND COMPARISON WITH PREVIOUS EXPERIENCES**
3. **ORGANIZATION OF A MENTAL STRATEGY IN RESPONSE TO THE EVENT**
4. **SYNCHRONIZATION OF THE SENSITIVITY AND PERFORMANCE FUNCTIONS TO REDUCE THE RISK OF NEGATIVE EFFECTS ON ONESELF**

(Goodyer, 2002)

Therefore we must look at the personnel with a different eye, with an experience enriched and integrated by new knowledge and knew objectives, oriented towards the enhancement of the human person, within an organization that requires well supported sound motivations and specific attitudes that can translate into capabilities, skill and, as a consequence, into efficient performances, since the value of the Service is measured precisely through the operational effectiveness and efficiency it is able to express.

If we think of the different elements that determine an effective behaviour and a good performance, we note that the personality and the capability of managing one's own emotions are determinant factors, especially when facing critical situations which resound strongly on the emotional plane.

COPING

This framework also includes the concept of "coping", a common term in modern psychology mean-

ing "to face", "to stand up to", "to fight successfully".

The notion associated with it was introduced in 1966 by Richard Lazarus, but also other authors have taken an interest in it, like Folkman, who in 1986 defined "coping" as *the complex of cognitive and behavioural efforts aimed at managing the internal and external demands made by the person-environment transactions which, in the person's evaluation, weaken or exhaust the resources possessed*.

In 1997 Sica, Novara, Dorz and Sanavio describe "coping" as *"the non fully explored whole of capabilities and skills from which the individual draws in order to face problematic and potentially stressing situations and to plan, develop and gradually implement his own strategy for the solution of difficulties"*.

More recently, in 2002, Goodyer, another researcher, defined "coping" as *"the complex internal responses to external events, whose functions aim at reducing the probability of negative consequences"*.

It is easy to understand why the concept of "coping" finds its right and correct place in mili-

tary psychology and psychiatry, oriented towards the maintenance of the efficiency and safeguard of both the individual and the community, in that the capability of employing the strategies suited for tackling critical situations is important not only in terms of operational effectiveness, but also for the individual and the group. Thus "coping" becomes a strategy involving certain behaviours which can be more or less functional and effective for facing critical situations and managing the resulting emotional impact. The determining factors of the coping strategies are: capability of solving problems, control of the situation; how the circumstances occur; manner in which the circumstances take shape.

In fact, together with the individual capabilities, one should also consider the context, and therefore the person's relation with the situation.

In any case, a cognitive and emotional commitment is necessary in order to control it, and at times this can turn out to be unachievable, being beyond any human possibility. On the other hand, also the manner in which the circumstances take place are a strong conditioning element of the approach and the more sudden and unforeseen they are, the more they test the capability and skill of the individual.

A coping strategy, therefore, on the one hand involves the person with his own characteristics and skills and, on the other, situation, environment and circumstances, in a sort of interplay between person/mind and environment. Still, it is always the individual the element who does everything possible to reduce as much as possible the risks connected with critical events, either acting on the event or on the problem itself (strategy focused on the problem) or intervening on his own emotional response and its possible

negative effects (strategy focused on emotion).

COPING AND REACTION TO EVENTS

According to a recent definition, "coping" is a process that, once analysed, can be divided in two sequential phases: evolution and execution. The first is more typically centred on the cognitive processes of attributing a meaning to the stimulus; the second is the executive phase, selectively focused on the operational behaviour adopted and expressed by the subject. Therefore an event triggers a series of activations before organizing a strategy in response to the



COPING

A strategy through which an individual deals with a critical and emotionally important situation.

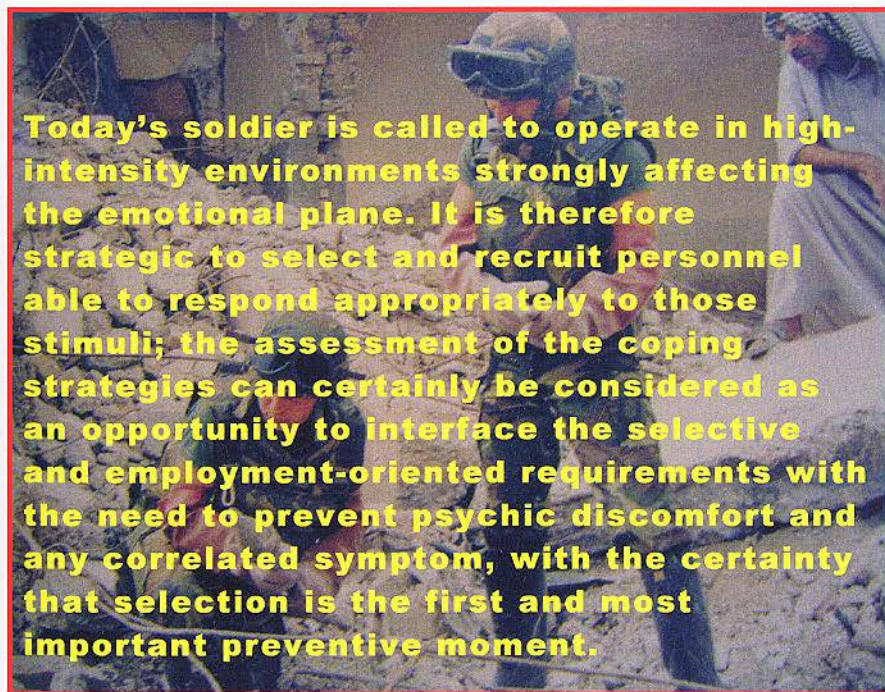
☞ Behavioural tendencies: preparing to act and going towards something, or avoiding it, or being careful, controlling, etc...

☞ A "mental action".

☞ Non explicit behaviours, but "impulses to act".

☞ Confrontation.

☞ The action can be inhibited if the evaluation of control made by the individual have a negative result (i.e. insufficient resources, little chances of success).



critical and emotionally important situation, a kind of "well-thought behaviour" upon which an action will be structured later. *Coping*, therefore, can be defined as a behavioural tendency, a preparation for an action, to go towards something or avoid it, to be careful, to control; a "mental action"; an "impulse to act" rather than explicit action; a confrontation.

At the same time, an action can be inhibited if the individual's evaluations have negative results (inadequate outcome, little chances of success). In all this it is important to keep in mind the active character of the emotional response which, as we said before, can go in the direction of the solution of the problem or towards an emotion, i.e. the control of the negative effects of a too intense emotional reaction which, in some cases, can direct towards dysfunctional strategies, such as withdrawal from action and refusal of the problem.

These ideas support the coping strategies, i.e. the behavioural tendencies and spurs to act mentioned above. It is precisely these points that charac-

event. The occurrence is perceived, evaluated and compared with events previously experienced, then a mental response is organized, starting an efficient behaviour aimed at reducing the risks deriving from the event. Referring to a scheme proposed recently (in 2002) by Goodyer, we see a reaction structured as follows: processing of the immediate emotional response; evalu-

ation of the importance of the experience through its acknowledgment and comparison with preceding experiences; organization of a mental strategy in response to the event; synchronization of the sensitivity and performance functions in order to reduce the risk of the event's negative effects on oneself.

Then *coping* becomes a "style" by which an individual faces a

Factors producing an adequate coping

- Skill in “problem solving”
- Controllability of the situation
- Modality of occurrence of circumstances



INSTRUMENTS FOR THE EVALUATION OF COPING STYLES

In order to study and appraise the coping strategies, a number of instruments have been prepared. The “Way of coping questionnaire” (Folkman and Lazarus, 1988) is based on the personal reports of the respondents and singles out eight possible coping strategies. “Confrontative coping”, when the problem is directly tackled by the subject; Distancing; Self-control; Search for social support; Acceptance of responsibility; Escape/Avoidance; Problem solving (when the individual plans his intervention strategies); Positive re-evaluation.

terize the different responses typical of the differences among individuals. After all, this is the core of the subject. If some coping strategies are functional for an effective performance and containment of risk, of both the individual and his group, there are others which are dysfunctional to the point of becoming very risky in certain circumstances. Obviously the effectiveness of a strategy depends also on the context in which the event takes place and on the objective to be achieved.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) have singled out some possible coping strategies, such as: accept the confrontation (keep one's own stand and act with determination, in order to reach the goal; negotiate and convince the other side to change its mind, find new arguments); take a distance (continue as if nothing had happened and avoid thinking it over); apply self-control (check your feelings, do not let your difficulty be noticed); look for social support (expound your difficulties to those who can help, accept the support and understanding of

ferred); accept responsibility (assume a self-critical attitude and acknowledge your part of responsibility); avoid fleeing and trying to relieve your malaise by escaping the problem turning to drinking, eating and smoking, waiting for the problem to disappear; plan for a solution; reevaluate yourself positively, trying to find again self-confidence and esteem.

COPE (Coping Orientation to Problems Experienced – Carver, Scheier & Weintraub, 1989) is a questionnaire through which respondents are asked to estimate the frequency with which the subject applies a given coping modality, selected among 15 different ones, in difficult and stressing situations: activity, planning, suppression of competition, containment,

1. RELATIONAL AREA

- participation and openness in interpersonal relations
- willingness to accept hierarchical relations and refer to them
- communication capability
- willingness to acknowledge and share norms and rules

2. MANAGERIAL AREA

- aim at results

3. MOTIVATIONAL AREA

- willingness to improve oneself within the military organization

search of information, search of understanding, emotional outburst, positive reinterpretation and growth, acceptance, humour, denial, behavioural detachment, mental detachment, use of alcohol and drugs. "Coping inventory for stressful situations" (Ciss). It is a self report investigating the frequency with which a subject applies certain behaviours to face stress, and aims at measuring three general coping capabilities: problem-oriented coping, emotion-oriented coping, avoidance strategies.

These instruments are obviously a useful aid for studying and assessing coping and can be profitably integrated by an interview that, with a direct relation with the person concerned, a review of the information contained in the questionnaire, and the collection of data on the individual, his history, his experience and his behaviour vis-à-vis different and critical situations which can be part of his past, permits a more complete and reliable appraisal of the coping strategies, also in terms of predictions within the selection of personnel.

CONCLUSIONS

Today the modern soldier is called to operate in very emotional high-intensity contexts, destabilized and destabilizing. Concepts like *coping* help towards a better understanding of the individual's ways to manage fatigue, stress and the difficulties he can run up against, and advance forecasts about the possible answers to critical events. This is important for assessing employment reliability and also for organizing – after long tours of duty in high-intensity operational theatres – "rehabilitation" programmes aimed at ensuring the availability, at any time, of efficient personnel, psy-

chologically enriched and strengthened through the positive elaboration of experiences which had demanded a great effort in terms of personal resources.

It is essential to select and recruit personnel who can give an adequate response to these stimuli, and the evaluation of the coping strategies can certainly be considered a good opportunity to interface the requirements connected with selection and employment orienta-

tion with the need to avoid inadequate and dysfunctional responses prompted by emotions – and consequent behaviours – in the conviction that selection is precisely the first great preventive moment.

□

* Lieutenant Colonel, MD,
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Army General Staff

COPING STRATEGIES (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984)

- 1. ACCEPT CONFRONTATION**
 - keep your position and act with determination in order to achieve your objective
 - negotiate, convince the other to change his mind, find new subjects, etc.
- 2. KEEP AT A DISTANCE**
 - proceed as if nothing had happened and don't think about it
- 3. CONTROL YOURSELF**
 - try to control and contain your feelings, don't let it be known that you have a problem.
- 4. LOOK FOR SOCIAL SUPPORT**
 - explain your difficulties to those who can help you, accept support and understanding
- 5. ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY**
 - assume a self-critical attitude and acknowledge your responsibility
- 6. AVOID**
 - trying to mitigate your discomfort by evading the problem, turning to drinking, eating, smoking, waiting for the trouble to end
- 7. PLAN A SOLUTION**
 - strive to realize a solution plan
- 8. REVALUE YOURSELF POSITIVELY**
 - strive to regain respect and confidence in yourself

CONSCRIPTION DEPARTS

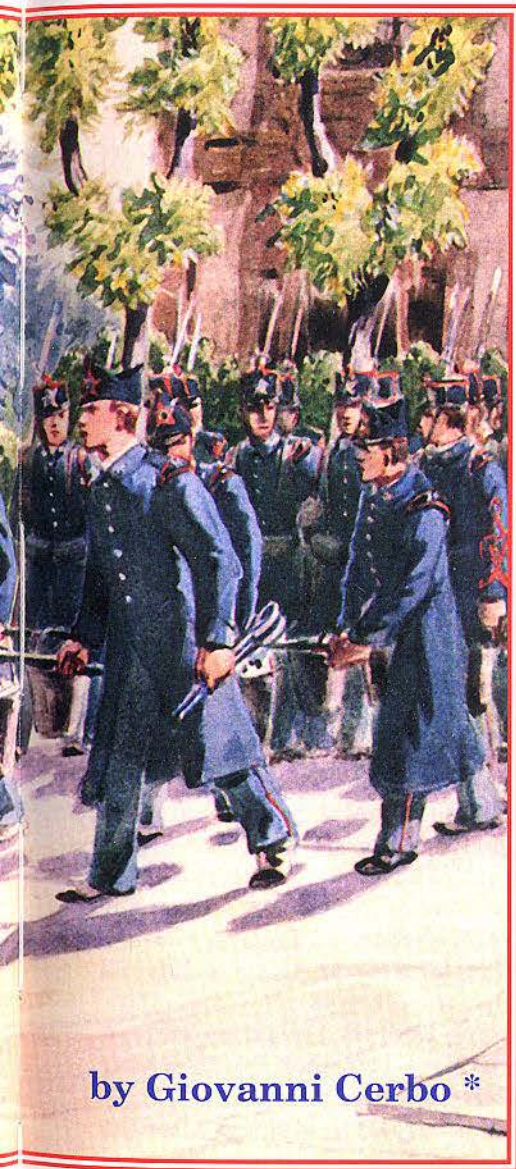
*After one hundred and forty years, the conclusion of a story
during which a people became a Nation*



The law recently approved by Parliament, concerning the suspension of conscription and the system of rules for the volunteers with a fixed term of service, besides meeting the requirements of the military instrument, is also the symmetric interpretation of a wish for change felt by society in the last decades. An era is closing, with the end of an "institution" which marked the long and difficult progress of our Country during its social, cultural, democratic, technical and scientific growth.

A LOOK IN RETROSPECT

The birth of mass conscription goes back to Republican Rome, with the application of the "*conjuratio*" principle, according to which it was the people's duty to



by Giovanni Cerbo *

"respond to the Consul's summons when the motherland was in danger".

Leaving aside Machiavelli's doctrinal considerations which theorized the formation of people's militias for the defence of the State, we can say that conscription was concretely real-

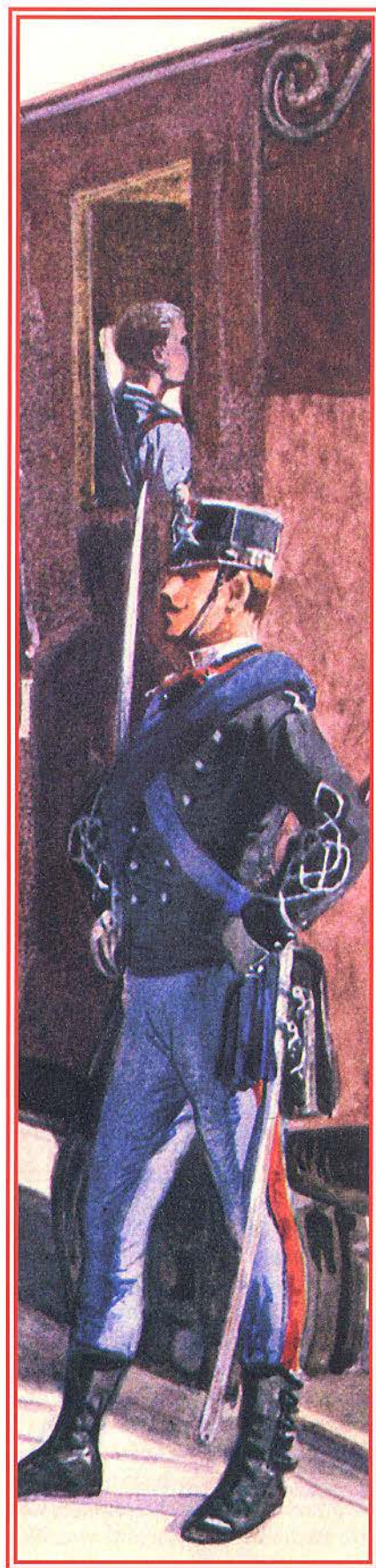
ized for the first time in France during the Revolution and then, with the advent of a bourgeois society and the acknowledgment of the concept of "Nation", was spread through all the European States of the 19th Century.

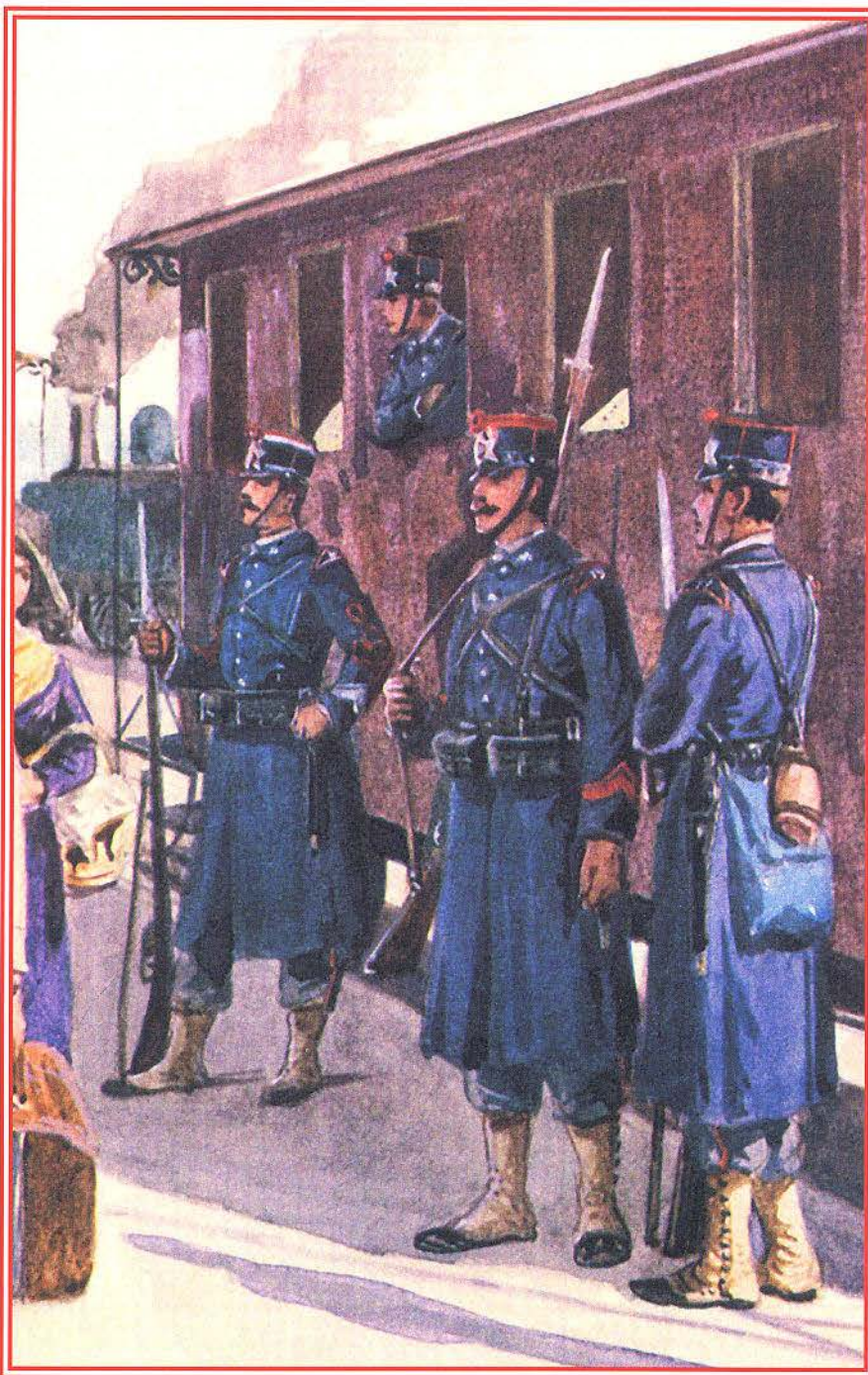
The new recruiting systems finds a fertile ground especially with the Prussian military class, engaged in the transformation of the old feudal army into an efficient instrument, capable of supporting Bismark's power policy.

Thus, the concept of "armed nations", based on mass conscription, begins asserting itself. Overcoming the bounds of the Jacobin thought, still anchored to a revolutionary enthusiasm, the new idea also aims at more ambitious goals, namely the civic and moral education of the young and, in general, the support of the national society.

The Prussian model is acquired by many continental Countries, including the young Kingdom of Italy, where the principle of "armed nation" is initially applied on the basis of the recruiting law of the Sardinian Army, supported by Minister Lamarmora and approved in 1854, in order to meet the strategic requirements of the moment.

The Country has just been unified and is understandably conquered by a strong impulse of renewal. There are many endeavours, especially on the part of the democratic left – which inspired also Garibaldi and Pisacane – to counter the idea of a "permanent army" with that of a "militia". But the heavy setback of Mentana convinces the Army staff to lay aside any innovation and confirm its idea of a large-structure instrument based on conscription, which was to be very selective, socially discriminating and with very long terms of service.





In 1875 a new law, inspired by criteria of greater fairness, sanctions the principle that the military obligation is general and personal, repeals the institution of "replacement" and, for the first time, introduces the "exemption for family reasons". Those who are able-bodied and not exempted are drawn into two categories: the first category is enlisted and the second receives only a basic training and is dis-

charged, to serve as a complementary reserve.

The term of service of the first category is 3 years (4-5 for the cavalry) and the Minister can discharge 1/5 of the enlisted strength for budgetary reasons. Still in 1875 a third category is established: it comprises the men exempted for family reasons who, although not obliged to serve in peacetime can be mobilized in time of war.

More legislative measures are adapted in 1881 and 1888, increasing the number of the cases which entitle to an early discharge, exoneration and exemption. The duration of the service is reduced only in 1910: a new law (Spingardi Law) reduces it 18 months.

In order to favour the amalgamation of the young men coming from the various Italian regions and to meet the new technical and strategic requirements connected with the use of the infrastructure and the defensive covering of the whole territory, the recruitment is based, as regards the selection of the place of duty, on national criteria. Sole exception are the Alpine troops, who are recruited regionally.

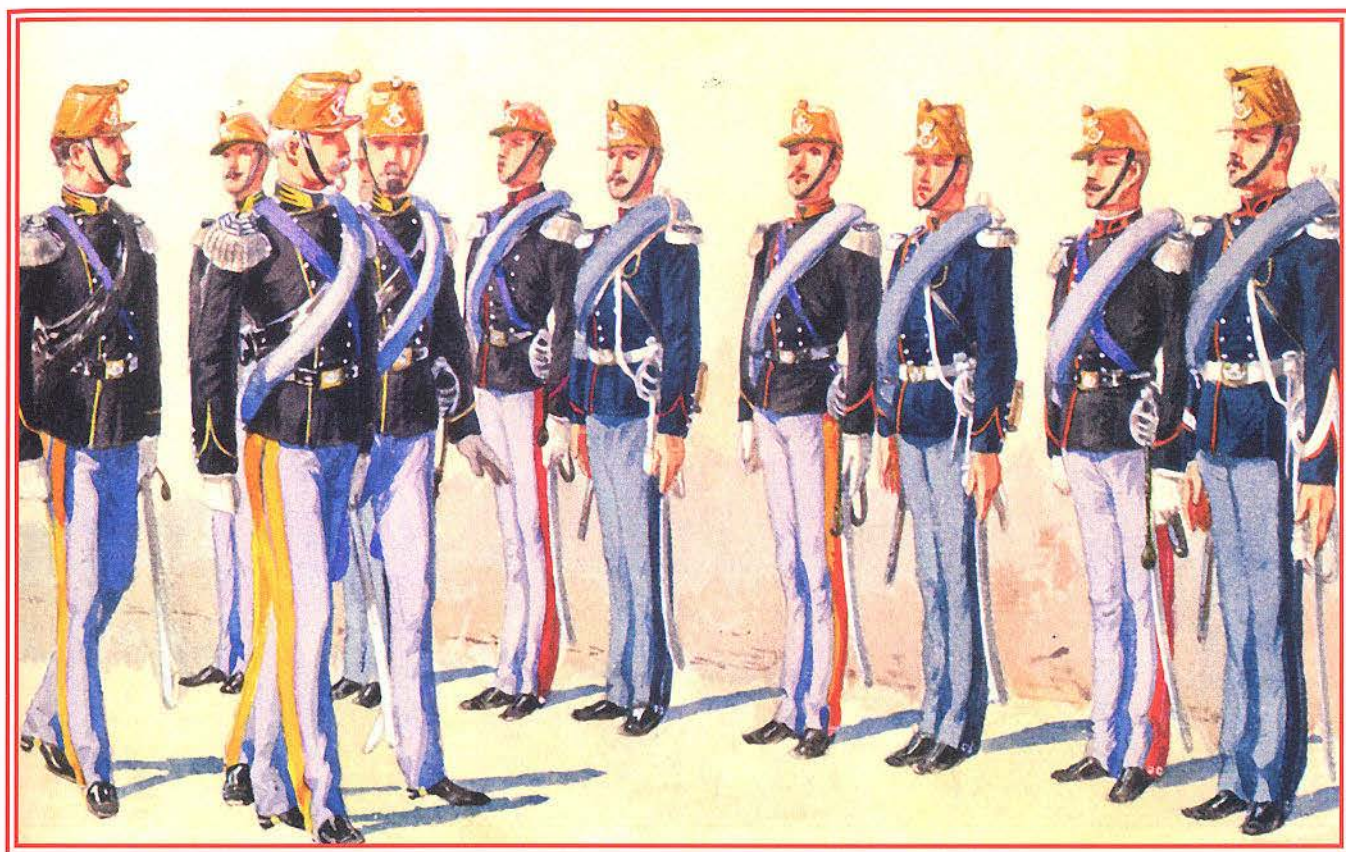
During the First World War there are continuous changes in the norms on conscription, which are aimed at sustaining an army of about 3 million men.

During the following 20 years, the courses for reserve Officers are stepped up (they were already employed during the war). Tanks to them it is possible to: cover the deficit of regular Officers for the organization of the units; meet specific technical/logistic requirements (medical officers, veterinarians, chemists, technicians); favour university studies; cream off the excessive number of conscripts; ensure the availability of Cadres for the mobilization of the discharged force.

The military obligation ends at the age of 55 until 1946; in that year it is reduced to 45.

During the first period after the Second World War, the General Staff of the Services do not hesitate to defend the conscription system, for they still consider it the only source of recruitment capable of meeting the new requirements of the organization (this opinion is shared by the Constituent Assembly).

The flow of conscripts is also balanced by a considerable num-



ber of “long-term specialists”. Unfortunately, this initiative immediately turns out to be a failure, due to the poor retributive and normative conditions envisaged for these personnel.

For about forty years, conscription is the object of a lively debate underlining its inefficacy, both for the good reasons connected with the ineffectuality of the instrument and for the demagogic actions conducted by various political quarters which, little by little, succeeded in convincing the Country that the constitutional precept is obsolete and, at this point, conscription is only a useless waste of time for the young Italians.

The effects of this campaign arouse a great deal of interest at parliamentary level, producing a “florilegium” of norms which cause a dreadful deterioration in the quality of the contingents. This is also due to the proliferation of the exemptions and the growth of the phenomenon of conscientious objection.

This complex scenario leads, slowly but inexorably, to the decision of transforming the Armed Forces into an entirely professional organization. The process starts with law 331 of November 14, 2000 and goes on through a progressive reduction of the strength, with the necessary gradualness in order to avoid structural imbalances.

Professionalism becomes an objective of the present government, which suspended conscription as of January 1, 2005, instead of 2007 as originally planned.

On July 26, 2004 the Chamber of Deputies approves the Government Bill “Martino” (after the Minister’s last name), concerning the anticipated suspension of conscription and the regulation regarding the fixed-term volunteers.

Thus, we are now at the final stage of an epochal event: the end of an “institution” which accompanied the history of our Country in its process of social, cultural,

democratic, technical and scientific growth.

THE IMPORTANCE OF A ROLE

Beyond the extent of the consensus obtained, conscription, for more than 140 years, has been a powerful instrument of moral aggregation, socialization and cultural progress.

At the dawn of March 17, 1861 two peoples culturally very different, suddenly find themselves united (and they do not even speak the same language, since at everyday-language level there is almost complete incomprehension).

Two peoples who are different even as regards religion, albeit sharing the same catholic creed (in the south there is a fanatic practice close to superstition, while in the north a strong anticlericalism is gaining ground).

Sea and drought to the south, mountains and rivers in the



north, with antithetic agricultural characteristics.

In the north, a growing industry and handicraft prevail; in the south, feudalism and autarchy.

The enormous task of unifying the Country from the social, political, moral and spiritual viewpoint falls to the Army, through the conscription system. Generation after generation, the inhabitants of Italy start recognizing one another in the ranks of the units stationed on the whole territory and begin to speak – or at least to understand – the same language, acknowledging Italy as their common motherland. The battlefields of the First World War do the rest, making all soldiers feel that they are defending the same nation: no village of the peninsula and its islands, not even the smallest one, remains without its war memorial, with its long list of fallen soldiers.

For many Italian young men *the barracks are the first masonry house, the first mess with tableware and regular meals and sometimes even the first pair of shoes.*

Luigi Settembrini, in one of his works, said that the Army was the *iron wire which sewed the Country together.*

But, besides being an iron wire, the military conscription was also an *ink wire.*

In the just proclaimed Kingdom of Italy there are 21 million inhabitants: 75% of them are illiterate and most of the others can barely read, write and count.

After 120 years, the census of 1981 shows that of 57 million inhabitants only one million and a half are illiterate, i.e. 3% of the population, most of them over seventy.

Pasquale Villari writes on "Il Politecnico", a review founded in 1866 by Carlo Cattaneo: *"the Army has assembled all Italians under the honour of the same Flag and is the most effective of all the moral, unifying and civilizing forces of the Country. Our Army is miracle of the Italian commitment and valour, since the distance that separates it from the best in Europe is infinitely less than the difference between our Nation and the more civilized ones.*

And then he adds: *Within our Country there is an enemy, more powerful than Austria: our colossal ignorance. It was not the four-sided stronghold of Mantova, Verona, Legnago and Peschiera that blocked our way, but the quadrilateral of 17 million illiterates and 5 million "Arcadians".*

Yes, it was precisely the Army that, with its conscription, began the difficult task of diffusing literacy among the masses.

The "Regulation of Military Discipline" of 1872 reads: *"Any soldier who does not learn to read and write will be kept under the Flags, even if his contingent is discharged".*

The Army's work for the cultural improvement of the masses was as commendable as it was exclusive, if one considers that only in 1911 a new law gives a real impulse to public education assigning to the State all the elementary schools which, until then, had been entrusted to the benevolent care of some religious organizations.

Benedetto Croce's dearest pupil, Luigi Russo, who was a teacher at the "Nunziatella" Military College and became Rector of "La Normale" University in Pisa, in his work "Military Life and Discipline", written during the First World War, when asked to give a series of lessons for the Cadet Officers of the Reserve (among them future politicians Palmiro Togliatti and Antonello Trombadori, who bear witness to the literary and pedagogic value of those lectures) wrote: *the Army is a school, a vast school, which also operates against another type of illiteracy, which involves also the cultured classes: civic illiteracy. Military education is a highly moral education: we need to be fully aware of this idea in order to see in the Army not only a war machine, once the war is declared, but also a vital body where the citizen divests himself of his civilian guise and wears the uniform of a militant in the*



Country's active service. All our life is a life of militancy, in the sense that our whole life is a struggle and this implies obligations, discipline and efforts. Also in this perspective, I believe, the Army is very educative, for it accustoms us to the idea that the struggle is a fundamental form of the human spirit and is intrinsic in all our life; because the virtues taught by the Army are the ones needed by man, the tough soldier of mankind. Because this is what we want: that the soldier should never be so much a soldier as to become less of a man. The Army is a school of public spirit, but also a school of humanity, since military life, in its ideal meaning, is not the profession of those who wear a uniform for a few years, but is simply the "moral uniform" of all those who are proud of being men.

Some years after the birth of the Kingdom of Italy, Defence Minister Della Rovere issues a decree for the discharge of all the Neapolitan soldiers who were compelled to march in 1857. The Commanders were urged to ex-

hort the discharged soldiers to behave, in all respects, as is becoming honest citizens and honoured soldiers..., not to marry before receiving the necessary authorization..., and keep in good order their personal belongings.

These precepts, which appear anachronistic today, were issued in an extremely backward social context, such as that prevailing in the southern provinces at that time, and are further proof of the educational effort that the Italian Army, with the application of conscription, has been making since the very first years of its existence.

In 1863 the same Minister organizes the smallpox vaccination of all conscripts who enter the barracks. It is the first mass-vaccination, an operation never seen before the union, aimed at preventing a deadly type of epidemic.

In those difficult years, the Army (and the other national military institutions, albeit at different times and in different forms) engages in a difficult educational activity involving all aspects of so-

cial life, to the point of stimulating in the conscripts the virtue of saving, as is proved by a circular issued in 1883 and signed by the Minister, encouraging the conscripts to deposit their pay in postal saving books, not only in order to benefit from the interests but also to spread the knowledge of that advantageous institution in the countryside, after their return to the places of origin.

CONCLUSIONS

Probably the short comments expressed above describe the fundamental importance of conscription in the social, political, cultural and democratic life of the Nation, better than more complex and subtle argumentations.

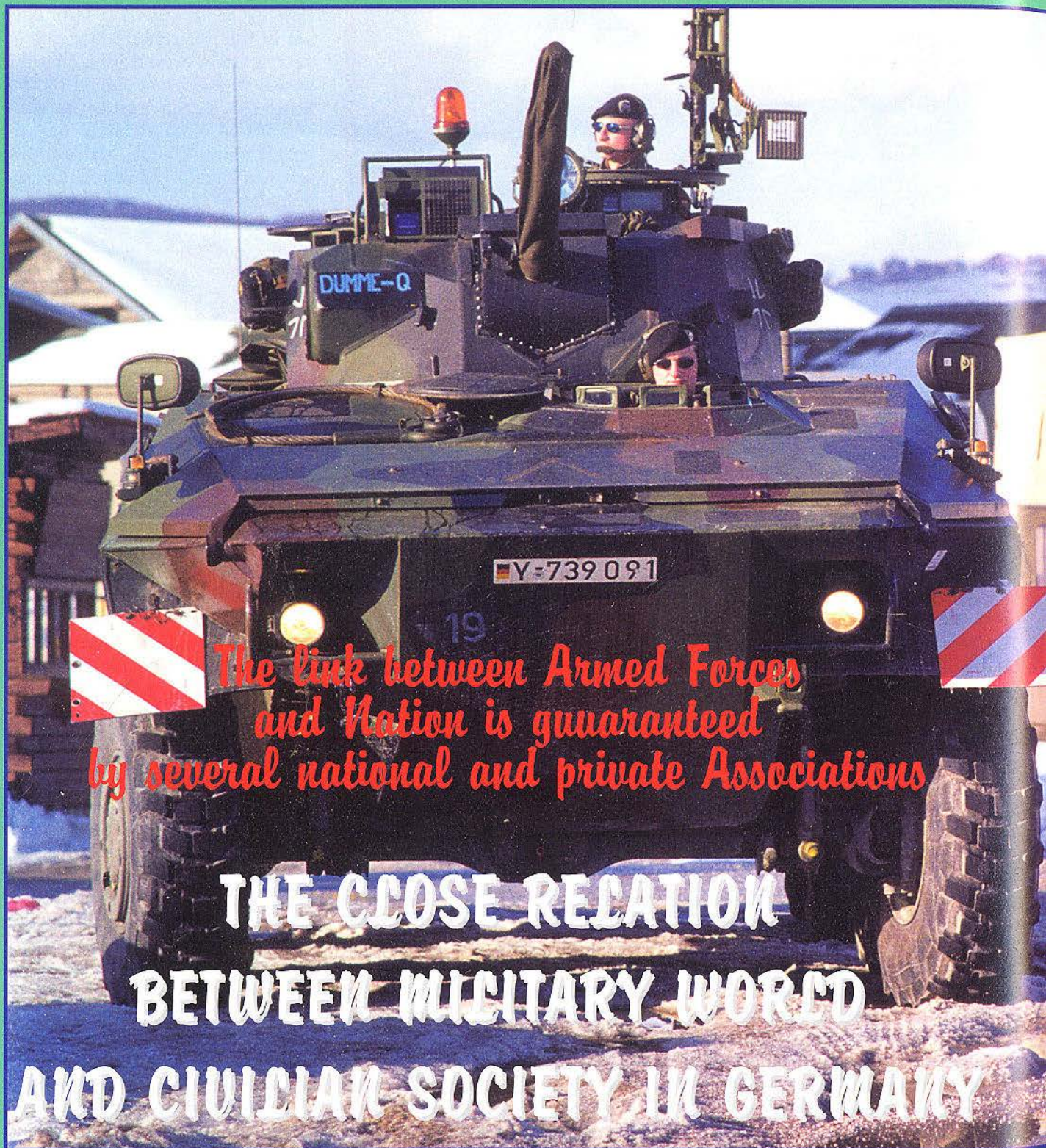
Conscription leaves us after more than one hundred and forty years of an educational and character-forming activity which was undoubtedly extremely important in the history of our Country.

The Armed Forces of today, setting aside all emotional implications, look at the future without undervaluing the risks of this epochal change but they are sure that they can rely, also in the new context marked by the presence of professional soldiers, on the authentic feeling and respect of the Italian people, who are fully aware that they represent an irreplaceable stronghold for their security and continue to be an extraordinary school of civil virtues, humanity and solidarity.

The old soldiers and the honest daydreamers may perhaps feel a bit of sad nostalgia. Yes, this can certainly happen. But there will never be a doubt that the coming of the professional soldier could ever dim in the military the memory of their ancient values.

□

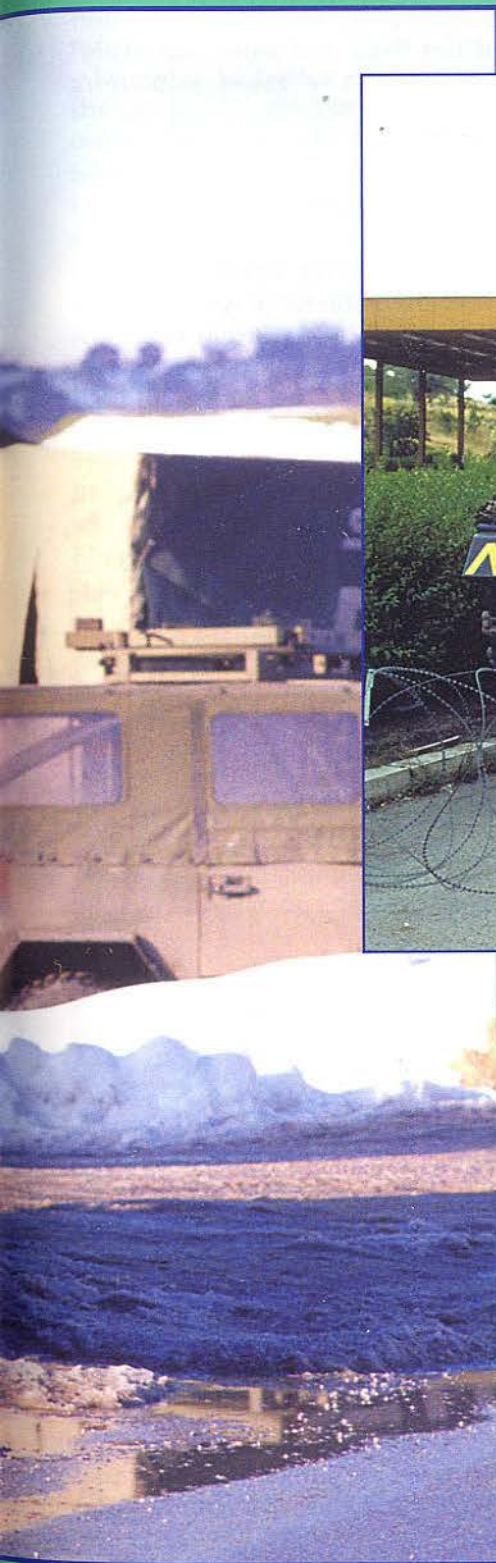
** Brigadier General (ret.),
former Editor-in-Chief
of "Rivista Militare"*



*The link between Armed Forces
and Nation is guaranteed
by several national and private Associations*

THE CLOSE RELATION BETWEEN MILITARY WORLD AND CIVILIAN SOCIETY IN GERMANY

*In the most densely populated Country
of Western Europe defence is considered an element
of direct interest for all citizens*



by Maurizio Sulig*

This is obtained by constantly seeking contact through different forms of association and with another well-chosen solution: the employment of a number of Officers and NCOs in maintaining relations with the young world, in order to kindle and keep their interest in the military reality.

The very concept of democracy includes the idea that security is a responsibility of the people as whole. The citizen's willingness to defend his Country is an indis-

pensable prerequisite for the defence of the rights and freedom of every man.

This is stated by the Constitution (Grundgesetz) of the Federal Republic of Germany, which thus

assimilates the will for peace and the capability of defence.

The deriving burdens and duties imposed by the State on its citizens for the equipment and training of the Armed Forces, as



well as the institution of conscription, whose preservation is not under discussion at the moment, make it indispensable to carry out a widespread and qualified action of communication and osmosis with society as regards the problems connected with the Country's defence and security policy, particularly towards the young who are approaching the age of conscription. These essential activities of linkage, osmosis and communication are performed, with excellent results, both by organizations which, in different manners, take upon themselves the task of representing the Armed

Forces towards the "exterior", and directly by the Bundeswehr, through the institutional (and characteristic) figure of the *Jugendoffizier*. Considering that in Germany the relationship between citizens and Armed Forces is particularly close and direct, that conscription is still the primary form of recruitment of all regular personnel (most high-ranking officers, particularly in the Army, started their career as conscripts, becoming professionals during their compulsory service) and that Defence in all its aspects is seen as a subject of public interest open to debate, it does not seem unfitting to devote

a little time to the examination of the "link and communication" factor in the most populous Country of Western Europe.

THE LINKING FUNCTION

Considering that the *Bundeswehr* refuses to acknowledge any possible historical or traditional connection with the *Wehrmacht*, the *Reichswehr* and even the Armed Forces of the time of Wilhelm II, in Germany there are no legally recognized ex-servicemen's associations, nor are there associations that could be compared with the Italian Veterans' Associations, owing to their role of gathering former members of a specific branch of the Armed Forces. The role of relation with society, promotion and information is performed, in different measures and modalities, by the "*Kameradschaften*", local organizations of former members of specific units; the "*Verband der Reservisten*", a legally recognised national association related to the Federal Ministry of Defence, which assembles reservists of the Armed Forces; the "*Bundeswehrverband*", another national association, legally recognized, which acts as spokesman for the Armed Forces' personnel with public opinion and the politico-military leadership, as regards wage, social, service and operational issues and is somehow similar to the Italian CO.CE.R.; the "*Förderkreis Deutsches Heer*" a private association assembling eminent members of the Armed Forces and the politico-industrial world.

THE "KAMERADSCHAFTEN"

These are local organizations assembling the former members of a specific unit and aim at keeping and strengthening a relation of acquaintance, respect and mu-

tual trust with the local communities.

In order to better understand the mutual relation of knowledge, confidence and trust binding the local communities to "their" units, it is necessary to remember that since the time of the great reforms of Scharnhorst and Gneisenau (the real founders – during the past post-Frederick's crisis and the Napoleonic wars – of the people's army) in Germany the military service has always had the regional character that in Italy, until recently, was an almost exclusive prerogative of the Alpine

equipped, trained and employed according to common standards and subordinate to the Empire's central authority. It was normal, within this framework, for the units to develop a strong sense of belonging to the respective garrison cities and vice versa. The relationship still persists today, particularly in the *Länder* of the former West Germany. It is usual, especially in the small towns, for most notables to have done their military service in the unit quartered in their home town.

In this picture, the *Kameradschaften* perform an intense and

tions. The reserve personnel hold very different positions, also at high level, in politics and industry (even if they do not reach the same levels attained in the Kingdom of Denmark, where the present Minister of Defence, Søren Gade, is a Reserve Major in the Jutland Dragoon Regiment). Many are Lieutenant Colonels or Colonels in the reserve and command non-active battalions or Regiments. In fact, in the Armed Forces' structure, particularly in the Army, there are "framework" units whose personnel consists entirely of reservists, who under-



troops. Furthermore, at the end of WWI the Second Reich was still formed by the federation of 4 Kingdoms (Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony and Württemberg), 3 Imperial Cities (Hamburg, Bremen and Lubeck) and 8 Dukedoms, Margraviates and Princedoms (Oldenburg, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Anhalt, Braunschweig, Schaumburg-Lippe, Lippe and Waldeck) each with its own armed forces, albeit

well-deserving role vis-à-vis the local administrations, in favour of the unit to which they refer, supporting and participating in open days and ceremonies concerning the Unit.

THE VERBAND DER RESERVISTEN

In Germany the institution of the Reserve has very old tradi-

go periodic recalls and are enrolled in organic units, taking part in exercises with Cadres and troops.

These personnel are assembled in the *Verband der Reservisten*, which has 137,000 members and about 2000 local sections that develop and conduct activities of information (security and military policy), and promotion (sports and social matters). Furthermore there are approximately 200



provincial and regional "centres" at *Land* level, for coordinating the subordinate levels and the liaison with the local civilian and military authorities. In addition, the association has a central structure at federal level.

It is also interesting to note that, in addition to the military personnel, retired or in service, any citizen can join the *Verband*.

The tasks of the association are: to guide the activities of the voluntary reservists, integrating the typically training ones already carried out by the Armed Forces; spread the knowledge of the problems related to defence and security; act as a link between Armed Forces and society.

Among the association's numerous activities we can note: the promotion and support of the Armed Forces' image in schools, also in parallel with the *Jugend Offiziere* assigned to the area (we shall talk about them later on) and through the constitution of Junior Groups; care of the interests of its members, through reports and points of view expressed by the Managing Committee to Parliament, Government and – if necessary (through the Secretary General) – to the Defence Minister; maintenance of close relations at international level; organization of conferences and seminars on subjects related to the security policy; visits to

units and formations, and participation in sports and military contests.

The philosophy of the *Verband der Reservisten* is to employ and strengthen the voluntary willingness of retired soldiers and other citizens to commit themselves in favour of the State and the Armed Forces, also as a pressure group.

It is worth noting that the *Verband* is independent and politically non-partisan; it regards itself as a part of the Armed Forces; it represents all reservists and offers favourable terms in the provision of certain services (credit cards, telephone cards, etc.).

THE BUNDESVEHRVERBAND

The *Bundeswehrverband* (Federal Armed Forces' Association) is politically and economically independent. It represents the interests of approximately 220,000 members (conscripts, active-service and retired personnel) of all ranks, as well as their families.

The association was founded in 1956, together with the *Bundeswehr*, after the principle of the "Citizen in Uniform", who basically has the same rights and duties of all other citizens.

The institutions acknowledge the association as a reliable and representative counterpart as regards service regulations and social conditions of the military personnel: within this framework it has a direct influence – or at least it pronounces its opinion – on the decisions made by Parliament and Government.

A recent political success of the associations is the new and more favourable set of norms concerning the personnel employed in operations. Another important measure was the voluntary access for women – which until recently had been limited to the Medical

and Music Corps – to all Branches and Special Corps of the Armed Forces. The appeal made by twenty-three year old Tanja Kreil, an electronics graduate from Hannover, against her non-enlistment in the Maintenance Branch (*Instandsetzungstruppe*) was supported by the *Verband* until the European Court of Justice delivered a favourable judgement in January 2000.

Also the law providing for the servicemen to appoint their own representatives for the discussion of all measures concerning social protection and assistance carries the “mark” of the *Bundeswehrverband*.

At present the association, firmly in favour of conscription, is very active in the debate on the

reorganization of the Armed Forces.

The *Bundeswehrverband* is a member of the European Organization of Military Associations (EUROMIL), whose President is a Colonel in active service, and is organized on 3 levels: the base, represented by 161 *Standortkameradschaften* and 519 *Truppenkameradschaften* (garrison or unit-level groups) plus 163 *Kameradschaften*, associated with an equal number of reservists and 308 independent groups (these *Kameradschaften* should not be confused with those mentioned above: they have only the name in common); the second level, consisting of 4 *Landesverbände* (each of them responsible for 4 *Länder*), subdivided in 34 *Bezirke* (dis-

tricts): the top is represented by the Federal Council, with Officers in Bonn and Berlin.

THE FÖRDERKREIS DEUTSCHES HEER

Relatively small as regards the number of its members but extremely influential as a lobby, the “*Förderkreis Deutsches Heer*” (FKH) – German Army’s Association – was founded in October 1995 as cooperation *forum* “for all those who feel close to the Army”. Within this picture, it aims at encouraging and keeping alive a dialogue between the German Army and the distinguished members of the German society invested with political,



military or industrial responsibilities. This triple reference is reflected in the FKH objectives and charter as well as in the composition of its steering committee and the extraction of its members, who come mainly from politics, the Army itself and the armaments industry. The association intends to increase the weight and voice of the Army in the democratic dialogue and to foster the understanding and awareness of the importance of its problems, in order to secure a

fence and armaments. As regards the security policy, the defence of the Nation's territorial integrity and the integrated defence of the Alliance (which are clearly mentioned also in the new "Ministerial Directives on Defence and Security Policy as the *Bundeswehr's* major duties), their practical implementation falls mostly to the Army, in that – in Germany – they imply the availability of considerable Land Forces and the recourse to the mobilization of trained reserves.

ering that 80% of the conscripts serves in the Army, the FKH believes that Government and Parliament should pay particular attention to the conditions of these personnel. As concerns the armaments policy, the FKH insists on the appropriations necessary for equipping the Army with modern systems, adequate to the missions, produced either nationally or by international consortia with German participation.

Thus the main objective that the FKH intends to achieve (and



wide and influential support to the Service's legitimate requests and needs. Therefore, in conferences, debates and seminars as well as through the press (also with its own bimonthly newsletter), it covers all the subjects related to the policy, security, de-

Germany, owing to its geopolitical situation, is a classic land power; also within the Peace Support Operations (PSO) in which the German Armed Forces participate under U.N. or NATO aegis, most of the burden falls on the Army. Furthermore, consid-

normally it succeeds) is to inform public opinion of these important characteristics and needs of the Army, pointing out to Parliament and Government the consequences deriving from their decisions on these particular issues.

A GERMAN PECULIARITY: THE JUGENDOFFIZIER

We have already underlined that the German Armed Forces believe, for reasons of image and consensus, that the problems concerning the defence and security policy and the relevant burdens and obligations, should be discussed and clarified mainly with the young, both as social group primarily concerned by conscription and as recruitment pool.

One of the basic elements of this communication activity is the *Jugendoffizier/Unteroffizier* (Officer/NCO detailed to the youth). He deals with civics (an important subject in all school cycles) and is a reference and an interlocutor for questions and inquires about security and defence policies.

In fact, the typical subjects that the *Jugendoffizier* deals with are: general notions on defence and security policy; German activities within the international Alliances and armaments control; NATO tasks, functions and strategic concept; the Armed Forces as a peacekeeping instrument, their duties, structure, equipment and capabilities; moral, ethical and legal foundations of the armed service; relations between Armed Forces and society; Armed Forces, conscription and professional service; events concerning the Armed Forces.

Although the *Jugendoffiziere/Unteroffiziere* do not carry out an institutional activity of promotion of recruitment, obviously the subject is regularly tackled during lessons and manifestations, especially as regards obtainable specializations, participation in operations, career possibilities and salaries.

At present the German Armed Forces have at their disposal 94 Officers with the exclusive task of *Jugendoffiziere* (Captains, Navy Lieutenants) with a provincial responsibility, flanked by a dual-task Officer/NCO in every battalion-level unit (1st Lieutenant, 2nd

Lieutenant or Warrant Officer). These personnel attend a three-week specific course, centred on the subjects mentioned above and on communication techniques. It must be underlined that the interlocutor must be able to perceive that under the uniform there is a young man and this favours a more open, participative and spontaneous debate.

The exclusive-task personnel intervene particularly at secondary schools, as "specialists" on specific subjects connected with the civics programme. On the other hand, the *Jugendoffiziere* often meet youth organizations (scouts, volunteer groups, student societies) or cultural associations, as well as Bodies/Organizations from the Ministry of Education, the Teachers' Unions and groups supported by the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Within this framework they offer their collaboration whenever there is a request for information on Germany's defence and security policy or for contacts with the Armed Forces. This cooperation is normally carried out through the participation in lessons, seminars or projects conducted by those schools and organizations, the offer of specific seminars/lectures and with the willingness to participate, as experts, in conferences and debates.

In this connection, it must be stressed that the *Jugendoffiziere/Unteroffiziere* are at the schools' disposal upon their request (albeit the invitation could be the result of contacts or offers from the military) and as specialists on specific subjects.

The dual-job personnel from battalion-level units deal mostly with the organizations of visits to military units and installations.

CONCLUSIONS

In Germany, defence is really seen and experienced as a subject of direct interest for all citizens, whether in uniform or not. It is

one of the primary functions assigned to the State by the social contract and must fit in with the principles inspiring State and Government, i.e. the expression of the people's democratic will.

But since communication is a "one-to-one" process, the Armed Forces and those close to them work in order to offer the citizen the opportunity to know and widen his knowledge, debating with those who wear a uniform.

All this is obtained by fostering contacts and debates, by "acting" rather than "reacting".

Most of all, the *Jugendoffizier* solution adopted by the *Bundeswehr* in order to communicate with young people, arousing and maintaining their interest and knowledge of the military world, as well as its "employment procedures", is in line with the times and, considering the number of interventions (in 2003: 3792 conferences, 739 seminars, 1926 visits to units and formations, with a total of 162,535 participants/visitors) are certainly a "winning" approach.

In particular, the activity at the schools permits to stimulate both the students' interest towards the military world (getting rid of stereotypes and prejudices) and to present the opportunities it offers, thus creating a basis for the future improvement of the average level of the personnel. Furthermore, the constant contact with the young population permits – and this is not a secondary factor – useful returns in terms of interests, "grey areas", doubts, aspirations and restraints connected with the perception/acceptance of the world in uniform by young people, on which to base or adjust the messages and the rules of communication.

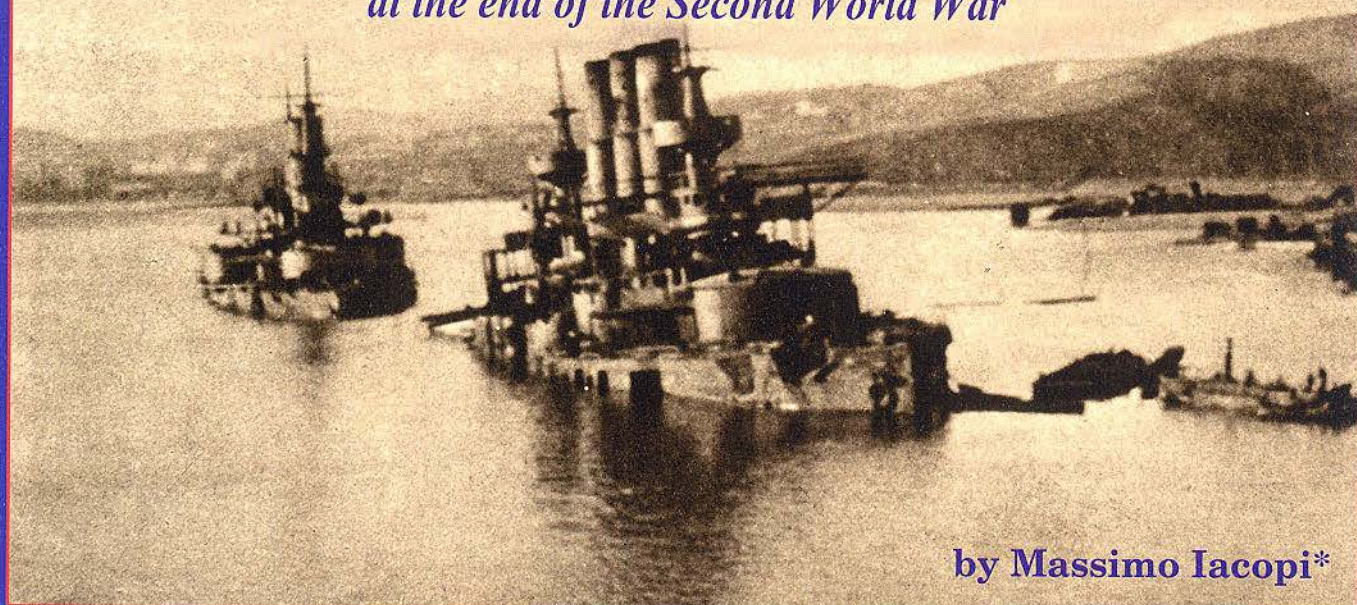
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* Colonel,
Army Attaché,
Italian Embassy,
Berlin

From February 8, 1904 to September 5, 1905, the powerful Russian and Japanese Empires clashed obstinately for supremacy in the East

THE WAR THAT OPENED THE DOORS OF ASIA TO THE RISING SUN

The Japanese victory began a long expansion period that culminated at the end of the Second World War



by Massimo Iacopi*

In spite of several recognitions coming from the victory (such as the territories acquired in Manchuria, the protectorate on Korea and the control of the southern half of Sakhalin island, the 80.000 fallen in action and the 450.000 wounded), the Japanese considered derisory these advantages.

Besides, Russia did not pay Japan any war damages for a conflict that had cost as much as six years of national product.

Thus Japan, since then, and until the bitter end of the Second World War, pursued with firmness the expansion of its already vast empire.

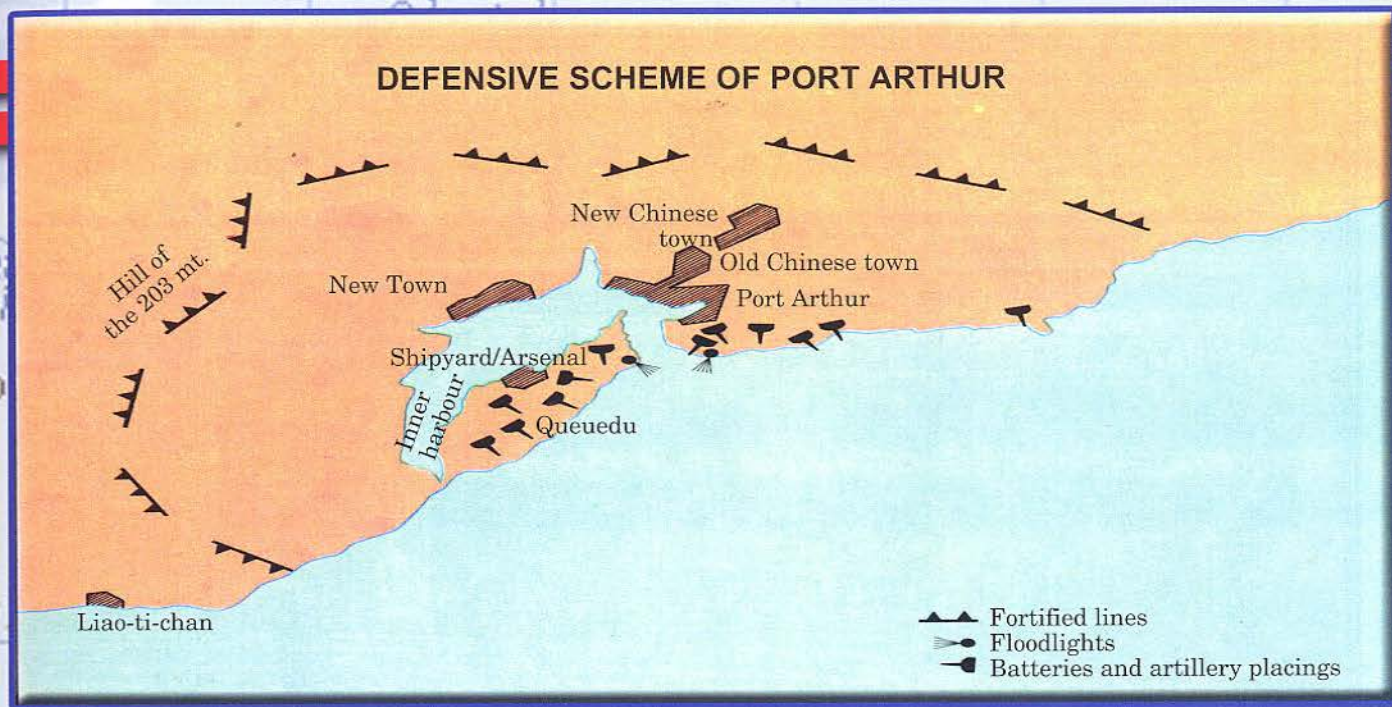
Russian ships in Port Arthur, after the attack of the night between the 8th and the 9th February 1904. In the forefront, the Retvizan battle-ship; behind it, the Zesarevich.



A Japanese trench in Manchuria, in the winter of 1904.



DEFENSIVE SCHEME OF PORT ARTHUR



Nicholas II Romanov



Matsu -Hito



From February 1904 to September 1905 two empires confronted in the Pacific Ocean. The control of Korea was at stake. The Russian-Japanese combats were characterized by a brutality that had never occurred before, and anticipated the cruelty of the First World War. These fights ended by leaving many open issues that would have a tragic epilogue in the century that had just begun.

At the dawn of February 6, 1904, a fleet of 55 Japanese warships left the base of Sasebo, in Kysushu Island. The military objective was Port Arthur, a Russian naval base in the Southern tip of the Liadong Peninsula, in China, seat of the Pacific fleet. During the journey, a part of the Japanese army sailed to the Korean harbour of Chemulpo, near Seoul, the capital. The two landing-places were exposed to the first Japanese attacks in the night between the 8th and the 9th of February. On the 10th, Japan and Russia went officially to war. This conflict was the point of arrival of a deep and old rivalry between the two empires. Since the end of the eighteenth Century, Russian ships touched the North coasts of Japan trying to establish commercial relations with the Empire of the Rising Sun that at those times was partially closed to the trade. The envoys of the Tsar, whose territory at that point fronted the Nipponian Archipelago, met with a flat denial from the Japanese, who had perceived that initiative as a menace for their autonomy and their interest.



THE JAPANESE ACCESSION

Japan began to open outwards in 1868. The policy of Nipponese imperial power begun in that year, aiming to exclude any interference in Korea that was considered as "the first defence line of the Archipelago".

With the 1894-1895 war, the Japanese managed to eliminate the Chinese presence from the Korean Peninsula, but they had to face almost immediately a much more dangerous antagonist: Russia.

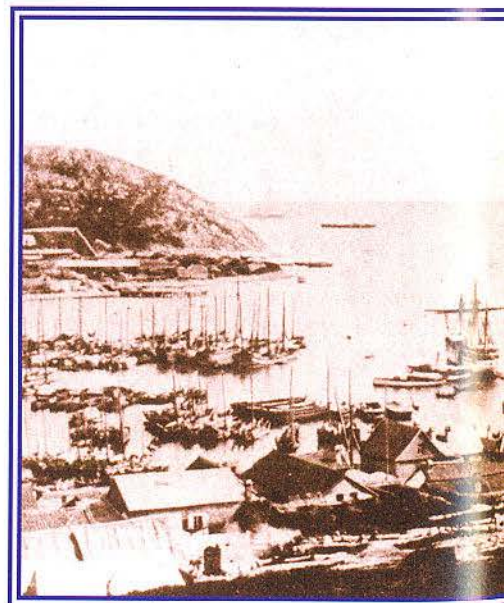
The Tsars' Empire, since the end of the Chino-Japanese war had been strengthening considerably its influence in Korea, managing to impose a pro-Russian government. The Japanese, trying to eliminate such interference, in 1896 ordered the murder of Queen Min, who was a predominant figure in the Korean court and a leader in matter of foreign policy. The action did not get the desired results but produced the contrary effect, because King Ko-jong, after the loss of his wife,

fearing the precipitation of events, took refuge in the Russian legation in Seoul, staying there for almost one year.

Tokyo and Saint Petersburg considered convenient to come to a compromise so as to reconcile their interests, and subscribed an agreement in 1898. With that document, the two Empires bound themselves not to interfere in the home affairs of Korea. Particularly Russia undertook to respect the Japanese trade interests in the Peninsula.

RUSSIA'S STRATEGY

The indifference of the Tsar towards the Korean Peninsula depended on the success attained in Manchuria. In fact, the Russian Emperor managed to obtain from China the authorization to build a railway crossing the Liaodong Peninsula, and the concession of the towns of Dalian and Port Arthur. The latter had become a formidable advanced military base, and permitted to operate in



all seasons (in winter, the waters of its gulf do not over), offering to Tsarist Russia, together with the railway, a permanent access to the Pacific Ocean, with the consequent possibility to keep Manchuria under its exclusive zone of influence.

Therefore, Japan benefited by an agreement that granted its success in Korea but – as the ac-

Left.

Russian artillery emplacements in Port Arthur.

Below.

Port Arthur Bay before the conflict.

Right.

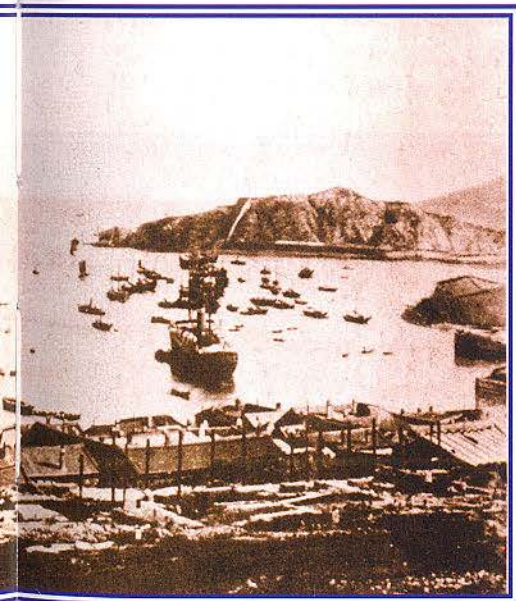
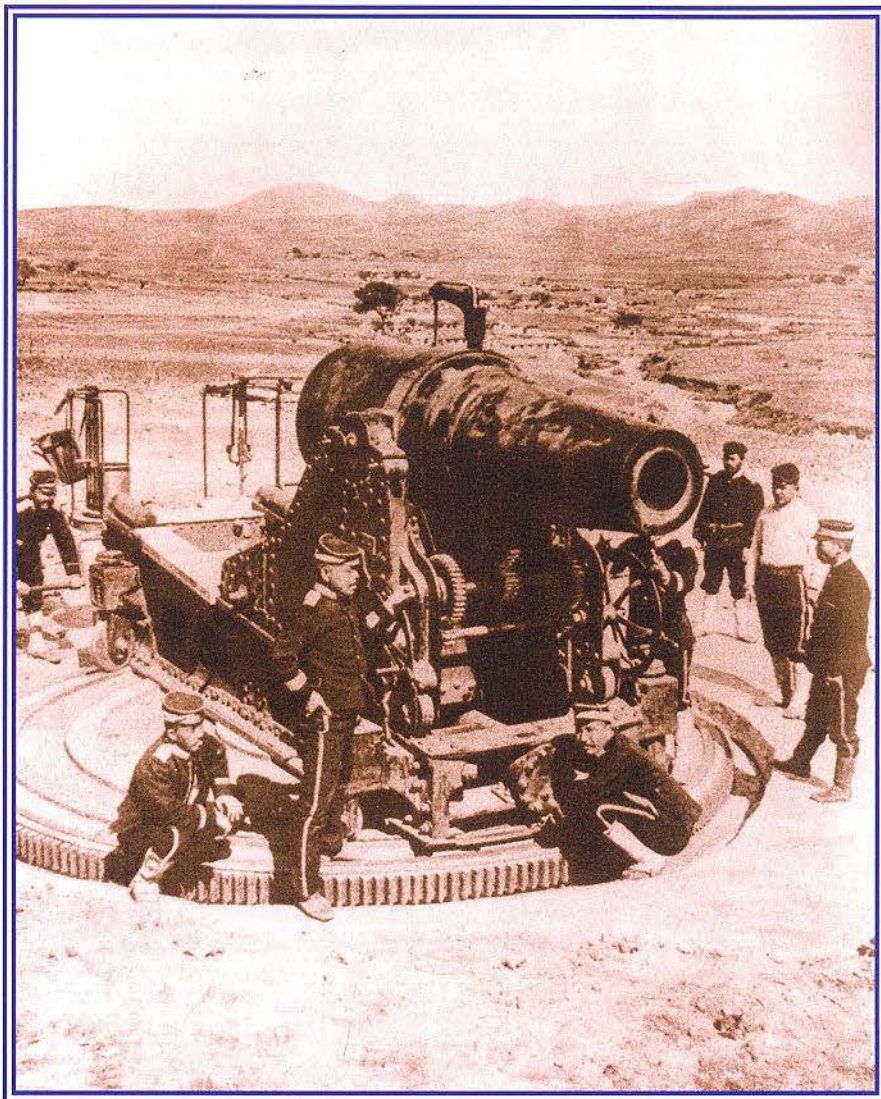
One of the 280 mm. mortars placed by the Japanese in front of Port Arthur.

Lower right.

The effects of a large-calibre Japanese gun on the "Orel".

cord didn't contain any real advantages – humiliated it, putting the Country in the condition of a loser in the dispute for the control of the area.

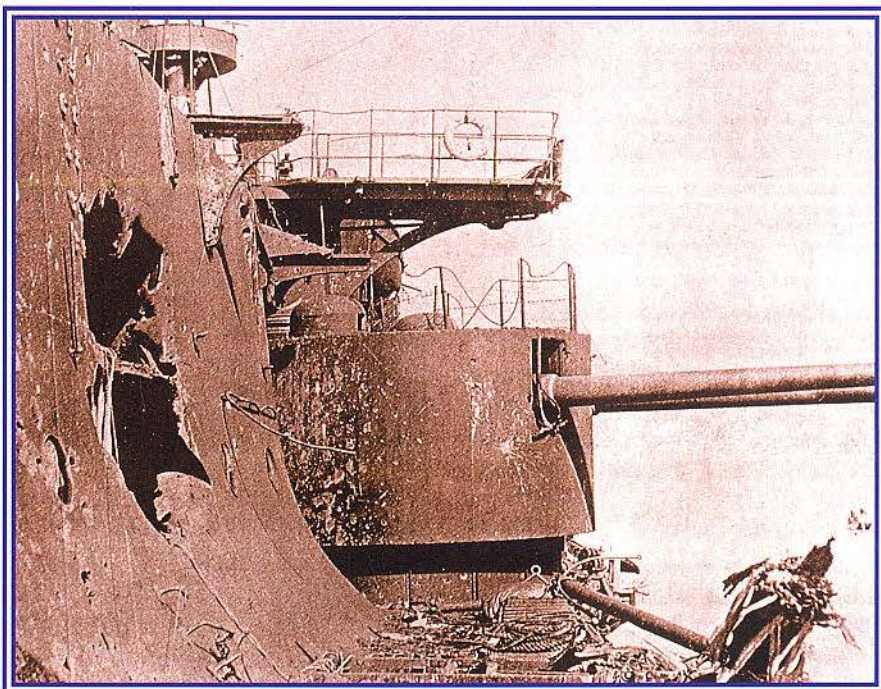
Such a setback and the consequent Russian advance in Manchuria put greatly in danger the possibility to maintain a significant predominance in Korea, which became more exposed to

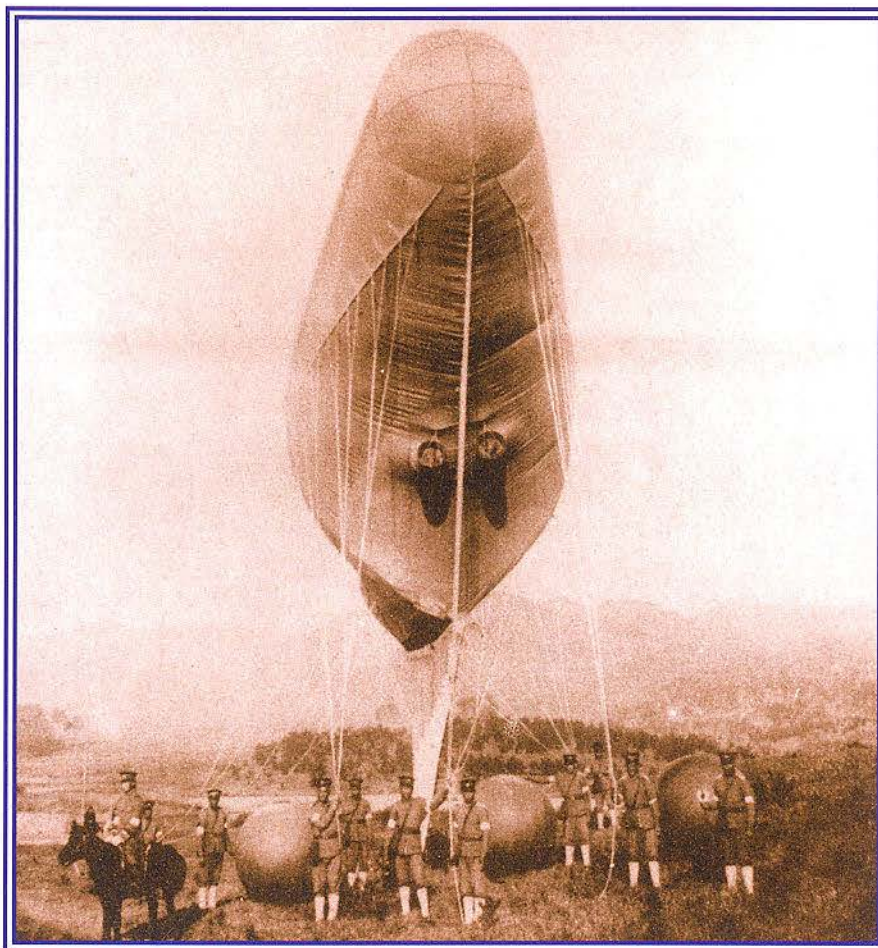


the Russian supremacy. The fears of the Japanese were confirmed when Russia, profiting by the "Boxers, Revolt" in China, sent 80.000 men to Manchuria.

THE PEACE ATTEMPTS

From 1900 until 1903 Japan and Russia tried again, in several





situation, Japan could not renounce the advantage of availing itself of the alliance with a western power, in an anti-Russian function.

With the Anglo-Japanese alliance, ratified in London in January 1902, the interested States warranted their neutrality in case of a regional conflict involving one of the subscribers. Nevertheless, if one or more States had attacked one of the two allies, the other would automatically give its military support. This swept away the menace of the dreaded French military intervention in

Left.

Aerostatic balloon used by the Japanese Army.

Below.

Japanese infantry camped near Port Arthur.

Right.

Scheme of the Tsushima battle.

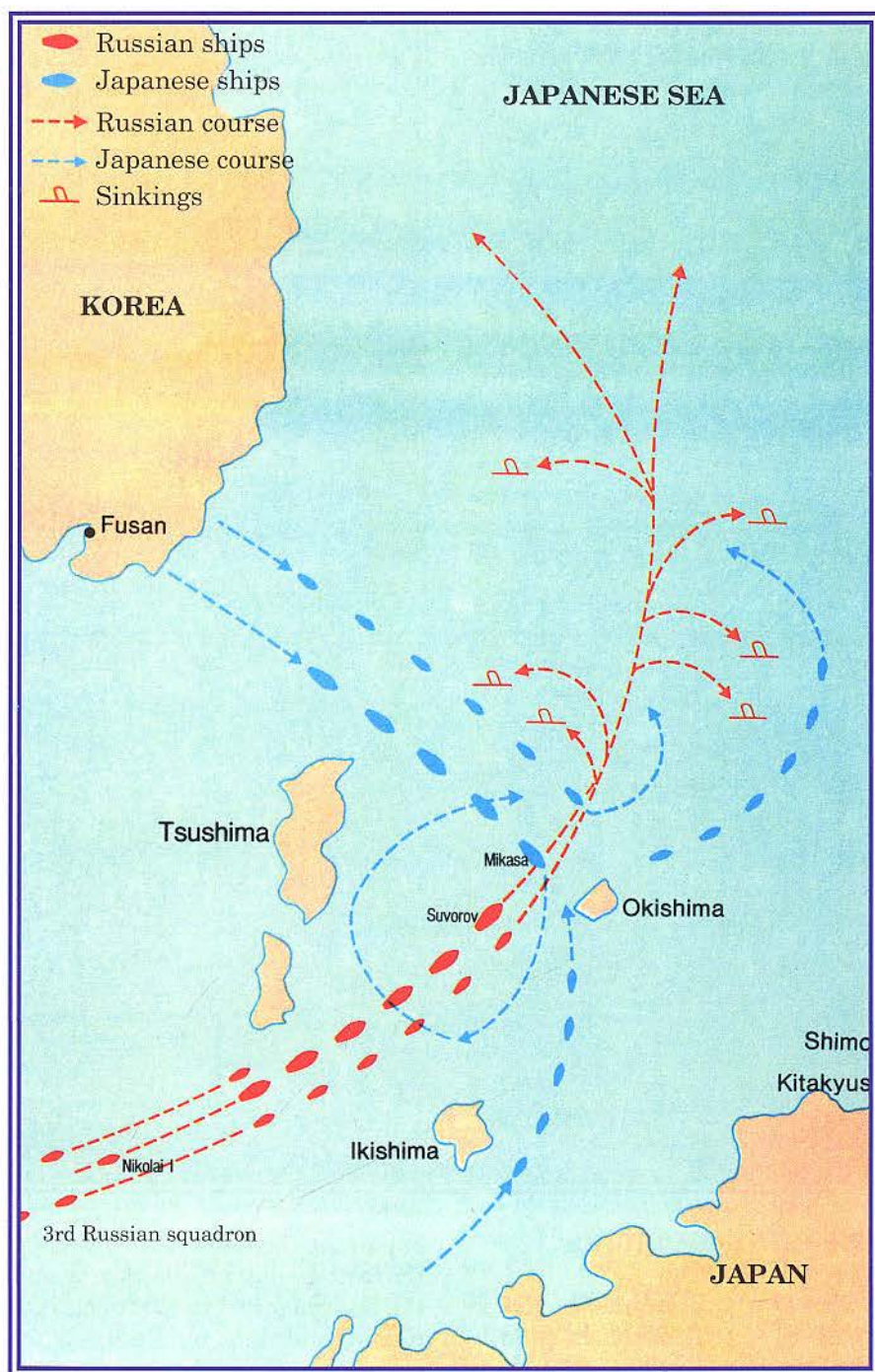
occasions, to settle their disputes pacifically. Intense diplomatic contacts took place between the two Countries and different opportunities were considered: the partition of the Korean peninsula, the neutrality of Korea under international guarantees, the Russian recognition of the prevailing Japanese interests in Korea and the contextual Japanese acceptance of the Tsarist influence in Manchuria.

Unfortunately, no one of these proposals found favour with the parties, above all because of the new alliance between Japan and Great Britain. In fact, also London feared the Russian aims on the region and the British didn't have at their disposal in the area effective means for a direct opposition. The bulk of the British troops in East Asia had been moved to South Africa because of the Anglo-Boer war that had begun in 1899. In that



the East on the side of Russia, because Paris had no interest to make war against Great Britain to succour the Russian ally wrestling with the Japanese. Such a situation allowed a conflict restricted to the two regional contenders.

Even though Tokyo had made choices going towards a war against Russia, however it was in doubt about the advisability of carrying out the project. Russia was a giant of 146 million people with an army of more than 2 million men. Japan counted merely 46 millions people and 1 million military. The comparison between the two Countries' Sea forces was even more unfavourable for Japan. The human and financial cost of a clash with the Tsarist empire was likely to be huge and the results of the enterprise could be taken for granted. That's why further negotiations continued with Saint Petersburg, even if discontinuous and unsuccessful, until the end of 1903.



IT'S WAR

The Japanese public opinion, educated to patriotic spirit and excited by the interventionist propaganda, pushed for war. At the beginning of February 1904, Japan decided to attack the powerful Russian empire and opened the hostilities some days later. The Russian, overcoming the surprise due to the first unexpected Japanese attacks, managed to

lead Japan to fight on a ground much more favourable to Russia: an unprecedented war of wear and tear. Trenches, iron-wire, machine-guns became customary and usual elements in the siege of Port Arthur, which went on for eight months (from February to September 1904) and anticipated hugely, with its brutality, the combats of the First World War. More than 15.000 Japanese lost their lives for the conquest of the

town, and the titanic battle of Mukden, in March 1905, gave the victory to the Rising Sun at the cost of enormous sacrifices. The Tsar, in spite of the defeats suffered in Manchuria, still hoped that the conflict could take a turn in his favour. Therefore, he decided to throw in the battle the Baltic fleet. The ships undertook a long and very tiring journey to reach the theatre of operations but, in May 1905, made the mistake of being caught by the cross-fire of Admiral Togo's ships, in the Korean-Japanese Straits of Tsushima. The epic battle ended by the total destruction of the Russian naval formation.



Above.

A 12 inches Russian battery in Port Arthur.

Left.

Sunday Mass in a church wagon of the trans-Siberian railway.

Right.

In Moscow, in front of Saint Basil church, an immense crowd participates in a "popular prayer for Russian victory".



THE CONSEQUENCES

The two opponents, both exhausted, at that point accepted to undertake further negotiations that, thanks to the good auspices of United States President Theodore Roosevelt, had success and led the two empires to subscribe, on September 5, 1905, the Portsmouth Peace Treaty. The Tsar was politically weakened by the comedowns suffered during the conflict with Japan, and plagued by an internal pre-revolutionary situation that he hardly managed to contain. Therefore, he made great concessions to the Japanese Empire, recognizing to

Japan the territories it had won on the battlefields in Manchuria and the legitimacy of its political, economic, and military interests towards Korea. Moreover, Russia surrendered to Tokyo the Southern half of the Sakhalin Island, to the North of the Japanese Archipelago. Despite the success obtained, the Portsmouth Treaty instigated a deep resentment in the Japanese public opinion, that had largely supported the conflict. The sacrifice of human lives and enormous resources weighted heavily on the population, that considered the war result de facto "undersold" by politicians. Japan obtained advantages that the people judged

derisory: the mobilization had subtracted from the national economy and the community as many as 1,300,000 men, of whom 80.000 dead in action and 450,000 wounded. Besides, Russia was not obliged to pay to Japan any war damages for a conflict that had cost like six years of national product. In such a crucial situation, the Japanese nationalism appeared strongly frustrated in its aims and the popular rage spread since the day of the signature of the peace treaty. Several revolts broke out in Nibiya and Tokyo. The crowd wreaked its resentment against anything it considered the symbols of the ruling class' defeatism. Police stations, government newspapers, ministries were attacked and set on fire. Then the fights expanded rapidly to the whole territory and on September 7 the Govern-



ment decided to declare the state of siege in the main cities of the Country. Public order was restored some weeks later, but the consequences of the revolt continued for a long time. For the first time, the disciplined Japanese people, with such a mobilization in the streets, appeared loudly on the public scene of a Country which was based upon a feudal system until a few years before, expressing their dissent towards the government, which they judged guilty of betraying the Nation, underselling the national honour and offending the Emperor himself with political compromises alien to the Japanese will and mentality. But the consequences of the conflict soon produced repercussions also abroad. The defeat of the Russian colossus by small Japan awoke the national pride almost everywhere. From the Jews in Russia to the Arabs in the Ottoman Empire, from the Indian Nehru in India to Sun Yat-sen in China.

CONCLUSIONS

The unexpected victory of the Rising Sun aroused enthusiasm in the crowds and in the leaders all over the world and, above all, conveyed a breath of hope to the numerous subject populations. The Empires, notwithstanding their muscles, appeared vulnerable and the liberation of peoples could be considered as a realizable dream. The conflict, in short, had vast consequences. From a military technical point of view, it was a useful test bench for new weapon systems like rapid-fire guns, machine-guns and smokeless powders, and also for the new tactical schemes imposed by the wear and tear war. Politically, the conflict contributed to crack the authority of the Tsar, especially inside his Empire, where the peasants were more and more exhausted by their very hard conditions. The alliance mechanism

will take the Russian Empire to the First World War from which, in 1917, will get off militarily beaten and, above all, upset by the revolution broken out in October of the same year.

Japan, and particularly its Army, winners but still unsatisfied by the conflict which had just finished, will pursue for a long time the complete domination of Asia. In fact, Japanese imperialism starts its course in this historical moment. In November 1905 Korea became practically a Japanese Protectorate, before being simply annexed in 1910. Since then, and until the bitter conclusion of World War II, Japan will have only one objective: to keep and expand its Empire and its alliances will be decided, each time, exclusively in function of that objective.

□

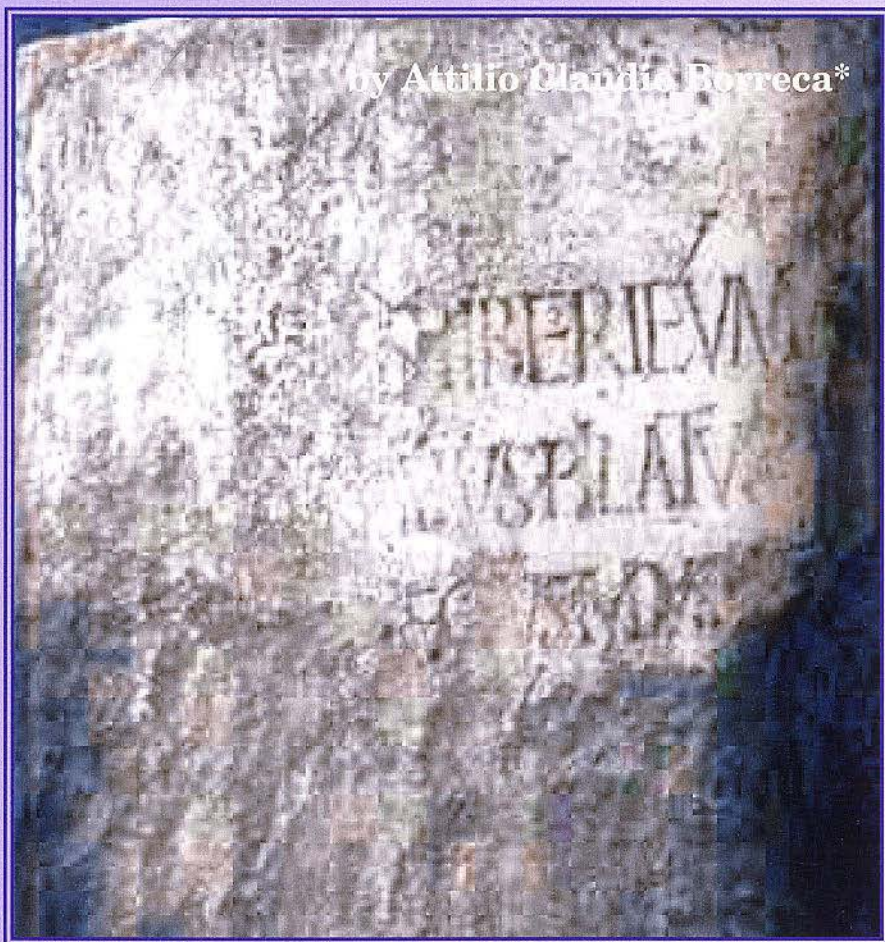
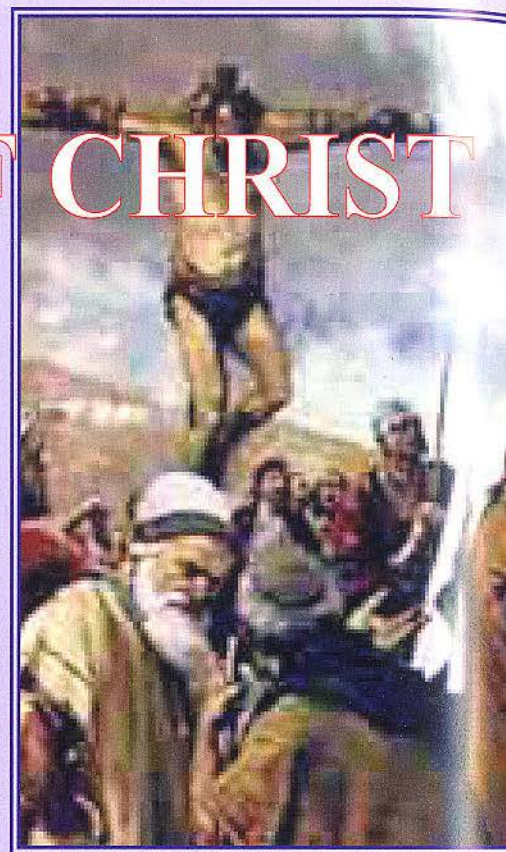
** Major General (ret.)*

Also from the purely historical viewpoint Jesus' sacrifice
is bearer of a timeless universal greatness

THE PASSION OF CHRIST

*The more the times, the juridical and social aspects
and the study of the Holy Shroud are analysed
in depth, the more the words and values expressed
by the Holy Writ are confirmed*

The crucifixion of Jesus Christ, for over two thousand
years has been one of the most studied events
in history. It is precisely comparing the historiographic
perspective with the texts of the Gospels that
confirmations continually emerge which involve
scholars and believers, unfailingly providing substance
for reflection that can cross the centuries and assume
always topical moral and ethical significance



by Attilio Claudio Borreca*

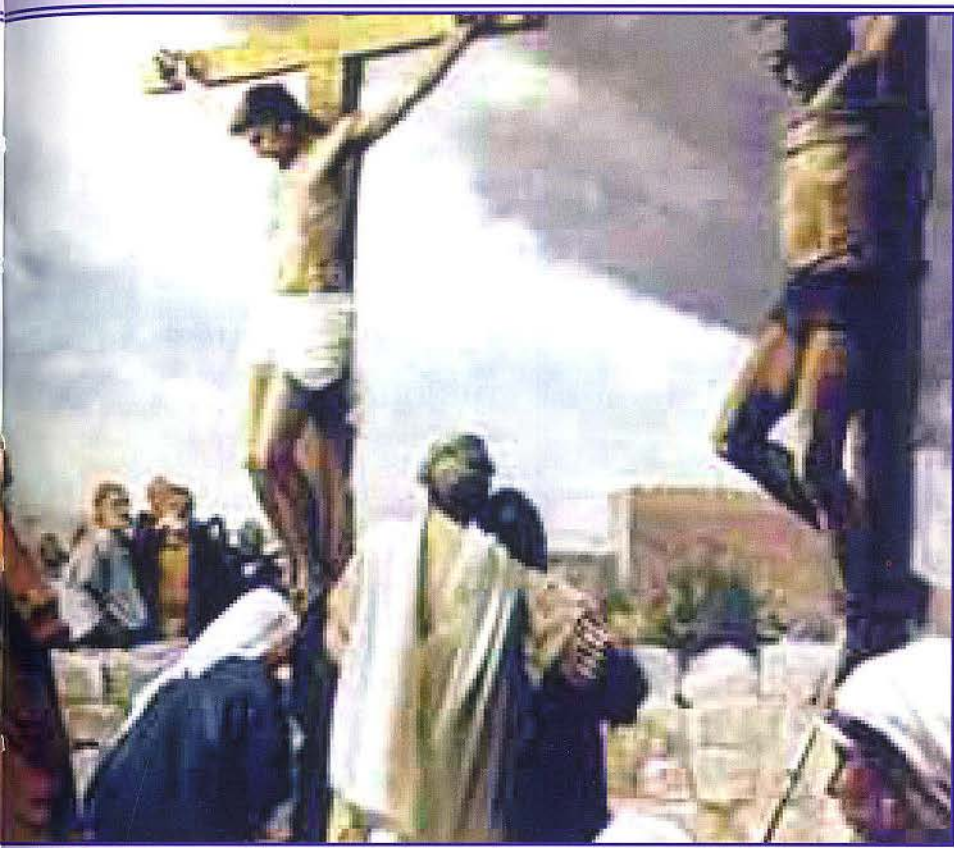
The Roman Empire stretched
on over 3,300,000 square
kilometres, i.e. almost the
entire world known at the time.
From the Pillars of Hercules on the
west, to Asia Minor on the east,
from Britannia, on the north, down
to the sands of Numidia and Egypt
on the south.

In particular, the area where
the events narrated by the
Gospels took place is the histori-
cal region of Asia Minor called
Palestine.

The Greek translators of the
Bible used to call by this name
the region inhabited by the
Philistines, on the Mediterranean
shore, bordering with Phoenicia
to the north and with the Egypt-
ian territories to the south.

Therefore Palestine means
"land of the Philistines. At the
time of the patriarchs it was
called Canaan, i.e. "traders'
land". The region inhabited by
God's people was also called by

Epigraph of Pilate.



ed to be killed, ordered the ferocious Slaughter of the Innocents.

On his death, in 4 B.C., his descendants started struggling for the succession to the throne.

In this climate of family disputes, the Roman Emperor, Caesar Augustus, divided Palestine into four tetrarchies entrusting them to some of Herod's sons: Idumea, Judea and Samaria where assigned to Herod Archelaus; Galilee and Peraea to Herod Antipas; Gaulanitides, Auranitides and Traconitides to Herod Philippus; the fourth region became a possession of Salome, sister of Herod the Great.

Naturally this decision of the Roman Emperor was prompted, more than by the wish of pleasing

Left.
The crucifixion on Mount Golgotha.

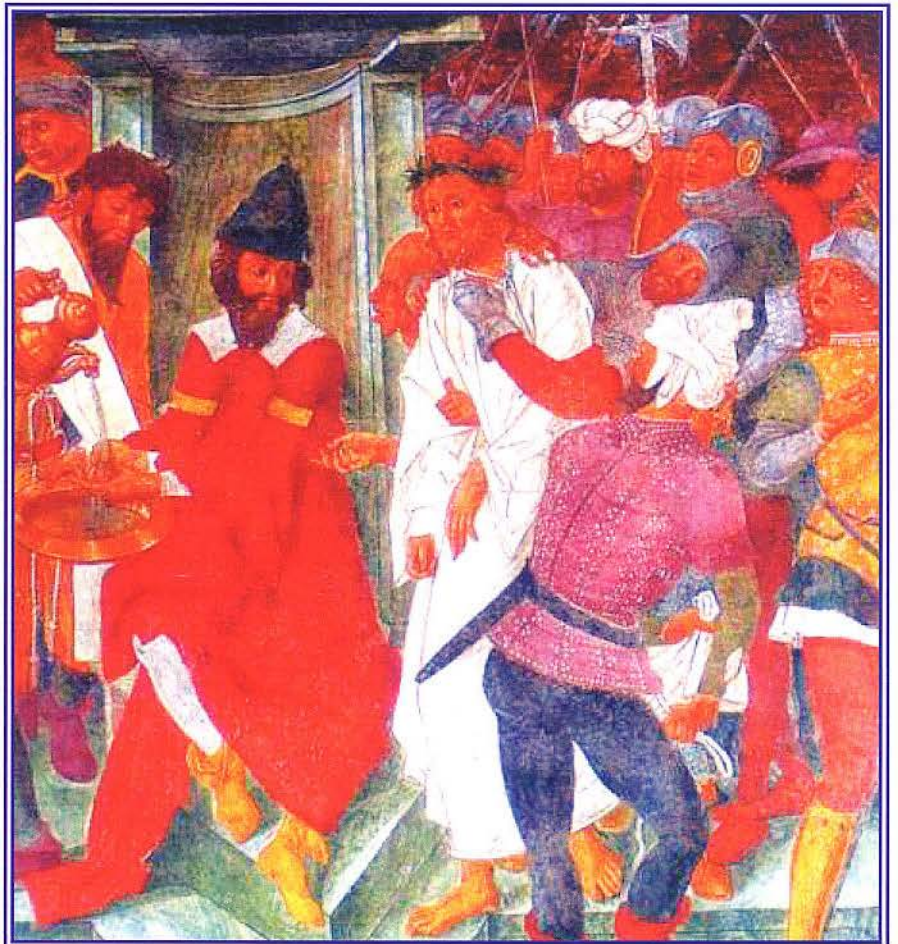
Below.
Jesus with Pontius Pilate.

other names: "land where milk and honey flow (Zacharias 7,14), "promised land" and "holy land" (Zacharias 2,16).

This region is very important from the historical and particularly from the religious point of view, since Jews, Christians and Moslems take the root of their religion there. At Jesus' times it included: Idumaea, with the city of Masada, Judea, whose main cities were Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Arimathea, Jericho; Galilee with Nazareth, Capernaum, Cana; Samaria; Peraea, with the city of Bethany; Decapolis; Gaulanitides, Auranitides and Trachonitides.

In 42 B.C., after many ups and downs and fierce fights against other royal dynasties, Herod the Great succeeded in having himself elected King of Palestine.

During his despotic and cruel rule, the Magi, who were coming from the east, naively asked him where the little King of the Jews was born and he, not knowing which was the baby that he want-



Herod's heirs, by the famous saying "*divide et impera*".

The first of Herod's sons to lose power was Archelaus in 6 A.D. He was dethroned by the Romans and exiled to Vienne, in Gaul. Augustus decided not to entrust the tetrarchy to another member of Herod's family and turned the region into a Roman province assigned to a *praefectus* (procurator).

The decision was not appreciated by the Judeans who considered it particularly negative since it imposed upon them the rule of a pagan. The first procurator sent from Rome was Proconius, who was succeeded by Marcus Ambibulus (9 A.D.), Annius Rufus (12 A.D.) – during whose rule Augustus died and was succeeded by Tiberius (14 A.D.) – Valerius Gratus (15 A.D.) and, from 26 A.D. to 36 A.D., by Pontius Pilate.

PONTIUS PILATE

Legend has woven many thick embroideries around Pilate's name, but what history says about him is more than enough to make him a real character.

Since ancient times he has been a symbol: the man who "washes his hands" of something, who condemns an innocent despite his acknowledging him as such.

Very little is known about his life. A meagre information about his existence comes from Roman historian Publius Cornelius Tacitus (1) who, in a passage of his "*Annales*" writes: Christians derive their name from Christ who, under Tiberius Caesar Augustus' rule was condemned to death by order of procurator Pontius Pilate". In 1961, furthermore, a memorial tablet was found in Caesarea on a building dedicated to Emperor Tiberius. The meaning of the inscription, dated 31 A.D., is : *Pontius Pilate procurator of Judea had this building erected in Tiberius' honour*.

These are the only secular memories of the man responsible for history's most tragic miscar-

riage of justice. Certainly Pilate could not foresee that his fame would be assured precisely by the Galilean that he had condemned to the cross on a spring morning.

Billions of men who have believed and will believe that the crucified man was the son of God, remember in their profession of faith – the "Creed" – the name of the Roman procurator who is thus the only personage of ancient times assiduously remembered through the centuries.

In 26 A.D. Pilate had landed at Caesarea of Palestine, the administrative capital of the Roman province of Judea, as procurator of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, Emperor of Rome.

He was probably not enthusiastic about the assignment to a far-away province of the Empire. Furthermore Pilate, a shrewd politician who harboured a strong dislike for the Judeans, knew very well that he was going to deal with the country's moral and religious capital, Jerusalem, and with the Judeans, proud of their numerous privileges.

The Romans, in fact, were ruling the provinces with highmindedness and moderation, and were satisfied with the honours paid to them while respecting the local laws and religion. For example, the Jews were dispensed from the cult of the Emperor and from military service, had the right to collect from their fellow-countrymen scattered all over the world a tax in favour of the Temple of Jerusalem, and even the Roman citizens were condemned to death if they dared to cross the Temple's fence.

The procurator was the Emperor's representative and ruled with full powers, including that of life and death but in practice he intervened only in exceptional cases, leaving an ample decision-making power to the local authorities, in both civil and penal matters.

The real leader of the Jewish nation was the High Priest of Jerusalem, who presided over the Sanhedrin, the supreme religious

tribunal. The Roman procurator was accepted with reluctance, since he was considered the high watchman of a foreign master who was also a pagan, and as such was disliked by the Jewish people, who only recognized God as their King, linking their Messianic hopes to the dynasty of David, the most glorious King of Israel, who had received his investiture directly from God.

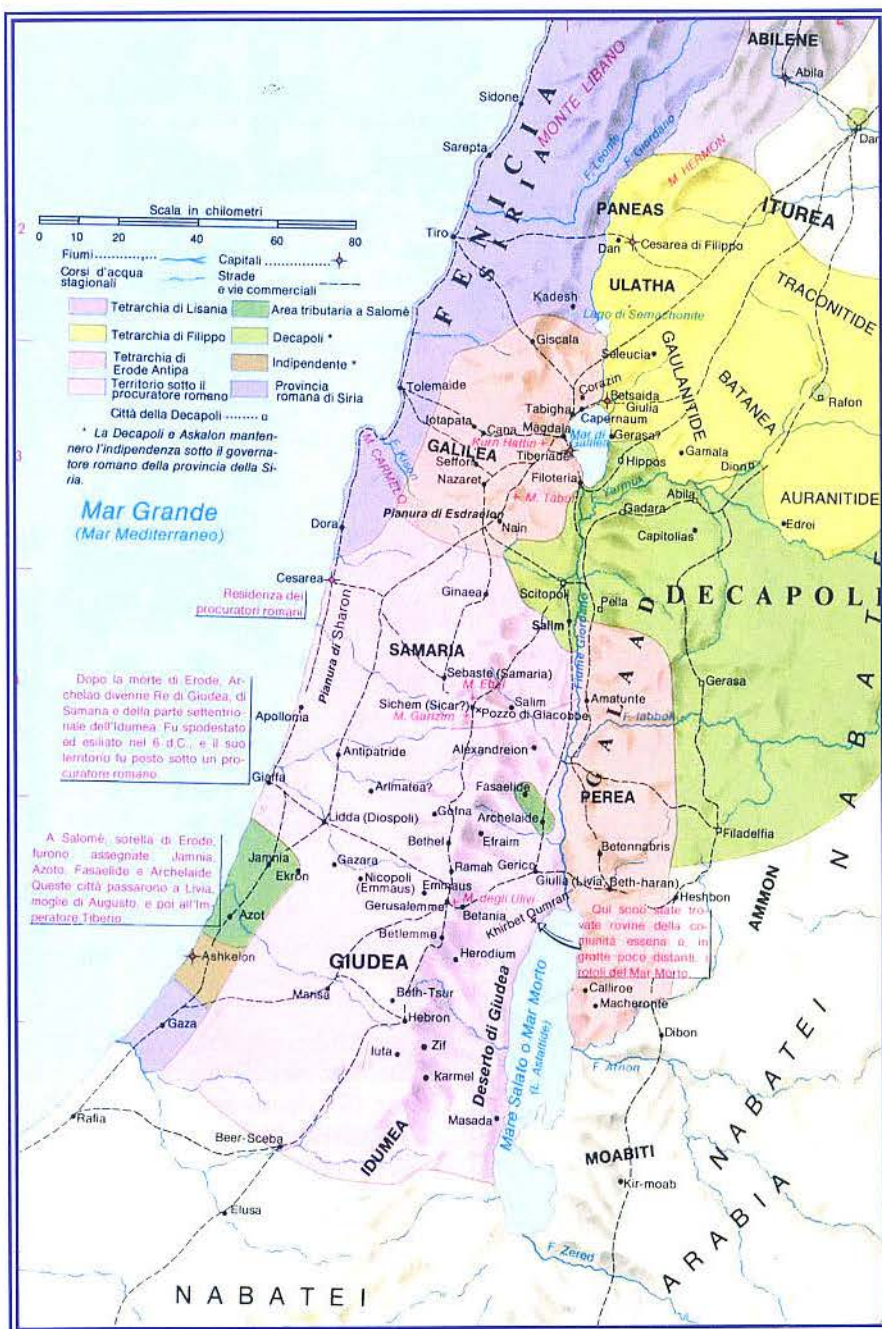
THE TRIAL

It was Easter Day of 30 A.D., a feast which, according to the Jewish law, was celebrated to commemorate the liberation of the people of Israel from the age-long Egyptian slavery and, like every year, the Roman procurator had gone to Jerusalem for the celebrations. Some might consider it strange that we mention 30 A.D. while, according to the Catholic tradition, Jesus died when he was 33 years old. In fact, there are many contradictions about the date of Jesus' birth, and even Evangelists Luke and Matthew place the Nativity in two completely different historical moments. The explanation is well known. The present dating is wrong because Jesus was born at least four years earlier than is generally believed. The miscalculation was done by Dionysius the Small, a Scythian monk who lived in Rome in 496 A.D., and was entrusted with perfecting the computation for dating Easter, in accordance with the decisions of the Council of Nicaea. The monk set the date of the Redeemer's birth in the 754th year after the foundation of Rome. This was not correct, since we know that Christ was born during the reign of Herod the Great, who lived in Jerusalem until 6 B.C. then moved to Jericho, where he died a few days before the eclipse of March 13, 4 B.C., a little before Rome's 750th birthday. Therefore, historians take 6 B.C. as the reference year for further investigations. On the other hand Matthew the Evangelist describes a great

shining star which guided the Wise Men coming from the distant East. The astronomers have explained that it was not a star but an astronomic phenomenon: the conjunction, i.e. the approaching of two planets, Jupiter and Saturn, in the constellation of Pisces which gave the impression of a union into a single very luminous star combining the brightness of both planets. This phenomenon recurs every 854 years but, according to neo-Babylonian observations made by the ancient astronomical school of Siffar, deciphered in 1925 by German scientist Schnabel, the extraordinary event happened as many as three times in 7 B.C. Another historical event must be added, albeit not accepted by everyone. Luke writes in his Gospel that Jesus was born during the census called by Publius Sulpicius Quirinus, governor of Syria, and immediate superior of the *praefectus Romanus* and of Herod's tetrarchs. Some historical sources, including Flavius Josephus, mention a census decided by the Romans in Palestine for clearly fiscal purposes, but that was only in 7 B.C., while other sources say that Quirinus held two censuses: one in 7 B.C. as governor of Syria and another in 6 B.C. in his capacity of high official, together with Santius Saturninus.

On the eve of the celebration, Pilate was informed that the distinguished members of the Sanhedrin had brought an accused, a Jesus from Nazareth, outside his residence.

The procurator had to accept to come out of his palace since the Jewish notables could not enter it, in order to avoid becoming unclean, which would exclude them from the Easter celebrations. The first approach with the Sanhedrin's notables was rather polemic, then Jesus was accused of inciting the Judeans to disorder, preventing them from paying



their tribute to Caesar and aspiring to messianic kingship.

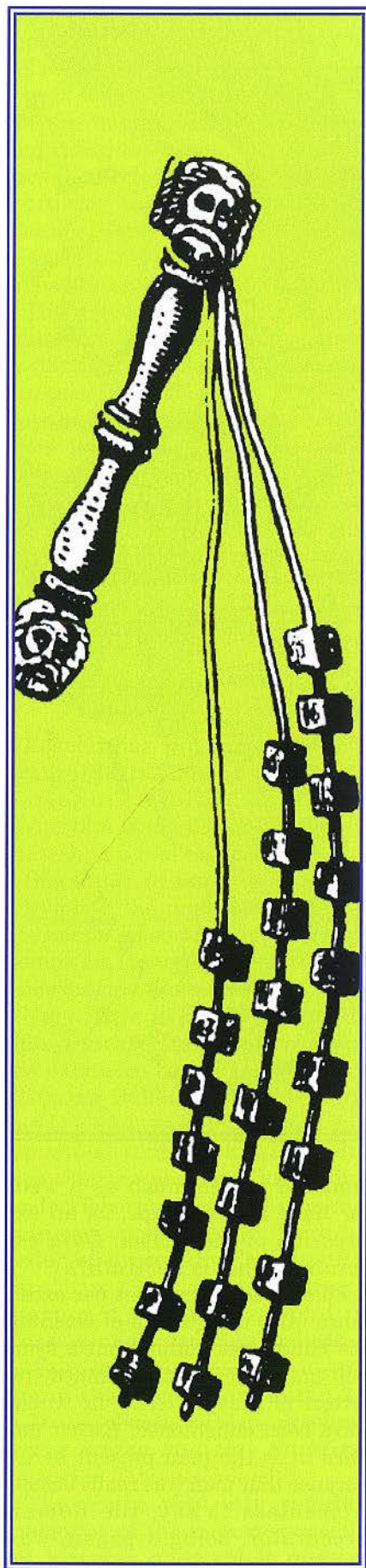
Pilate, aware that Emperor Tiberius was very willing to punish lese-majesty, could not disregard the question but, not trusting the Sanhedrin's zeal, decided to interrogate the accused personally.

During the interrogation, Jesus explained to the procurator that his kingship was not of this world and, as reported by John's Gospel, he had come to *give testimony to the truth*. Pilate then asked a question that, on his lips,

sounded not so much as a wish for light but, perhaps, as an expression of scepticism: *Quid est veritas?* (What is the truth?).

Pilate was a symbolist par excellence (also the gesture of washing his hands was nothing but a symbol) and, had he anagrammed the letters of that sentence, he would have been enlightened: *Est vir qui ades* (it is the man present here), because that man was really Jesus.

Needless to say, the Roman procurator, being a pagan, was not interested in a speech about



A Roman flagrum.

truth, but what he heard convinced him that the Nazarene was harmless, and this was enough to make him proclaim Jesus' innocence. Besides, his public activity was well known to Pilate. When the procurator expressed his opinion to the Sanhedrin, his statement was received with a storm of renewed accusations against the Nazarene.

Pilate could not understand why Jesus, despite his insistence, did not defend himself. Still being convinced of the Sanhedrin's envy, was not ready to give in. When he heard the crowd's yells, according to which Jesus had commenced his seditious activity in Galilee, he took advantage of the presence in Jerusalem of Herod Antipas, tetrarch of the region, and sent the prisoner to him, hoping that the Judean prince, with his expertise in Jewish quarrels, could dampen the Sanhedrin's rage. But his hope was frustrated.

Before the man who had not hesitated to sacrifice the head of John the Baptist for a dancer, Salome (3), Jesus was impenetrable and silent. Herod found nothing better than dress him with a flashy tunic to make him look like a farcical king and sent him back to Pilate.

The procurator, who was more and more convinced of Jesus' innocence, in order to avoid provoking the chiefs of the Sanhedrin even more, was ready to deliver the Nazarene to the floggers to inflict only a punishment on him. But then he had a brainwave.

Since it was customary for the Roman authority to release a prisoner during Easter time, he submitted to the people the choice between Jesus and a murderer named Barabbas, certain that the crowd would not dare to prefer the latter. But he had not considered the Sanhedrin's craftiness, which convinced the mob to ask

for the liberation of the assassin and the cross for Jesus.

Meanwhile the Pilate's wife, Claudia Procula, warned him to be very careful about his decisions, since she had had a bad dream about that "Just Man" who had been described to him as a criminal. The Romans were superstitious and still remembered how Calpurnia, Julius Caesar's wife, the night before the fatal ides of March had had a dream about her husband riddled with stabs and had begged him in vain not to leave the house.

After a new and threatening demand for Jesus' death, the procurator declared, publicly and solemnly, that according to Roman law nothing could justify a death sentence and, with a gesture endorsed by both Judean and Roman custom, washed his hands saying: *"I am innocent of this blood, it is your concern"*.

Then, when he presented Jesus, bruised and bleeding, to the crowd and said: *"Here is the Man"* in an extreme attempt to overcome the Sanhedrin's obstinacy, the real charge came out: *"Jesus has made himself the son of God and according to our law he must die"*.

Pilate, scared by these words, realized that he was in a blind alley. It was religious charge which he was unqualified to judge and on which the Sanhedrin had already pronounced its opinion. The procurator knew from experience that when their laws were involved, the Jews were always capable of supporting their case before the Emperor. The final accusation of lese-religion advanced against Jesus could not be judged by him.

When Pilate reproached Jesus for not helping him in his attempt to save his life, he said: *"You would have no power on me if it had not been conferred upon you from high above; because of this he who delivered me to you has a greater guilt."*

The Jewish and Greek linguistic practice of the time give these last words a precise meaning: who was

really responsible for what was happening was the Sanhedrin, which had involved Pilate in the hope of convincing him to condemn Jesus on political grounds.

Pilate was therefore entangled in the trial: the Sanhedrin could not execute a death sentence, for which it needed his signature, but he was not qualified to judge the real accusation for which the Jewish notables wanted Jesus' death.

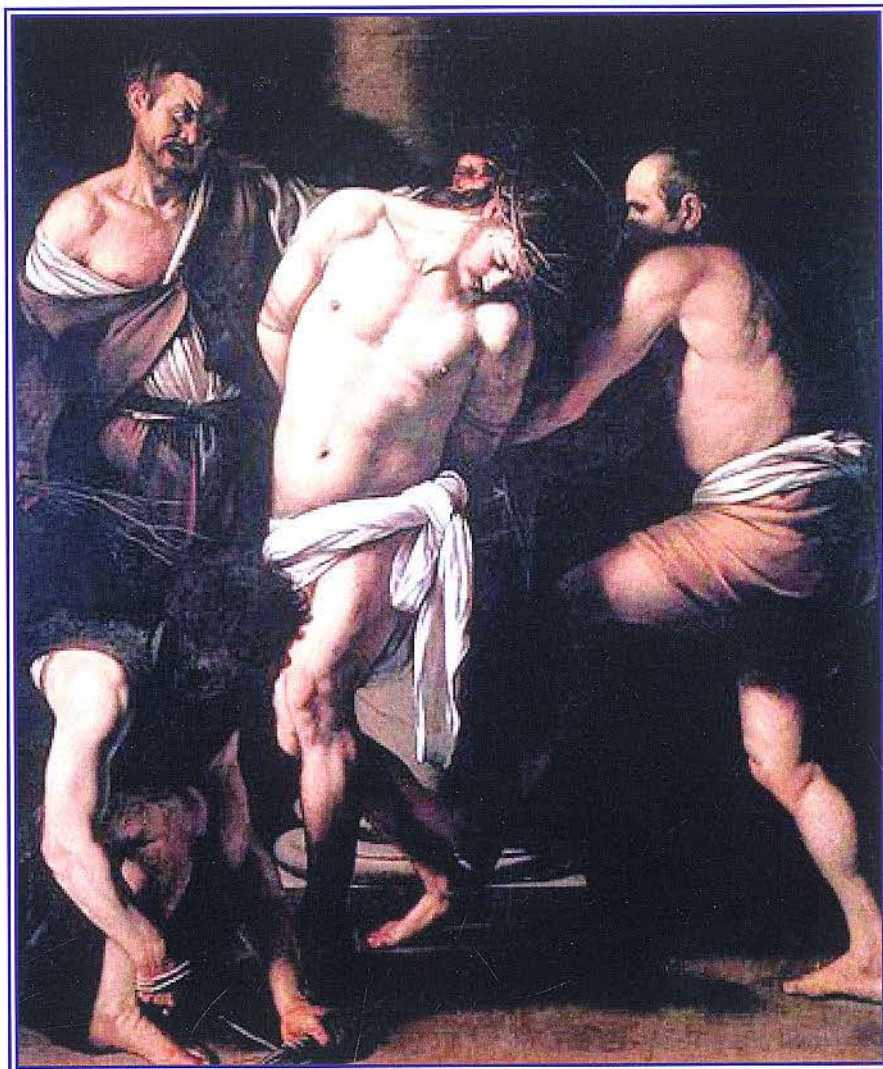
The procurator was more and more decided to release Jesus, and only yielded when he was accused of not being a "friend of the Emperor's" who, in many ways, had ordered him to respect the inviolable Jewish laws.

As a consequence, Pilate acted more as a politician than as a magistrate. He had done everything possible to make the Roman justice prevail, but his path had been crossed by the technical justice of the Sanhedrin's men. He delivered Jesus to them, not before having let his irony and impatience weigh on them.

After Jesus' death, the Sanhedrin persecuted, arrested and put on trial his apostles because they attributed to the Jewish tribunal the responsibility for the sentence.

In 37 A.D. Pilate was recalled to Rome, history lost track of Jesus' judge and legend got hold of him, making the procurator a damned soul or a saint. According to Eusebius from Caesarea, a historian and theologian who lived between 260 and 340 A.D., Pilate took his life, overcome by remorse. According to others, he was converted to Christianity and was martyred under Emperor Nero. The latter version has been accepted by the Coptic Church, which venerates him as saint on June 25.

African lawyer Tertullian (4), an eminent jurist, at the end of the second century wrote that Pilate had sent a report to the Emperor on the strange case oc-



curred on that Easter morning, proclaiming himself in favour of the man he had been forced to condemn.

It seems that a copy of this letter, written in Greek, and whose authenticity has never been ascertained, is kept at the Vatican library.

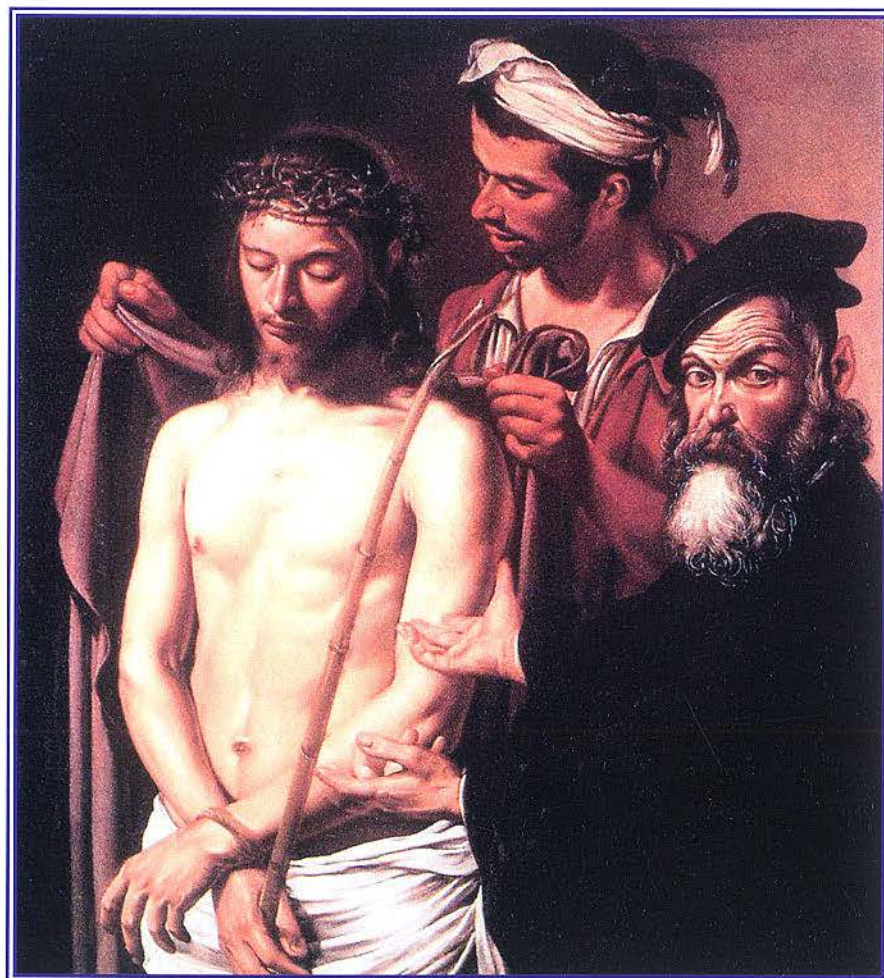
THE FLAGELLATION

It was the atrocious torture with which Pilate deluded himself he could move the hearts of those who wanted Jesus' death and therefore enable him to save the Messiah from the death penalty, but that was in vain.

The oldest description of the wounds impressed by the "flagellum" on Jesus' body, is made by the Clarisse nuns of Chambéry

who, with their painstaking work of restoration of the Holy Shroud, damaged by the fire broken out in the night between the 3rd and 4th December 1532 in the convent where it was kept, could observe for a time longer than anyone else the holy sheet.

On the report made by the nuns on May 2, 1534, at the end of their work of restoration, one can read verbatim: *"the bruises caused by the strokes of the 'flagellum' are so many, that hardly a spot of the size of pinhead can be found exempt from strokes...they always cross each other and spread along the entire body. The shoulders are entirely lacerated and contused by the strokes of the whip, which appear everywhere...the diversity of the strokes shows that they made use of various kinds of flagellums..."*



Jesus is taken before the Sanhedrin.

crudely realistic description of the blood flow makes us understand of what it consisted: it was not a little ring set around the head, as one can see in the representations of western artists, it was a cap of thorns which covers the entire head, very similar to the royal crowns of the East, worn on the head as a mitre.

The torture included also an even more macabre aspect which, in different forms, is repeated through the centuries: the humiliation of the prisoner.

"The soldiers of the governor took Jesus into the praetorium (5) and gathered together, around him, the whole cohort. They stripped him and put on him a scarlet cloak; and plaiting a crown of thorns, they put it upon his head, and a reed into his right hand; and bending the knee before him they mocked him saying: Hail, King of the Jews!... (Matthew 27, 27-31).

Jesus was therefore ironically dressed and adorned with the fittings of a king: the purple robe and the golden crown. In Christ's case the purple was replaced by the *sagum*, a square mantle of raw wool worn by the Roman soldiers. The crown was not made of golden laurel leaves, but of plaited thorny branches. The gesture of the sarcastic tribute mimicked the "Ave Caesar" due to the Emperor, while the reed makes us think of a kind of sceptre.

THE GOLGOTHA

After the torture, Jesus was dressed again with his poor clothes. It was about noon when a gloomy and varied procession moved from the praetorium.

Jewish priests, citizens of every class of the Holy City, foreigners from far-away regions, Levites (6) and Scribes (7), guards of the Sanhedrin, Roman soldiers commanded by a centurion (8), women of

Today on the basis of deeper medico-legal studies it is possible to reconstruct, with trustworthy approximation, the modalities of this flagellation.

The man of the Holy Shroud suffered a considerable number of blows. The skin of the torso presented more than a hundred excoriated ecchymoses, approximately 120, consisting of rounded and paired figures, two centimetres long, visible also on the lower limbs. Therefore, for this torture they did not apply the Jewish law, which provided for a maximum of 40 strokes, but the Roman law, which envisaged no limitation. The precision and the direction of the strokes, which spared almost no skin zone, bear witness to the systematic nature of the torture. The lesions were also caused by the *flagrum*, a Roman instrument of torture, consisting of a wooden handle to

which two or three leather straps were fastened. Little handlebar-shaped lead pellets, paired by twos, were fixed on them. The pellets were often replaced by little animal bones in order to cut more atrociously into the flesh of the victim. The Man of the Holy Shroud was naked when he was flagellated, because on the glutei and the lower limbs the lesions of the *flagrum* are very visible and, quite probably, he was hit while standing still, bent forward and probably tied to a low column.

Finally, the flagellation was inflicted with cold determination and as a punishment in itself, and this confirms once more that, by flagellating him, Pilate tried to avoid inflicting Jesus the death penalty.

The head, moreover, presents numerous wounds, disposed as a halo, up to the occipital cap, which seem caused by a cap of thorns placed on the head. The

The head of the Baptist is presented to Salome.

various ages were slowly and silently making their way out of the city, through the Ephraim Gate, to the northeast of the city, towards a rise nearby, bare of trees and shaped like a skull.

Among them a man, frail and meek, bent under the weight of the *patibulum*, the horizontal beam of the cross (9).

Even if most pictures of religious inspiration show the entire cross carried on one shoulder, actually a accurate examination of the image of the Holy Shroud persuades the scholars to confirm that the quadrangular-shaped ecchymoses, which appear in the right upper scapular and left scapular regions, were made only by the *patibulum* which was carried by the condemned man transversally over his shoulders.

Jesus proceeded with difficulty under the weight of his *patibulum*, because of the scourging, and his extreme weakness made him fall, causing a violent impact of the knees on the paving of the road.

Also these signs of suffering have been confirmed by the examination of the Holy Shroud. In fact both knees show abrasions, very probably due to falls, because in these zones, like on the soles of the feet, fragments of earth-like material have been found.

"And they forced a certain passer-by, Simon of Cyrene, coming from the country, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to take up his cross" (Mark 15,21).

It is what is technically called an "imposition". The Gospels use the Greek verb *angareuo*, a word of Persian origin which means a forced service without remuneration. Simon, whose sons are also mentioned by Mark the Evangelist and who later became Christians, was compelled to carry the *patibulum*.

The folk tradition, besides, adds another woman to those following the mournful train: a woman who



is not mentioned by the Gospels, but has been worshipped particularly in the Christian memory and piety: Veronica.

The woman, seeing Jesus going by her house with his face swollen and covered in dust and blood, approached him and, although scorned by those who abused him, wiped his suffering face with a cloth. Veronica and Simon the Cyrenaic offer us the exemplary figure of those who find the courage to show compassion towards the poor creatures abandoned at the bottom of misfortune. The procession reached the place of the execution, the summit of a rounded hill, shaped like a skull, from which it derived its Latin name of *Calvarium* and the Assyrian-Chaldaic

name of *Golgotha*. This was the place of the crucifixion.

CRUCIFIXION AND DEATH OF JESUS

The Evangelists describe only the Crucifixion of Christ and add that, after him, two evildoers were crucified at his sides. One must therefore turn to pagan sources to know the practical and juridical modalities of this kind of death penalty.

Crucifixion was considered a terrible and extremely cruel torture, deserved by those who, for their wicked deeds, had lost the right to be called and regarded as men.

Ancient peoples employed it only to punish the most terrible



Left.

Jesus with the crown of thorns.

was, as we said, the horizontal arm of the cross, which the condemned man was forced by the tribunal to carry to the site where the *stipes* was driven into the ground. It was generally carried on the back of the neck, with the arms stretched out and tied to the pole, so that the man could do no harm. The *patibulum* was fixed on the *stipes* in two ways: inserting it into one side of the latter and thus we have the *crux immessa* or *capitata*, which is the normal Latin cross, or by inserting the *patibulum* on the top of the *stipes* and thus we have the *crux commissa* or *patibulata*.

In Christian art one can see in every epoch the two forms, although the "T"-shaped cross appears to be older. The cross on which Jesus was crucified is certainly the *crux capitata* or *impressa*, because on his head they placed a sign with an inscription repeated as many as three times.

Besides the two types mentioned before, there were also other forms of cross such as the *crux decussata*, the so-called St Andrew's Cross, on which, according to the religious tradition, Apostle Andrew was put to death, and the *crux quadrata*, which is the Greek cross, which has arms of the same length, used in the Oriental art.

In some cases they fixed a seat in the middle of the front side of the *stipes*, a kind of horizontal support which passed between the thighs, on which the man could support himself, suffering perhaps a little less but certainly for a longer time. The presence of this support can be inferred from three passages in Seneca's "Epistolae Morales" where a *sedere cruce* and *acuta sedere cruce* are mentioned, as if this were a sharp-edged support, like the medieval torture-trestle.

Some artists have represented Jesus on the cross with his feet resting on a slanting shelf, called

crimes. We find the use of crucifixion in Greece's history only after the conquests of Alexander the Great, who discovered it among the Persians. Also the Carthaginians employed it intensively. Apparently the Romans had learned its use from the latter and had initially applied it only in wartime, against rebels, pirates and brigands. Subsequently, it became customary for punishing slaves and, in extreme cases, the Roman citizens who had committed particularly repugnant crimes. In the imperial period it became a torture usual for slaves, great evildoers and soldiers who deserted, while in the provinces it was destined to persons of low condition guilty of sedition.

In history there are many examples of mass-crucifixion: after Spartacus' revolt (73-71 B.C.) (10) under Licinius Crassus, 6000 crosses flanked the road from Rome to Capua. The legate of Syria, Quintilius Varus (11), when Herod the Great died, had 2000 seditious Jews crucified. According

to Flavius Josephus (12) testimony, during the siege of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), under Titus, the Romans crucified up to 500 Jews every day.

The cross was a kind of scaffold formed by two wood poles, one upright and the other transversal, on which the condemned men were either bound or nailed. The standing, or vertical, part was called *stipes crucis*. The transversal, or horizontal, part which was fixed on the *stipes* was called *patibulum*. As regards the *stipes crucis*, two categories of crosses were in use, according to the height of the *stipes*: the short *crux humilis* (humble cross) and the long *crux sublimis*. The latter was reserved for the condemned men that the authority who delivered the sentence wanted to be in evidence. Normally the *humilis* were the most employed for they had a two-fold advantage: they allowed the animals launched in the arena to easily dismember the crucified men and simplified the work of the executioners in case of mass crucifixion. The *patibulum*

suppedaneum, on which the feet were nailed. However, there is no mention of this support in the ancient literature or iconography, therefore one can surmise that it was not normally employed.

We know of two ways of fastening the condemned men to the cross: with nails or with ropes. Believably nails were the most habitually employed, also because the term used by the Greek language to indicate the action of crucifying is precisely "to nail".

The crucified person agonized one, two, or even three days, naked, exposed to the ravages of time and the abuses of men, nailed and contracted on the wooden post, the wounds of the wrists lacerated by the body's weight, motionless, devoured by fever, flushed with thirst, martyred by the full and intact consciousness of his suffering. He was nailed to the cross with his arms stretched out at a right angle. As time went by, because of its weight and the stretching of muscles and joints, the body slowly sunk. In this new position, the chest came to be under the incessant inspiratory pressure, caused by the atrophy of the big pectoral muscles; as a consequence there was no air exchange in the lungs and no blood oxygenation and, therefore, a slow but certain suffocation followed.

Then, how could the crucified man manage to temporarily escape this asphyxia and survive a few hours or even two or three days? Forcing on his feet nailed on the *stipes*, he lifted his body and therefore brought back his arms towards the horizontal position. The traction on his hands was thus very much reduced, cramps diminished and asphyxia temporarily disappeared with the restarting of the breathing movements. But the weariness of the lower limbs intervened, compelling the crucified man to sink, and asphyxia came back again. Therefore the agony went on in an alternation of sinking and

THE HOLY SHROUD

If we examine seven particularly significant characteristics of the Man of the Shroud, deduced from the image impressed on the sheet, we find them contemporaneously present in the evangelic narrations of the passion and death of Jesus Christ.

The envelopment of the corpse in a sheet. The Man of the Shroud, after his death, was wrapped in a sheet. This is a fact very uncommon in ancient times. In the majority of cases, the corpses of the crucified men were left on the cross to be prey of wild animals or, at the most, buried in common graves. Jesus, after the crucifixion, was wrapped in a sheet bought by Joseph of Arimathea (Mark, 15, 42-46), (John, 19, 39-40).

The wounds on the head of the Man of the Shroud seem produced by a cap of thorns. This fact is really exceptional and there are no documents that relate of such a custom, neither with the Romans nor with other peoples. Moreover, Jesus, before being crucified, was crowned with a crown of thorns as a mockery. (John, 19, 2).

The carrying of the cross. The Man of the Shroud has carried on his shoulders a heavy burden which has caused two wide abrasions and which cannot but be the *patibulum* on which he was nailed. Also Jesus, during his ascent to the Calvary, has carried the cross on which he was crucified. (John, 19, 17), (Matthew 27, 32).

The crucifixion with nails. The Man of the Shroud was fixed to the cross with nails. Also Jesus was fixed to the cross with nails in the hands and feet. (Luke 23, 33), (Psalm 22, 17-18).

The wound in the chest. The Man of the Shroud has a wound by a cutting tool on the right side of his chest, inflicted when he was already dead, and there are no fractures in his legs. Also Jesus has been hit in the chest with a lance when he was already dead, and his legs were not broken (John 19, 33-35).

The hasty and temporary burial. The Man of the Shroud was wrapped in a sheet as soon as he was taken down from the cross, and the corpse was not washed and anointed. Also Jesus was wrapped in a sheet and put in a sepulchre immediately after the deposition from the cross, due to the necessity to perform this operation before the evening, i.e. before the beginning of the Jewish Easter, during which no manual labour could be done. The mixture of aloe and myrrh brought by Nicodemus had only an antiseptic and anti-putrefaction function. The definitive burial was to be made by the women two days later. (Mark 15, 42-46), (John 19, 39-40).

The corpse remained in the shroud only a short time after the burial. Also the Man of the Shroud remained a short time in the sheet. In order to produce the image, the corpse had to remain in the shroud for at least 24 hours, while if the body had stayed for more than two or three days, the image would have been destroyed by the decomposition process. Also Jesus was wrapped in a sheet immediately after the deposition from the cross and, after a lapse of time not longer than 40 hours, in the sepulchre watched by the guards only the shroud was found, because the body was no more there (John 20, 3-8).

straightening, of asphyxia and breathing.

The Romans could protract or shorten this agony. In the first case they added to the cross the

"seat" mentioned before, which prevented the unfortunate man from sinking. In the second they applied the *crurifragium*, which consisted in breaking the victim's

legs in such a way as to prevent him from lifting his body by pushing on his feet nailed to the wood.

The method employed for Jesus' torture can be analysed by referring once more to the studies made on the Holy Shroud.

The man of the Holy Shroud has his hands crossed and resting on his lower belly. The left lies on the right wrist hiding it. Therefore only this shows us an oval wound, referable to a lesion by a sharp tool, such as a nail, on which a traction has been exercised. Particularly interesting is the location of this wound, which is not on the palm of the hand, according to the traditional iconography of the Crucifixion, but on the wrist, exactly in a free space between the bones of the carpus, called "space of Destot". The experiments, performed and described with scientific rigour, have confirmed that a nailing on the palm of the hand would not permit the tissues to bear the weight corresponding to that of a man.

The fact that the nailing of the upper limbs of the crucified men was not made in the palm was also confirmed by the unearthing, near Jerusalem, of the skeleton of a crucified man of the 1st Century.

Another element is that in the imprints left by the hands on the Holy Shrouds the thumbs are not visible. Scholars find the explanation of this in the fact that the nails, in piercing the wrists, injured the median nerve, causing the bending of the thumbs. The latter remained in such position also after the extraction of the nails because by then the rigor mortis had intervened.

The Man of the Shroud was nailed on the *patibulum* while lying on the ground and was subsequently lifted on the *stipes*.

Above Jesus' head a sign was affixed with the title of his judgement: "*Jesus Nazarene King of the Jews*". It was written in three languages: Hebrew, Greek and Latin.

Hebrew was the national language, Greek the universal lan-

guage spoken at that time, and Latin the executive and judging power's official one. It was employed here precisely because of the official character of the event and not for the greater publicity of the inscription, since the Latin tongue was spoken only by Pontius Pilate's personnel.

Pilate dictated the inscription which enclosed a last sarcasm against the detested Jews. They understood, and said to the procurator: "*Don't write King of the Jews, but that he has said I am the King of the Jews*". Pilate, however, insisted on the teasing irony, answering with a hint of irritation and weariness: "*What I wrote, I wrote*".

It was a Jewish custom to give the condemned men an anaesthetic and narcotic drink to calm their suffering and weaken their intelligence. This solace was also offered to Jesus, but he refused it, for he wanted to encounter death fully conscious. According to one of the Evangelists, it was wine mixed with gall, or with myrrh (13), as Mark the Evangelist says.

Jesus on the cross, tormented by a burning throat, accepted only to moisten his lips with a sponge, fixed on the top of a reed, soaked in a vinegar drink. In fact the Roman soldiers were accustomed to quench their thirst with a kind of light wine with a very low alcoholic content which, mixed with water, tasted like vinegar. This mixture was called *posca*.

According to a Roman custom, attested by regulations subsequent to Emperor Adrian's time, the spoils of the condemned men (*pannicularia*) belonged always to the material executors of the sentence. This occurred also in the case of Jesus, whose vestments were probably the *taleth*, the tunic, the cloak, a belt and the footwear. The four soldiers charged with the execution, having divided these garments among them by casting lots, sat down next to the three crosses to keep watch on them.

Normally the crucified men had a long and tremendous agony. Origen, the philosopher and theologian of the Christian School of Egypt (14), says that it was not unusual to see the crucified men survive the whole night and the following day. A Jewish text affirms that in 1247, in Damascus, a crucified man had stayed alive for two days.

As regards the three men put to death on the Golgotha, the Jews went to Pilate and asked that his death be hastened by means of the *crurifragium*. This request was motivated by two reasons: first, because their tradition did not permit to leave a corpse hanging on the scaffold over the evening and also because the Saturday could not be disturbed by such a display.

The soldiers therefore broke the legs of the two criminals but when they went to Jesus he was already dead. "To certify he was dead, and therefore allow his burial, one of the soldiers opened his side with a lance, and immediately there came out blood and water" (John 19, 34).

"He had been on the cross since the third hour, i.e. since nine in the morning" (Mark 15, 25) and an entire sequence of abuses had accompanied the terrible torture of crucifixion and the subsequent death.

As evening came, Joseph of Arimathea, an influential member of the Sanhedrin and Jesus' disciple, courageously went to Pilate to ask for Jesus' corpse. Pilate was surprised that Jesus had already died and, having asked a centurion if Jesus had been dead a long time and having had this confirmed, he delivered Jesus' body to Joseph. Helped by Nicodemus, Joseph lowered it from the cross and, having wrapped it in a sheet, laid it down in a sepulchre dug in rock. Nicodemus had brought a mixture of aloe and myrrh and so they wrapped Jesus' body with bandages with the aromatic oils, after the Jewish burial custom.

CONCLUSIONS

In this exposition we have often referred to the Holy Shroud, this linen shroud which has certainly enveloped the dead body of a scourged man, crowned with thorns, crucified with nails, and whose chest has been pierced by a lance.

This is neither the moment nor the proper place to discuss about the authenticity of the Shroud, we only want to quote an answer that Professor Pierluigi Baima Bollone, a scientist and professor of forensic medicine at the Faculties of Medicine and Law at Turin University, who has worked for years on the Shroud, has given to a journalist of the daily "Il Giornale". To the question "What is the main evidence of the Shroud's authenticity?" he has answered, with simplicity and efficacy, that there is none against it, that is, none that can demonstrate its falsity.

Pope John Paul II has given many definitions of this sheet, among these: *"The Holy Shroud is a unique witness; it is the mirror of the Gospel, it is the image of suffering"*.

If we reflect on the sacred linen sheet, we cannot avoid considering that the image imprinted on it has such a deep relation with what the Gospels relate about the passion and death of Christ. There is a perfect coincidence between the narration of the four Gospels about the passion of Christ and what can be observed on the Holy Shroud.

To understand even better the mystery of this atrocious passion and death, one must have in mind with what serene will and supreme dignity Jesus accepted and suffered them.

NOTES

(1) Publius Cornelius Tacitus, 55-120 A.D., Latin historian. He spent most of his life in Rome where he had an excellent education and stood out as orator. He was Julius Agricola's son-in-law and made a brilliant political career. Besides his public offices and law practice, he was engaged in an intense literary activity, to which he devoted himself till his death. His greatness as a writer and artist is unquestioned: in a proverbially concise style he created portrayals and scenes which are unforgettable in their dramatic immediacy.

(2) The Sanhedrin was the supreme national Jewish tribunal, with politico-judicial functions which had jurisdiction over all of Palestine. It consisted of 71 elders chosen among the priests, the Scribes and the representatives of the most important families. It had its own police, was very powerful and had tasks of court of last resort, albeit even if the death sentences had always to be ratified by the Roman authority.

(3) Salome was a Jewish princess, daughter of Herodias and Herod Philip, brother of Herod Antipas. According to the Gospels, during a feast for her uncle's birthday she danced so suggestively that he promised her, as a prize, anything she wanted. Incited by her mother, she asked for the head of John the Baptist, who was in prison for having publicly reproved the unlawful union between Herodias and her brother-in-law Herod Antipas. According to an old legend, Salome paid for her sin by being beheaded in her turn by a slab of ice which broke up while she was crossing a frozen river.

(4) Quintus Septimius Florens Tertullian, who lived in Carthage from 156 to ca. 220, was an eminent Roman jurist. The son of a centurion, as a young man he led a dissolute life which, nevertheless, did not prevent him from acquiring a high literary, philosophical, historical and juridical culture and from making a name for himself as a lawyer in Rome. Around 195 A.D. he was converted to Christianity and some years later took the Holy Orders. He was one of the founders of Western-Latin theology as well as a very original writer.

(5) The residence of the governor of a province.

(6) Members of the tribe of Levi, Jacob's third son, entrusted with the religious service.

(7) Jewish scholars, followers of Pharisaism, a politico-religious movement which theorized an extremely strict observance of the Mosaic Law and exhibited a severe moral rigour, but were more concerned about appearance than about substance.

(8) Officer of the Roman Army who commanded a century (100 men), comparable to today's captain.

(9) Name of the bar used to close the door of the house at night.

(10) Spartacus, Thracian gladiator, led a revolt against the Romans. Escaped from a well-known Capuan gladiator school together with Crissus, another gladiator, he soon gathered a great number of fugitive slaves and repeatedly routed the Roman legions sent to confront him. In 71 B.C. he was defeated in Lucania by Licinius Crassus, commander of the operations. Spartacus died fighting desperately; his companions who were taken prisoners were crucified.

(11) Roman politician and General, 46 B.C. - 9 A.D. After the proconsulate in Africa, he was appointed legate to Syria and intervened promptly and vigorously in order to repress the rebellion that had broken up in Judea at the death of Herod the Great. Appointed legate of the Roman Army on the Rhine, on his return to summer quarters with three legions he was lured by Herminius into an ambush in the Teutoburg Forest and, faced with a desperate situation, killed himself.

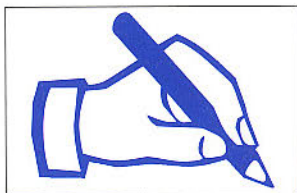
(12) Jerusalem, 30 A.D. - Rome, 95 A.D. Jewish historian from an aristocratic and sacerdotal family. In 66 A.D., during the Judaic uprising, was appointed Governor of Galilee. Despite his obvious partiality, he is considered the most important Jewish historian, and one of the greatest of ancient times.

(13) A gum resin extracted from a plant, used in the past as a perfume. Today is employed as a dye.

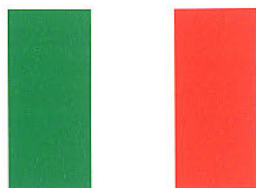
(14) Philosopher and theologian of Alexandria's Christian School (Alexandria, 185 A.D. - Tyre, 253 A.D.). Shortly after his priestly ordination, he was accused of heresy and his ordination was annulled. He moved to Caesarea in Cappadocia, continued to teach and founded a school which soon became famous. He died as a consequence of the tortures suffered during the persecution unleashed by Decius, Roman Emperor from 249 A.D. to 251 A.D. A prolific author, he wrote about 800 works, most of them lost.

□

* Brigadier General,
Chief of Staff,
Southern Region
Military Command



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO



Lo scontro che non c'è mai stato di Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pag. 2).

I confronti tra civiltà catturano da tempo le attenzioni di studiosi e analisti di geopolitica. Il precursore fu lo storico inglese Arnold Toynbee, nel 1946, con il volume «Civiltà a paragone». Nel 1997, invece, Samuel Huntington, nel libro «Lo scontro tra le civiltà e il nuovo ordine mondiale», prefigurava scenari mondiali caratterizzati da confronti basati sulla cultura. La realtà spesso si discosta dalla teoria.

Africa Rossa di Giovanni Bucciol (pag. 12).

Da oltre mezzo secolo si confrontano, da una parte, l'etnia araba a nord, bianca e di religione musulmana, tradizionalmente guida del Paese, e, dall'altra, i neri dei territori del sud, cristiani e animisti, che da anni chiedono uguali diritti. Il recente accordo per il futuro assetto del Paese prevede una fase di transizione di oltre sei anni con un Governo di unità nazionale, cui farà seguito un referendum. Questa non è la prima intesa a vedere la luce, ma è anche un'urgente opportunità per sperare in una pace attesa da troppi anni.

Prospettive africane di Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (pag. 22).

I problemi africani sono anche alla base di un'immigrazione, spesso illegale, che quotidianamente si riversa in Occidente. Solo tale ultimo aspetto è di per sé sufficiente per comprendere come i vari problemi africani finiscano comunque per riversarsi fuori dal continente. L'impegno occidentale in Africa, sapientemente indirizzato, potrebbe risolvere a monte molte incidenti situazioni di disagio. Dal suo canto l'Europa potrebbe giovare della vicinanza di un'Africa da valorizzare, che potrebbe a sua volta fornire un domani utili opportunità e sotto vari aspetti. A cominciare proprio da un corretto utilizzo delle sue immense risorse umane e naturali, delle quali il benessere mondiale non può più privarsi.

La Convenzione di Ottawa di Giorgio Sarchilli (pag. 30).

Il vertice ha riesaminato quanto sottoscritto a Ottawa nel 1997, concordando un piano di lavoro per il successivo quinquennio. L'iniziativa è servita a: sintetizzare le principali iniziative intraprese dagli Stati Parte nel primo lustro di attività; illustrare i piani di bonifica dei Paesi in cui è segnalata la presenza di mine antipersona; evidenziare il numero degli incidenti annuali causati da queste; discutere e approvare il «Nairobi Action Plan 2005 - 2009».

Dalla Conferenza è emerso che i progressi ottenuti nella trasparenza delle informazioni sono stati tanti. Nei prossimi cinque si prevede di distruggere gli arsenali non in linea con la Convenzione, procedendo contestualmente alle operazioni di bonifica.

L'Esercito del Cile pronto per le sfide future Intervista al Generale di Corpo d'Armata Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, Comandante in Capo dell'Esercito a cura di Giuseppe Maria Giovanni Tricarico (pag. 40).

Repentini mutamenti di scenario inducono sensibili varianti operative negli strumenti militari. Non ci si confronta più solamente con una minaccia convenzionale, bensì bisogna fronteggiare rischi difficilmente prevedibili, che potrebbero concretarsi, in tempi e luoghi indeterminati, con modalità differenti e generalmente asimmetriche. Non ultimo vi è il terrorismo, assunto prepotentemente alla ribalta della scena politica, economica, militare e naturalmente mediatica. Gli eserciti moderni oggi sono impegnati in un processo di adeguamento che si avvale della cooperazione e della collaborazione internazionale, senza peraltro prescindere da avvedute scelte tecniche e industriali, anche in ragione delle nuove operazioni di «Stabilizzazione» e «Ricostruzione» nell'ambito del Nation Building, espresse in ambiente interforze e multinazionale.

Vediamo come tali tematiche sono state affrontate e risolte dall'Esercito del Cile, Paese di antiche tradizioni, molto vicino all'Italia per legami umani e culturali.

Al servizio del Paese e della libertà dei popoli. Intervista al Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito australiano a cura di Enrico Magnani (pag. 48).

L'Australia sembra lontana. In realtà è molto più vicina di quanto si possa immaginare. Abitata da un popolo fiero e determinato, può contare su soldati esperti e coraggiosi, che hanno partecipato a numerose operazioni multinazionali distinguendosi per professionalità e senso del dovere. Il colloquio con il Tenente Generale Leahy ci consente di acquisire una molteplicità di informazioni riflettenti lo sforzo che il Paese sta sostenendo per la riorganizzazione strutturale, operativa e tecnologica dello strumento militare.

La componente femminile preziosa risorsa dell'Esercito di Domenico Rossi (pag. 58).

La Legge 380/1999 ha aperto gradualmente il mondo militare alle donne senza alcuna preclusione di incarichi e di carriere, mediante aliquote annualmente stabilite dal Ministro della Difesa su parere della Commissione Pari Opportunità. Questo sta avvenendo con un contestuale adeguamento infrastrutturale che tutela i vincoli architettonici e urbanistici nazionali. Per il 2005 è prevista l'immisione di 2 350 Volontarie in Ferma Prefissata di un anno (VFP

1). Fondamentale è stata nei Teatri Operativi la presenza delle donne, rivelatasi fondamentale nei rapporti con le popolazioni locali.

Il ruggito dei Lagunari di Mario Garano (pag. 70).

Eredi dei «Fanti da mar» della Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia, i Lagunari, specialità della fanteria moderna, sono impiegati nelle aree di crisi dove hanno saputo guadagnarsi la stima degli alleati e il consenso delle popolazioni.

Lottare con successo di Filippo Di Pirro (pag. 80).

Le «Strategie di Coping» aiutano a definire le reazioni individuali nelle situazioni che comportano fatica, logorio e stress, formulando previsioni sui possibili comportamenti. In tal modo è possibile valutare l'affidabilità individuale in termini d'impiego, ma anche organizzare programmi di riambientamento dopo prolungate permanenze in Teatri Operativi a elevata intensità. Questo per garantire l'efficienza del personale anche sotto il profilo psicologico e tutelare la sfera interiore.

La Leva se ne va di Giovanni Cerbo (pag. 88).

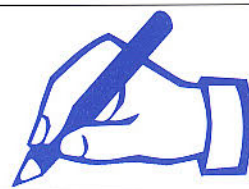
La legge licenziata di recente dal Parlamento, concernente la sospensione del servizio obbligatorio di leva e la disciplina dei volontari di truppa in ferma prefissata, oltre che venire incontro alle esigenze operative dello strumento militare, ha interpretato simmetricamente un bisogno di cambiamento maturato nella società negli ultimi decenni. Si chiude un'epoca e cessa di vivere un «istituto» che ha segnato icaicamente il lento e difficile cammino unitario del nostro Paese nel suo processo di crescita sociale, culturale, democratica, tecnica e scientifica.

Lo stretto rapporto tra mondo militare e società civile in Germania di Maurizio Sulig (pag. 94).

Tutto ciò viene perseguito ricercando costantemente il contatto attraverso differenti formule associative. A queste si aggiunge la felice soluzione dell'Ufficiale e del Sottufficiale destinati al rapporto con il mondo giovanile, allo scopo di suscitare e mantenere l'interesse per la realtà militare.

La guerra che aprì al Sol Levante le porte dell'Asia di Massimo Iacopi (pag. 102).

Nonostante il riconoscimento dei territori acquisiti sul campo in Manciuria e la legittimità degli interessi politici, economici e militari nei confronti della Corea, il controllo della metà meridionale dell'isola di Sakhalin, per via degli 80 mila caduti in combattimento e 450 mila feriti, i giapponesi giudicano irrivoli i vantaggi conseguiti. Tra l'altro, la Russia non risulta obbligata a versare riparazioni di guerra al Giappone che ha sostenuto un conflitto costoso quanto l'equivalente di sei anni di prodotto nazionale. Dal novembre 1905 la Corea diventa

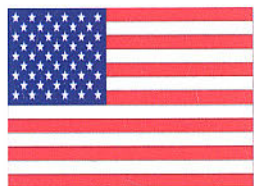


un protettorato nipponico, per essere poi annessa nel 1910. Il Giappone, da quel momento e fino all'amara conclusione della 2^a Guerra mondiale, non avrà che un solo obiettivo: il mantenimento e l'espansione del suo impero.

La passione di Cristo

di Attilio Claudio Borreca (pag. 110).

La crocifissione di Gesù Cristo è, da oltre duemila anni, uno degli avvenimenti più esaminati della storia. È proprio comparando la prospettiva storiografica con i testi dei Vangeli, che emergono ogni volta conferme capaci di coinvolgere studiosi e credenti, fornendo puntualmente spunti di riflessione in grado di travalicare le epoche, per assumere significati morali ed etici sempre attuali.



The Clash That Never Was

by Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pag. 2).

The contrasts between civilizations have long attracted the attention of scholars and analysts of geopolitics. Their forerunner was English historian Arnold Toynbee in 1946, with his book «Comparing Civilizations». In 1997, Samuel Huntington, in his book «The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the new World Order», prefigured world scenarios characterized by confrontations based on culture and religion. But reality often diverges from our predictions.

Red Africa

by Giovanni Bucciol (p. 12).

For more than half a century, two ethnic groups have been confronting each other: to the North, the Arabs, white, Muslim and traditional leaders of the Country, and to the South the Christian and Animist Blacks, who for years have been claiming equal rights. The recent accord on the future structure of the Country envisages a transition phase of more than six years, with a Government of national unity, followed by a referendum. This is not only the first agreement pulled off, but also an

urgent opportunity to hope for a peace which has been awaited for too many years.

African Prospects

by Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koi (p. 22).

The problems of Africa are also at the roots of the daily pouring of the often illegal immigration to the West. This aspect is sufficient in itself to understand why the various African problems end up by streaming outside the Continent. The Western commitment in Africa, if wisely directed, could solve at the root many difficult situations. Europe, for its part, could take advantage of its proximity to a developing continent which tomorrow could provide good opportunities in many ways, starting with the correct use of its immense human and natural resources, which are indispensable for the welfare of the world.

The Ottawa Convention

by Giorgio Scarchilli (p. 30).

At the UN Headquarters in Nairobi the representatives of no less than 120 Countries, out of 140 members, plus those from governmental and non-governmental organizations, have tackled the thorny problem, and their conclusions were approved with general favourable consent.

The Chilean Army is Ready for the Challenges of the Future

Interview with Lieutenant General Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, Commander-in-Chief of the Army

by Giuseppe Maria Giovanni Tricarico (p. 40). Sudden changes in the scenarios cause sensible operational variations in military instruments. It is not only a matter of facing conventional threats, but also of confronting risks which are hardly foreseeable and could materialize at unpredictable times and in indefinite places, with different and generally asymmetric forms. One of these threats, and not a negligible one, is terrorism, which has forced itself to the forefront of the political, economic, military and - of course - the media scene. Today's modern armies are engaged in a process of adaptation which can avail itself of the international cooperation without excluding a recourse to wise technical and industrial choices, also in consideration of the new «Stabilization» and «Reconstruction» operations expressed within the «Nation Building» missions, within joint and multinational environments.

Let us see how these subjects have been dealt with and solved by the Chilean Army, in a Country with ancient traditions and very close to Italy as regards human and cultural bonds.

In the Service of the Country and of the Freedom of Peoples, interview with the Chief of Staff of the Australian Army

by Enrico Magnani (p. 48).

Australia seems far away, but it is closer than one can guess. Inhabited by a proud and

resolute people, it can rely upon soldiers who are both experienced and courageous and who have taken part in a lot of multinational operations therefore distinguishing their professionalism and sense of duty. The interview with Lieutenant General Leahy enables us to acquire much information attesting to the effort the Country is making in order to reorganize the military instrument, from both the structural and operational, as well as technological viewpoints.

The Female Component, a Precious Resource for the Army

by Domenico Rossi (p. 58).

Law 380/1999 has gradually opened the military world to women, with no limitations in jobs and careers, through annual quotas fixed by the Ministry of Defence, upon the advice of the Equal Opportunities Committee. This is taking place with a parallel infrastructural adaptation which takes into due account the national architectural and city-planning regulations. For 2005 the Defence envisages the admission of 2350 Women Volunteers with a fixed term of service of one year (VFP 1). The presence of women has been fundamental in the Operation Theatres, where they were of primary importance in the relations with the local populations.

The Roar of the «Lagunari»

by Mario Garano (p. 70).

Heirs to the «Fanti da Mar» the marine infantrymen of the «Serenissima», the Republic of Venice, the «Lagunari», a special branch of the modern infantry, are employed in crisis areas, where they have earned the high esteem of allies and the acclaim of the populations.

Fighting successfully

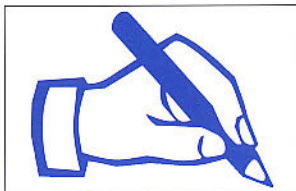
by Filippo Di Pirro (p. 80).

«Coping Strategies» help to define the individual reactions in situations involving fatigue, strain and stress, by making forecasts on possible behaviours. It is thus possible to evaluate the individual reliability in terms of employment, and also organize re-adaptation programmes after a long stay in high-intensity Operation Theatres. This is done in order to guarantee the personnel's efficiency, also from the psychological viewpoint, and safeguard their inner sphere.

Conscription Departs

by Giovanni Cerbo (p. 88).

The law recently approved by Parliament, concerning the suspension of conscription and the system of rules for the volunteers with a fixed term of service, besides meeting the operational requirements of the military instrument, is the symmetric interpretation of a wish for change felt by society in the last decades. An era is closing, with the end of an «institution» which marked the long and difficult progress of our Country during its social, cultural, democratic, technical and scientific growth.



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The Close Relation Between the Military World and Society in Germany by Maurizio Sulig (p. 94).

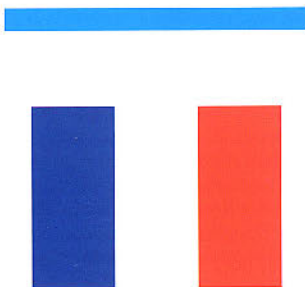
This is pursued by constantly trying to find contacts through different forms of association. Another well-chosen solution is to task a number of Officers and NCOs with establishing relations with the young, in order to kindle and maintain their interest for the military.

The War that opened to the Rising Sun the doors of Asia by Massimo Iacopi (p. 102).

Despite the recognition of the territories acquired on the field in Manchuria, the legitimacy of their political, economic and military interests in relation with Korea and the control of the southern half of the Sakhalin island, due to their 80,000 soldiers killed in battle and 450,000 wounded, the Japanese consider those advantages insignificant. Among other things, Russia is not obliged to pay war reparations to Japan, which had sustained a conflict that cost the equivalent of six times the Nation's gross product. In November 1905, Korea became a Japanese protectorate and in 1910 was annexed to Japan. Since then, and until the bitter end of WWII, Japan has had only one objective: the maintenance and expansion of its empire.

The Passion of Christ by Attilio Claudio Borreca (p. 110).

An event that for more than 2000 years has been deeply moving historians, theologians and philosophers. The chronicle of these tragic and supernatural events can be a valid source of knowledge, characterized by ethical and spiritual connotations which are still of great and intense topical interest.



L'affrontement qui n'a jamais eu lieu par Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (p. 2).

La confrontation de civilisations est une question sur laquelle les chercheurs et les analystes spécialistes de géopolitique ne cessent de se pencher depuis des siècles. Parmi ceux-ci, le précurseur a été l'historien anglais Arnold Toynbee dont l'ouvrage «Confrontation de civilisations» est paru en 1946. Au contraire, en 1977, dans «L'affrontement des civilisations et le nouvel ordre mondial», Samuel Huntington préfigure des théâtres mondiaux caractérisés par les confrontations liées aux différentes cultures. La réalité, ce-

pendant, ne correspond pas toujours à la théorie.

Afrique rouge par Giovanni Bucciol (p. 12).

L'ethnie blanche et musulmane du nord, leader traditionnel du pays et l'ethnie noire des territoires du sud, chrétienne et animiste, réclament depuis des années des droits d'égalité, s'affrontent désormais depuis plus d'un demi-siècle. L'accord récent sur l'organisation future du pays prévoit une phase de transition de plus de six ans avec un Gouvernement d'unité nationale, à laquelle fera suite un référendum. C'est accord, qui n'est pas le premier en son genre, fait espérer en cette paix si attendue.

Perspectives africaines par Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (p. 22).

Le phénomène d'immigration, souvent illégale, auquel doit continuellement faire face l'Occident, n'est pas sans rapport avec les problèmes auxquels se heurte l'Afrique. Cela suffit à expliquer pourquoi les problèmes du continent africain finissent par avoir des conséquences intercontinentales. Orienté correctement, l'engagement de l'Occident en Afrique, pourrait résoudre en amont de nombreuses difficultés. Quant à l'Europe, elle pourrait profiter de la proximité de ce continent qui possède des richesses pouvant être mises en valeur et qui pourrait offrir à son tour d'intéressantes opportunités pour l'avenir. Et ce en commençant par l'exploitation correcte de ses énormes ressources humaines et naturelles dont dépend d'une façon sans cesse croissante le bien-être mondial.

La Convention d'Ottawa par Giorgio Scarchilli (p. 30).

Après avoir réexaminé ce qui avait été convenu à Ottawa en 1997, la conférence au sommet a mis au point un plan de travail pour les cinq prochaines années. Cette conférence aura permis de résumer les principales initiatives menées à bien par les Etats lors des cinq premières années d'activité; illustrer les plans de déminage des pays où la présence de mines antipersonnel a été signalée; signaler le nombre annuel d'accidents provoqués par ces mines; discuter et approuver le «Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009».

De la Conférence il se détache que les progrès obtenus quant à la transparence des informations ont été nombreux. Dans les cinq prochaines années il est prévu de détruire tous les arsenaux ne répondant pas aux dispositions de la Convention et de procéder également aux opérations de déminage.

L'Armée de terre du Chili est prête à relever les défis du futur

Interview du Général de Corps d'Armée Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, Commandant en chef par Giuseppe Maria Giovannini Tricarico (p. 40).

Les changements soudains qui se produisent sur les théâtres appellent des variantes opéra-

tionnelles aux niveaux des instruments militaires. Aux menaces conventionnelles viennent s'ajouter des risques difficilement prévisibles pouvant se manifester à des moments et en des lieux imprécis, suivant des modalités différentes et souvent asymétriques. Parmi ceux-ci, il convient de signaler le terrorisme qui a fait violemment irruption sur les scènes politique, économique, militaire et, cela va sans dire, médiatique. Les armées modernes ont engagé un processus d'adéquation caractérisé non seulement par la coopération et la collaboration internationales, mais aussi par la prise de décisions avisées sur les plans technique et industriel. Et ce en vue des nouvelles opérations de «Stabilisation» et de «Reconstruction» entreprises dans le cadre du Nation Building, à travers les interventions interarmées et multinationales.

Voici comment l'Armée chilienne a affronté et résout ces questions.

Le Chili et l'Italie étant deux pays proches de par les relations humaines et culturelles qu'ils entretiennent.

Au Service du Pays et de la Liberté des Peuples. Interview du Chef d'Etat major de l'Armée de terre australienne par Enrico Magnani (p. 48).

Malgré l'énorme distance géographique qui les sépare, l'Australie et l'Italie sont plus proches qu'on ne pourrait le penser. Appartenant à un peuple fier et résolu, l'armée de terre australienne est une armée chevronnée et courageuse qui a participé à de nombreuses opérations dans tous les théâtres opérationnels. D'un ton direct et pragmatique, le Général de Corps d'Armée Leahy trace le portrait d'une Armée qui s'est toujours distinguée dans l'histoire, passée et présente, et qui semble déjà forger son avenir.

Les femmes: une ressource précieuse pour l'Armée

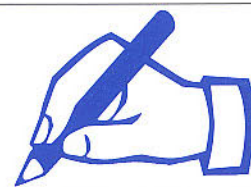
par Domenico Rossi (p. 58).

La loi 380/1999 a graduellement ouvert les portes du monde militaire aux femmes, sans aucune discrimination quant à la carrière et aux fonctions. Les quotas étant établis annuellement par le Ministère de la Défense avec l'avis de la Commission pour l'Egalité des Chances. Le processus s'accompagne de l'adéquation nécessaire au niveau des infrastructures, dans le respect des contraintes nationales en matière d'urbanisme et d'architecture. Ainsi, en 2005, les femmes qui s'engageront pour une période de service de un an seront au nombre de 2 350. La présence des femmes s'est avérée fondamentale dans les théâtres opérationnels, grâce aux rapports qu'elles ont su entamer avec les populations locales.

Le rugissement des «Lagunari»

par Mario Garano (p. 70).

Héritiers des «Fanti da mar» de la Sérénissime République de Venise, les «Lagunari» (soldats de l'infanterie italienne moderne spécialisés dans les opérations de débarquement) sont em-



ployés dans les zones de crise où ils ont su se distinguer, gagnant ainsi l'estime des alliés et la confiance des populations.

Lutter avec succès

par Filippo Di Pirro (p. 80).

Les «Stratégies de Coping» permettent de définir les réactions d'un individu dans des situations à risque de stress, fatigue et dépense nerveuse, en élaborant des prévisions sur les différents comportements pouvant se produire. Ainsi, il est possible d'évaluer la fiabilité de l'individu au moment de l'action et sa capacité d'organiser des programmes de réadaptation après une longue permanence sur un théâtre opérationnel astreignant. Et ce afin de garantir l'efficacité du personnel en sauvegardant son équilibre psychologique et sa vie intérieure.

Service militaire obligatoire adieu

par Giovanni Cerbo (p. 88).

La loi adoptée récemment par le Parlement sur la suspension du service militaire obligatoire et la discipline des volontaires s'engageant pour une période préfixée, non seulement répond aux exigences opérationnelles de l'instrument militaire, mais elle interprète et traduit également un besoin de changement qui s'est fait sentir au sein de la société au cours de ces dix dernières années. Ainsi, une époque se conclut et une «institution» cesse d'exister qui avaient marqué le long et ardu chemin de l'Italie vers le développement social, culturel, démocratique, technique et scientifique.

L'étroit rapport entre le monde militaire et la société civile en Allemagne

par Maurizio Sulig (p. 94).

Ce rapport s'établit à travers la recherche constante de nouvelles formes associatives. Parmi celles-ci il convient de souligner l'heureuse solution consistant en la création de la figure de l'Officier et du Sous-officier chargés d'entamer des relations avec le monde des jeunes dans le but de susciter et de maintenir leur intérêt envers la réalité militaire.

La guerre qui ouvrit la porte de l'Asie au Soleil Levant

par Massimo Iacopi (p. 102).

La reconnaissance des territoires acquis sur le champ de bataille en Manchourie, la légitimité des intérêts politiques, économiques et militaires vis-à-vis de la Corée et le contrôle de la partie méridionale de l'île de Sakhalin, sont pour les japonais des avantages tout à fait dérisoires ne suffisant pas à compenser 80 000 morts et 450 000 blessés. De plus, la Russie n'est pas tenue à payer les réparations au Japon, pour lequel le coût du conflit a représenté l'équivalent du produit national brut de six ans. En novembre 1905, la Corée devient un protectorat japonais pour être annexée en 1910. Depuis lors et jusqu'à la conclusion amère de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, le Japon n'aura d'autre objectif que de maintenir et d'étendre son empire.

La Passion du Christ

par Attilio Claudio Borreca (p. 110).

La Crucifixion du Christ est, depuis plus de 2000 ans, l'événement le plus étudié de l'histoire. En effet, la confrontation de la perspective historiographique et des textes de l'Evangile, fait sans cesse apparaître des confirmations qui ne manquent pas d'intéresser aussi bien les chercheurs que les croyants, inspirant chaque fois des réflexions qui vont bien au-delà des époques et dont les contenus éthiques et moraux sont toujours d'une grande actualité.



Ein Kampf, der nie stattgefunden hat

von Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (S. 2).

Seit langer Zeit ist die Aufmerksamkeit der Gelehrten und der Analytiker der Geopolitik auf den Vergleich zwischen Kulturen gerichtet. Der Vorläufer war der englische Historiker Arnold Toynbee, von dem im Jahre 1946 das Buch «Die Kultur am Scheideweg» erschien. 1997 kam das Buch «Kampf der Kulturen - Die neue Gestaltung der Weltpolitik im 21. Jh.» hervor, in dem Samuel Huntington eine Welt darstellte, wo sich die Kulturen gegeneberstellten. Die Wirklichkeit weicht sich oft von der Theorie ab.

Rotes Afrika

von Giovanni Buccioli (S. 12).

Seit über einem halben Jahrhundert gibt es die Konfrontation zwischen der arabischen Bevölkerung im Norden - weiß, Muselmanen und traditionelle Führer des Landes - und den Schwarzen des südlichen Territoriums, ihrerseits Christen und Animisten, die seit Jahren nach den gleichen Rechten verlangen. Die kürzlich getroffene Vereinbarung für die künftige Ordnung des Landes sieht in der über sechsjährigen Übergangsphase eine nationale Einheit als Regierung vor, die aus einem vorausgehenden Referendum gebildet wird. Dies ist zwar nicht die erste Entente, die Licht erkennen lässt, aber es ist eine Möglichkeit, auf raschen Frieden zu hoffen, auf den ohnehin seit viel zu langer Zeit gewartet wird.

Afrikanische Perspektiven

von Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (S. 22).

Die afrikanischen Probleme sind auch Grundlage für die - meist illegale - Immigration, die sich tagtäglich über den Okzident ergießt. Alleine dieser Aspekt ist ausreichend, um zu verstehen, wie die verschiedenen Probleme Afrikas über

den Kontinent hinausgetragen werden. Ein sinnvoll und gezielt eingesetztes Engagement des Westens könnte von vorne herein viele unangenehme Situationen und Zwischenfälle in Afrika lösen. Europa könnte seinerseits Nutzen aus der geografischen Nähe Afrikas ziehen, das wiederum eine Aufwertung erlebt und verschiedene interessante Möglichkeiten mit den unterschiedlichsten Aspekten bietet, beginnend bei der korrekten Nutzung der immensen humanitären und naturalistischen Ressourcen des Landes, die bedeutend zum weltweiten Wohlergehen beitragen würden.

Das Abkommen von Ottawa

von Giorgio Scarchilli (S. 30).

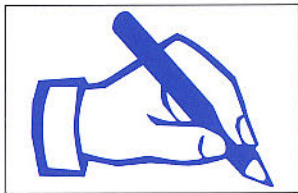
Der Gipfel hat nachgeprüft, was 1997 in Ottawa unterschrieben wurde und hat ein Arbeitsplan für das nachkommende Quinquennium ausgearbeitet. Die Initiative hat dazu gedient, die Hauptunternehmungen der Teilnehmerstaaten in dem ersten Jahr fünf zusammenzufassen; die Entminungspläne jener Länder, wo die Treminen gemeldet sind, zu erklären; die jährliche Statistik der Unfälle, die davon verursacht werden, herauszustreichen; den «Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009» zu diskutieren und zu genehmigen. Von der Konferenz ist es herausgegangen, dass die Fortschritte, die man dank der Transparenz der Informationen gemacht hat, viele sind. In den nächsten fünf Jahren sieht man vor, die nach der Konvention nicht berechtigten Arsenale zu vernichten und dementsprechend Meliorationen durchzuführen.

Das Chilenische Heer ist für die Herausforderungen der Zukunft bereit

Interview mit dem Generalleutnant Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, Oberbefehlshaber der Streitkräfte

von Giuseppe Maria Giovanni Tricarico (S. 40).

Plotzliche Veränderungen führen beträchtliche Operationsvarianten in den militärischen Mitteln herbei. Wir vergleichen uns nicht mehr und nicht nur mit einer konventionellen Gefahr, sondern müssen wir auch schlecht vorsehbaren Risiken entgegentreten, die sich in unbestimmten Zeiten und unter unklaren Umständen, auf unterschiedliche Weise und asymmetrische Art, verwirklichen könnten. Unter den Ersten gibt's den Terrorismus, mit Gewalt zu der Bühne des politischen, ökonomischen und militärischen Geschehens, und natürlich der Massenmedien, emporgestiegen. Die modernen Heere sind heute mit einem Anpassungsverfahren engagiert, das von der internationalen Kooperation Gebrauch macht, ohne von unsichtbaren technischen und industriellen Entscheidungen abzusehen, die, auch im Verhältnisse zu den neuesten Operationen von «Stabilisierung» und «Rekonstruktion» im Rahmen von «Nation Building», den Einsatz von mehreren Staaten und deren Streitkräfte aussern. In dem Artikel wird es erzählt, wie diese Probleme von dem Chilenischen Heer, in einem Land von antiken Traditionen, das wegen kulturellen



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und menschlichen Beziehungen Italien so nah ist, behandelt und gelöst worden sind.

Im Dienste des Vaterlandes und der Freiheit der Völker. Interview mit Oberbefehlshaber des Australischen Heeres von Enrico Magnani (S. 48).

Australien liegt weit weg, aber es ist Italien näher als man denkt. Zu einem stolzen und entschlossenen Volk gehörend, ist der Australier ein erfahrener und mutiger Soldat, der an zahlreichen Missionen in allen Operationsbereichen teilgenommen hat. In direktem und pragmatischem Ton spricht der Generalleutnant Leahy von den bedeutendsten Aspekten eines Heeres, das sich in der Vergangenheit hervortat, sich heute auszeichnet und seine Zukunft schon vorgezeichnet hat.

Die weibliche Komponente, eine wertvolle Ressource des Heeres von Domenico Rossi (S. 58).

Das Gesetz 380/1999 hat den Frauen die Welt des Militärs eröffnet, ohne jegliche Behinderung der Einsätze und der Karriere. Die graduerten jährlichen Anteile an Frauen werden vom Verteidigungsministerium auf Empfehlung der Kommission für «gleiche Möglichkeiten der Geschlechter» (Commissione Pari Opportunità) festgesetzt. Dies geschieht unter der entsprechend notwendigen Anpassung der Infrastruktur, bei der die nationalen architektonischen und urbanistischen Verhältnisse zu berücksichtigen sind.

Im Jahr 2005 ist der Einsatz von 2 350 einjährigen weiblichen Freiwilligen geplant (VFP 1). Die Präsenz von Frauen in operativen Einsatzgebieten ist fundamental, insbesondere im Umgang mit der lokalen Bevölkerung.

Das Gebrüll der «Lagunari» von Mario Garano (S. 70).

Die Erben der «Infanteristen des Meeres» («Fanti da mar») der ehemaligen Republik von Venedig, die «Lagunari», eine Spezialeinheit der modernen Infanterie, sind in Krisengebieten eingesetzt, wo sie sich die Achtung der Alliierten und die Zustimmung der Bevölkerung zu verdienen wussten.

Erfolgreich kämpfen von Filippo Di Pirro (S. 80).

Die «Strategien von Coping» helfen bei der Definition der individuellen Reaktion in mühevollen, nervenaufreibenden und stressigen Situationen, indem sie die daraus folgende wahrscheinliche Verhaltensweise aufzeigen. Auf diese Art und Weise ist es möglich die individuelle Zuverlässigkeit im Einsatz zu bewerten. Es bietet aber auch die Möglichkeit zur Erarbeitung von Programmen, die zur Wiedereingewöhnung nach längerem Aufenthalt in operativen Einsatzgebieten mit hoher Intensität dienen. Dies garantiert die Effizienz des Personals auch unter psychologischem Profil und den Schutz der inneren Sphäre.

Grundwehrdienst ade von Giovanni Cerbo (S. 88).

Das kürzlich vom Parlament verabschiedete Gesetz in Bezug auf das Aussetzen des obligatorischen Grundwehrdienstes und der dafür vorgesehene Einsatz von freiwilligen Zeitsoldaten in den Truppen kommt nicht nur den operativen Bedürfnissen des militärischen Apparats entgegen, sondern interpretiert parallel dazu das in den letzten Jahrzehnten gereifte Bedürfnis nach Veränderung in unserer Gesellschaft.

Eine Epoche endet, ebenso wie das «Institut», das lebensnah den langsamen und schwierigen Weg unseres Landes in seinem Prozess des sozialen, kulturellen, demokratischen, technischen und wissenschaftlichen Wachstums mitgestaltet hat.

Die enge Beziehung zwischen der militärischen Welt und der Zivilgesellschaft in Deutschland von Maurizio Sulig (S. 94).

Diese wird gewährleistet, indem der konstante Kontakt gesucht und durch die verschiedensten Formen von Vereinigungen gefördert wird; ergänzt durch die glückliche Situation des Offiziers und des Unteroffiziers deren Aufgabe es ist, die Beziehung zur Jugend zu pflegen mit dem Ziel, das Interesse für die militärische Wirklichkeit zu wecken und zu erhalten.

Der Krieg, der dem Lande der aufgehenden Sonne die Tuere Asiens öffnete von Massimo Iacopi (S. 102).

Trotz der Anerkennung der in der Mandschurei eroberten Territorien, der Rechtsgültigkeit der politischen, ökonomischen und militärischen Interessen Koreas gegenüber und der Kontrolle des südlichen Teils der Sakhalin-Insel, erkennen die Japaner, wegen ihrer 80.000 Gefallenen und 450.000 Verletzten, die erzielten Vorteile als unerheblich. Ausserdem ist Russland nicht verpflichtet, Japan, einem Land, wo der Krieg so teuer wie sechs Jahre Nationalprodukt gekostet hat, Kriegsschadensleistungen einzuzahlen. Seit November 1905 wird Korea zum japanischen Protektorat und 1910 wird es annektiert. Von da ab und bis zum Schluss des 2. Weltkrieges wird Japan kein anderes Ziel verfolgen, als die Beibehaltung und die Expansion seines Reiches.

Die Passion von Christ von Attilio Claudio Borreca (S. 110).

Die Kreuzigung von Jesus Christus ist seit mehr als zweitausend Jahren, eines der nachgeprüften Ereignisse der Geschichte. Von der Vergleichen der Geschichtsschreibung mit den Texten der Evangelien kommen immer noch Bestätigungen hervor, die Gelehrten und Gläubigen umfassen und ihnen Überlegungssanlässe anbieten, die die Zeit überschreiten und immer aktuelle moralische und ethische Bedeutung gewinnen.



El enfrentamiento que nunca se dio por Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pág. 2).

Las confrontaciones de civilizaciones llevan tiempo capturando la atención de estudiosos y analistas de geopolítica. El pionero fue el historiador inglés Arnold Toynbee con su obra «Parangón de civilizaciones» de 1946. En cambio, en 1997, Samuel Huntington con su libro «El enfrentamiento de civilizaciones y el nuevo orden mundial» prefigura escenarios mundiales caracterizados por enfrentamientos de culturas. Sin embargo, la realidad no siempre corresponde a la teoría.

Africa roja por Giovanni Bucciol (pág. 12).

Llevar más de medio siglo enfrentándose. Por un lado, la etnia árabe blanca y musulmana del norte, líder tradicional del país, y por el otro, la etnia negra de los territorios del sur, cristiana y animista que viene reclamando desde años derechos de igualdad. El reciente acuerdo para la futura organización del país prevé una fase de transición de más de seis años con un Gobierno de unidad nacional, al cabo de la que se habrán de celebrar votaciones referendarias. Dicho acuerdo no es el primero pero sí esperanza al país sobre una concreta posibilidad para conseguir esa tan añorada paz.

Perspectiva africanas por Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (pág. 22).

Las causas del fenómeno de inmigración, a menudo ilegal, que está experimentando cotidianamente el Occidente, se identifican también en los problemas que agobian a África. Esto ya basta como para explicar que los problemas africanos acaban teniendo repercusiones intercontinentales. Correctamente orientada y encaminada, la intervención de Occidente en África, podría resolver a las raíces apremiantes situaciones de desasosiego. En cuanto a Europa, ésta podría aprovechar la cercanía de ese continente aún todo por valorizar, ya que a su vez África podría brindar interesantes oportunidades para el futuro. Empezando por el adecuado aprovechamiento de su inmensa riqueza de recursos naturales y humanos de los que depende cada vez más el bienestar mundial.

La Convención de Ottawa por Giorgio Scarchilli (pág. 30).

Tras analizar lo dispuesto y firmado en Ottawa en 1997, la cumbre concertó un plan de trabajo para el quinquenio sucesivo. Dicha iniciativa



estaba encaminada a: sintetizar las mayores actuaciones llevadas a cabo por los Estados durante el primer quinquenio de actividad; ilustrar los planes para la retirada de minas en los países en que fue señalada la presencia de minas anti-personas; evidenciar el número de accidentes anuales causados por dichas bombas; discutir y aprobar el «Nairobi Action Plan 2005-2009». De la Conferencia se desprendió que fueron numerosos e importantes los adelantos logrados en cuanto a la transparencia de las informaciones. Quedó establecido que en los próximos cinco años serán destruidos los arsenales que no cumplieren lo dispuesto por la Convención, a la vez que se procederá a las operaciones de limpieza de minas.

El ejército de Chile está listo para aceptar los retos del futuro

Entrevista con el Teniente General de las Fuerzas Armadas Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, General Comandante del Ejército por Giuseppe Maria Giovanni Tricarico (pág. 40).

Los cambios repentinos que se dan en los escenarios vuelven necesarias importantes variantes operacionales en las herramientas militares. La amenaza a la que se hace frente ya no es sólo convencional sino que también presenta riesgos imprevisibles que podrían concretarse en lugares y momentos indeterminados, con modalidades distintas y generalmente dispares. Entre éstos, resalta el terrorismo, con su aparición prepotentemente en las escenas política, económica, militar y, por supuesto, mediática. Los ejércitos modernos han emprendido un proceso de adecuación caracterizado además de por la cooperación y colaboración internacional, por sensatas y prudentes decisiones en ámbito técnico e industrial. Y ello con miras a las nuevas operaciones de «Estabilización» y «Reconstrucción» realizadas en el marco del «Nation Building», a través de actuaciones interejércitos y multinacionales. Aquí vemos cómo el Ejército chileno encaró y resolvió estos asuntos, siendo Chile un país con antiguas tradiciones que mantiene con Italia estrechas relaciones humanas y culturales.

Al servicio del País y de la Libertad de los Pueblos. Entrevista con el Jefe del Estado Mayor del Ejército australiano por Enrico Magnani (pág. 48).

Pese a la lejanía geográfica que separa Australia de Italia, estos dos países son mucho más cercanos de lo que podría uno imaginar. Por pertenecer a un pueblo orgulloso y determinado, el ejército australiano es un ejército experto y valiente que participó en numerosas operaciones llevadas a cabo en todos los teatros operacionales. Con tono pragmático y directo, el Teniente General Leahy delinea el carácter de un ejército que se distinguió por el pasado y en el presente y que ya está forjando su futuro.

La componente femenina: un valioso recurso para el Ejército

por Domenico Rossi (pág. 58).

Con la ley 380/1999 se fueron abriendo gradualmente las puertas del mundo militar a las mujeres, y ello sin discriminación alguna en cuanto a cargos y carrera. El ingreso de las mujeres en el ejército se hizo cumplimentando cuotas dispuestas anualmente por el Ministerio de Defensa tras consejo de la Comisión para la Igualdad de Oportunidades. Este proceso se acompañó de una adecuación de las infraestructuras, realizada de conformidad con las condicionantes arquitectónicas y urbanísticas nacionales. Para el año 2005, se prevé el enrolamiento voluntario de 2 350 mujeres por un periodo de un año. Resultó fundamental la presencia de las mujeres en los teatros de operaciones por las relaciones que éstas lograron entablar con la poblaciones locales.

El rugido de los «Lagunari»

por Mario Garano (pág. 70).

Herederos de los «Fanti da mar» de la Serenísima República de Venecia, los «Lagunari», especialistas de la infantería moderna, intervienen en las zonas de crisis donde se distinguieron conquistándose la estima de los aliados y la confianza de las poblaciones.

Luchar con éxito

por Filippo Di Pirro (pág. 80).

Al formular previsiones sobre posibles comportamientos, las «Estrategias de Coping» permiten definir las reacciones individuales en las situaciones que conllevan estrés, fatiga y desgaste. Conque se vuelve posible evaluar y comprobar la fiabilidad del individuo a la hora de actuar así como su capacidad para organizar programas de readaptación tras una larga estadia en teatros operacionales comprometidos. Lo cual permite garantizar la eficiencia del personal salvaguardando su equilibrio psicológico y su vida interior.

Adios al servicio militar obligatorio

por Giovanni Cerbo (pág. 88).

La ley recientemente adoptada por el Parlamento en cuanto a la suspensión del servicio militar obligatorio y a la disciplina del enrolamiento voluntario con plazo prefijado, no sólo responde a las exigencias operativas de la herramienta militar, sino que también interpreta y satisface una necesidad de cambio experimentada por la sociedad en estos últimos decenios. Así es como finaliza una época y deja de vivir un «instituto» que ha marcado el lento y difícil camino unitario de Italia hacia el desarrollo social, cultural, democrático, técnico y científico.

El mundo militar y la sociedad civil en Alemania

por Maurizio Sulig (pág. 94).

Es constante la búsqueda de formas asociativas encaminadas a mantener e intensificar las relaciones entre el mundo militar y la sociedad. Entre ellas cabe señalar la exitosa solución que consistió en la creación de las figuras del Ofi-

cial y del Suboficial, encargadas de entablar contactos con los jóvenes, y ello con el fin de suscitar y fomentar el interés de los mismos por el mundo militar.

La guerra que la abrió la puerta de Asia a Japón

por Massimo Iacopi (pág. 102).

Pese al reconocimiento de los territorios adquiridos en el campo de batalla en Manchuria, a la legitimidad de los intereses políticos, económicos y militares para con Corea y al control de la parte meridional de la isla Sakhalin, los japoneses estiman las ventajas conseguidas en irrisorias e insuficientes como para compensar a 80 000 muertos y 450 000 heridos. Además Rusia tampoco le debe reparaciones de guerra a Japón, al que el conflicto le costó un monto equivalente al producto nacional de 6 años. En noviembre de 1905, Corea se convierte en un protectorado japonés y es anexionada en 1910. Desde entonces y hasta la amarga conclusión de la segunda guerra mundial, el objetivo de Japón no fue más que el mantenimiento y la expansión de su imperio.

La Pasión de Cristo

por Attilio Claudio Borreca (pág. 110).

La crucifixión de Cristo lleva más de 2000 años siendo una de los acontecimientos más estudiados de la historia. Cada vez que se compara la perspectiva historiográfica con los textos del Evangelio, se desprenden confirmaciones que involucran a estudiosos y creyentes, dando lugar a reflexiones y pensamientos que superan el tiempo y las épocas y cobran un valor moral y ético de mucha actualidad.



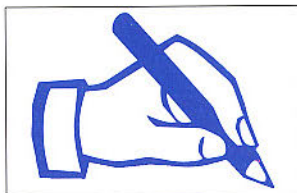
O combate que nunca existiu

de Antonio Ciabattini Leonardi (pág. 2).

Os confrontos entre civilizações captam, há já algum tempo, as atenções de estudiosos e analistas de geopolítica. O precursor foi o histórico inglês Arnold Toynbee, em 1946, com o volume «Civilizações em comparação». Em 1997, por outro lado, Samuel Huntington, no livro «O combate entre as civilizações e a nova ordem mundial», prefigurava cenários mundiais caracterizados por confrontos baseados na cultura e na religião. A realidade muitas vezes afasta-se da teoria.

África vermelha

de Giovanni Bucciol (pág. 12).



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO

Há mais de meio século que se confrontam, de um lado, a etnia árabe a norte, branca e de religião muçulmana, tradicionalmente guia do País, e, do outro lado, os negros do território do sul, cristãos e animistas que há vários anos pedem iguais direitos. O recente acordo para a organização do País prevê uma fase de transição de mais de seis anos com um Governo de unidade nacional, ao qual se seguirá um referendado. Este não é o primeiro acordo a ver luz, mas é também uma urgente oportunidade para ter esperança numa paz esperada há muitos anos.

Perspectivas africanas

de Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (pág. 22). Os problemas africanos estão também na base de uma imigração, muitas vezes ilegal, que quotidianamente se propaga no Ocidente. Só este último aspecto é já por si suficiente para compreender como os vários problemas africanos se acabam por propagar fora do continente. O empenho ocidental em África, sabiamente encaminhado, poderia de longe resolver situações acidentais de dificuldade. Do seu canto a Europa poderia beneficiar da proximidade de uma África a valorizar, que poderia por sua vez proporcionar, num amanhã, úteis oportunidades e sob vários aspectos. Começando precisamente por uma correcta utilização dos seus imensos recursos humanos e naturais, dos quais o bem-estar mundial não se pode mais privar.

A Convenção de Ottawa de Giorgio Sarchilli (pág. 30).

O vértice reexaminou o que foi assinado em Ottawa em 1997, concordando um plano de trabalho para os 50 anos seguintes. A iniciativa serviu para: sintetizar as principais iniciativas empreendidas pelo Estados Parte no primeiro lustro de actividade; ilustrar os planos de beneficiação dos países nos quais vem assinalada a presença de minas anti-pessoais; evidenciar o número dos incidentes anuais causados por estas; discutir e aprovar o «Naïrobi Action Plan 2005-2009».

Da Conferência emergiu que os progressos obtidos na transparência das informações foram muitos. Nos próximos cinco prevê-se de destruir os arsenais não em linha com a Convenção, procedendo contextualmente às operações de beneficiação.

O Exército do Chile pronto para os desafios futuros

Entrevista ao General do Corpo da Armada Juan Emilio Cheyre Espinosa, Comandante em Chefe do Exército ao cuidado de Giuseppe Maria Giovanni Tricarico (pág. 40).

Repentinamente mudanças de cenário induzem sensíveis variantes operativas nos instrumentos militares. Já não nos confrontamos apenas com uma ameaça convencional, mas também é preciso enfrentar riscos dificilmente previsíveis, que se poderiam concretizar,

em tempos e lugares indeterminados, com modalidades diferentes e geralmente assimétricas. Não em último vem o terrorismo, elevado prepotentemente à ribalta da cena política, económica, militar e naturalmente mediática. Os exércitos modernos hoje estão empenhados num processo de adequação que se vale da cooperação e da colaboração internacional, sem por outro lado prescindir de prudentes escolhas técnicas e industriais, mesmo em razão das novas operações de «Estabilização» e «Reconstrução» no âmbito do Nation Building, expressas em ambiente interforças e multinacional.

Vejamos como semelhantes temáticas foram enfrentadas e resolvidas pelo Exército do Chile, país de antigas tradições, muito próxima da Itália por ligações humanas e culturais.

Ao serviço do País e da liberdade dos povos. Entrevista ao Chefe do Estado Maior do Exército Australiano de Enrico Magnani (pág. 48).

A Austrália está longe, mas da Itália está muito mais perto do que se possa imaginar. Pertencente a um povo vigoroso e determinado, o australiano é um soldado sabedor e corajoso, que participou em numerosas operações em todos os Teatros Operativos. Com tons directos e pragmáticos, o Tenente General Leahy traça os aspectos salientes de um Exército ilustre no passado, no presente e que já traçou o seu futuro.

A componente feminina preciso recurso do Exército

de Domenico Rossi (pág. 58).

A Lei 380/1999 abriu gradualmente o mundo militar às mulheres sem qualquer discriminação de encargos ou carreiras, mediante quotas anualmente estabelecidas pelo Ministério da Defesa sob parecer da Comissão pela Igualdade de Oportunidades. Isto está a acontecer com um contextual adequamento de infraestruturas que tutela os vínculos arquitectónicos e urbanísticos nacionais. Para 2005 está prevista a admissão de 2 350 Voluntárias em Ferma pré-estabelecida de um ano (VFP 1). Importante foi, nos Teatros Operativos, a presença de mulheres, que se revelou fundamental nas relações com as populações locais.

O rugido dos Lagunari de Mario Garano (pág. 70).

Herdeiros dos «Fanti da mar» da Serenissima República de Veneza, os Lagunari, especialidade da infantaria moderna, são empregados nas áreas de crise onde souberam cativar a estima dos aliados e o consenso das populações.

Lutar com sucesso de Filippo Di Pirro (pág. 80).

As «Estratégias de Coping» ajudam a definir as reacções individuais nas situações que comportam fadiga, desgaste e stress, formulando previsões de possíveis comportamentos.

De tal modo é possível avaliar a confiança individual em termos de emprego, mas também organizar programas de reintegração depois de permanências prolongadas em Teatros Operativos de elevada intensidade. Isto para garantir a eficiência do pessoal também sob o perfil psicológico e tutelar a esfera interior.

A recruta là vai de Giovanni Cerbo (pág. 88).

A lei aprovada recentemente do Parlamento, relacionada com a suspensão do serviço obrigatório de recruta e a disciplina dos voluntários de tropa em recruta pré-estabelecida, mais do que vir ao encontro das exigências operativas do instrumento militar, interpretou simetricamente uma necessidade de mudança amadurecida na sociedade nas últimas décadas. Fecha-se uma época e deixa de viver uma «instituição» marcou naturalmente o lento e difícil caminho unitário do nosso país no seu processo de crescimento social, cultural, democrático, técnico e científico.

A estreita relação entre mundo militar e sociedade civil na Alemanha de Maurizio Sulig (pág. 94).

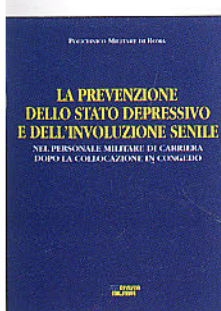
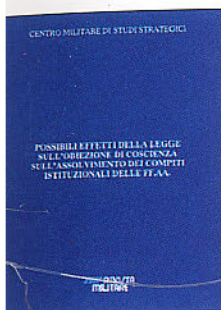
Tudo é perseguido procurando constantemente o contacto através de diferentes fórmulas associativas. A estas junta-se a feliz solução do Oficial e do Sub-Oficial destinados à relação com o mundo juvenil, com o objectivo de suscitar e manter o interesse pela realidade militar.

A guerra que abriu ao Sol Nascente as portas da Ásia de Massimo Iacopi (pág. 102).

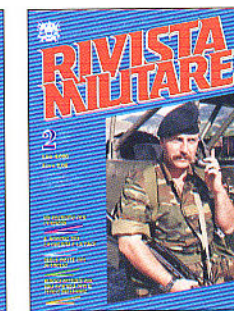
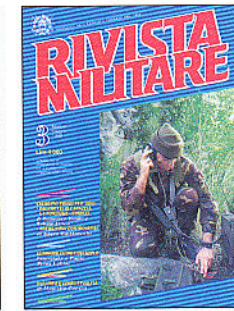
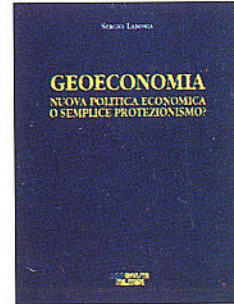
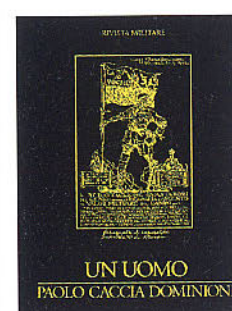
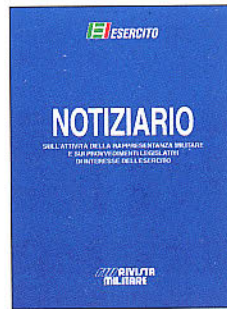
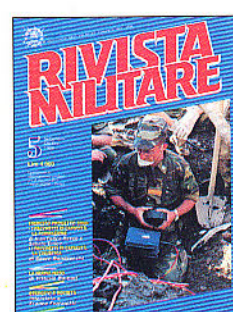
Apesar do reconhecimento dos territórios adquiridos na Manchúria e a legitimidade dos interesses políticos, económicos e militares em relação à Coreia, o controle da metade meridional da ilha de Sakhalin, por meio dos 80 mil caídos em combate e 450 mil feridos, os japoneses julgam irrisórias as vantagens conseguidas. Por outro lado, a Rússia não é obrigada a pagar indemnizações de guerra ao Japão que sustém um conflito que custou o equivalente a seis anos de produto nacional. Desde Novembro de 1905 a Coreia torna-se um protectorado nipónico, para depois ser anexada em 1910. O Japão, desde aquele momento até à amarga conclusão da 2ª Guerra Mundial, não terá mais nenhum objectivo: a manutenção e a expansão do seu império.

A Paixão de Cristo de Attilio Claudio Borreca (pág. 110).

A crucificação de Jesus Cristo é, há mais de dois mil anos, um dos eventos mais examinados da História. É precisamente comparando a perspectiva historiográfica com os textos dos Evangelhos, que emergem, todas as vezes, confirmações capazes de envolver estudiosos e crentes, fornecendo pontualmente temas de reflexão à altura de passar além das épocas, para assumir significados morais e éticos sempre actuais.



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The "Games Theory"

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ENGLISH EDITION



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Kabul, August 4, 2005:
Lieutenant General Mauro Del Vecchio, Commander of the NRDC-IT, receives the Flag on the occasion of the Transfer of Authority at the Headquarters of the "International Security Assistance Force".

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Rivista Militare aims at broadening and updating the technical and vocational training of Army personnel. It is thus a means of propagating the military way of thinking and a forum of study and debate. Through the publication of articles of technical and scientific interest, Rivista Militare also aims at informing the general public on the Army and on military issues.

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Signed by fifty States under the aegis
of the United Nations

THE TREATY ON CONVENTIONAL ARMS

The Protocols of the Agreement are aimed
at restricting or prohibiting their use



The Convention is a flexible instrument, which can link the norms on armaments control with the ethical principles of the international humanitarian law.

The unnecessary sufferings caused by the improper use of arms are the cornerstone of the limitations and prohibition of employment sanctioned by the Protocols. Unfortunately, after more than two decades from the enforcement of the Treaty, the results are discouraging.

by Giorgio Sarchilli * and Emanuele Massara **



Within the international Agreements on "Arms Control", besides the Treaties established to reduce the quantities of some types of equipment, i.e. the proliferation of certain categories of weapons, there are Conventions aimed at restricting or prohibiting the use of certain weapons. The "Convention on Certain Conventional Arms", which is the theme of this article, forbids or restricts the use of some categories of weapons and, in some respects, broadens the principles of previous Treaties regarding the protection of the war victims.

Such intentions are not in the least recent. As long ago as medieval times, in Europe, the "ethical principles of behaviour in battle" were very popular among soldiers, encouraging the combatants to be fair during the fights and to protect the defenceless, even at the risk of their own safety. Later, with the coming of the "Great War", the need of each fighting party to prevail over the enemy determined an ever-growing use of resources to acquire sophisticated weapons which, unlike what happened in the past, were widely lethal among the belligerent troops and ended up by involving civilians in the fighting.

The Second World War saw the culmination of bombings carried out by using conventional, chemical and, sometimes, nuclear weapons, which caused unprecedented massacres, both among soldiers and civilians.

During the Cold War, although arms control was mainly directed to weapons of mass destruction, mostly because of the risk resulting from nuclear proliferation, the terrible sufferings caused by the use of the new weaponry during the wars in the fifties and sixties (such as the Korea and Viet Nam wars)



Left.
Armament materials seized in
Afghanistan.
Right.
Inspecting a depot of T-55 and T-62
tanks.

drew the attention of public opinion to the need to regulate the use of conventional weapons as well. Actually, at the end of the sixties, the International Red Cross started a campaign to awaken the various Governments to the need to broaden the dictates of the Geneva Convention of 1949, which formed the legal basis for the protection of the victims of war.

After ten years of negotiations, following the adoption of two additional Protocols (1) to the Geneva Conventions, the United Nations General Assembly convened the "Conference on Certain Conventional Weapons" in 1977, which, in 1980, adopted the current basic structure of the Convention.

THE CONVENTION

The "Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects", best known as "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons" (*Certain Conventional Weapons* - CCW), was negotiated by fifty States from 1977 to 1980, under the aegis of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament Affairs, in Geneva. Adopted on 10 October 1980, open to signing for twelve months from 10 April 1981, it entered into force on 2 December 1983. It is an initiative closely related to the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the pro-

tection of war victims, through which the international community intends to reduce the sufferings caused by wars to combatants and civilians, in relation to the use of certain conventional weapons. The CCW consists of a Preamble, which explains the object of the Treaty, eleven Articles and five Protocols. These Protocols, which may be ratified (2) by each single State also at different times, deal with specific prohibitions or restrictions.

Protocol I, contextual to the Convention, prohibits to use weapons whose primary effect is to project fragments not detectable by X-rays. In fact, when small parts of glass, plastic or wood penetrate a human body but cannot be detected, it is impossible to make a diagnosis or proceed to a treatment. This Protocol takes up again a prohibition already established in other international Conventions in the past. Actually, the serious injuries caused inside human bodies by deforming bullets have been well known already since the last years of the nineteenth century.

Through the so-called expansion or fragmentation of the bullet, the average surface increased, discharging a higher energy on the target, causing injuries more serious than necessary, also in case of wounds limited to the limbs. Moving from these assumptions, the Hague Declaration was issued already in 1899 (RSO.515.103), expressing the prohibition to use hollow pointed, half jacketed or fragmentation bullets, and was afterwards adopted by the Geneva Convention. Protocol I



applies not only to bullets but also to any type of munitions which, by means of impact or explosion, can project fragments not detectable by X-rays.

Protocol II, which was also drafted at the same time of the Treaty, was issued in order to restrict the use of anti-personnel and anti-vehicle landmines (it does not apply to anti-ship mines or to those used to obstruct river traffic), traps and other explosive devices. In 1996, in order to broaden the scope of its application, the States Parties signed the "Amended Protocol II" (entered into force in 1998), which substantially changed the original one, providing for the application of the above-mentioned restrictions to the internal armed conflicts in each individual State besides the multinational ones. Such extension paved the way for the adoption of the a-

ment of Article 1 of the Convention during the *Review Conference* of 2001. In particular, it provides for the clearance of mined territories, soon after the end of the hostilities, by the States responsible for laying the mines. It introduces more detailed definitions of the terms related to landmines, stating clearly the differences among anti-personnel mines, booby traps and other devices. They must be equipped with mechanisms that reduce their dangerousness (e.g. self-destruction, self-deactivation and self-neutralization mechanisms, etc.) and positioned so as to be easily located and removed. Eighty-one States, among which China, India, Israel, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, signed the Amended Protocol II together with the United States, which, on the other hand, did not join the "Convention on the Prohibi-

tion on the Use of Anti-personnel Mines" (3), for it considered it inadequate. This Protocol, unlike the "Ottawa Convention", does not ban the use of mines, but sets rigid regulations on their use. The use of landmines and booby traps is prohibited in all circumstances in which it may cause losses among civilians or damage their property. Mines may be used only against military objectives, in marked and recorded areas, through detectable devices equipped with self-destruction mechanisms.

Protocol III, the last to be promulgated at the same time of the Convention, limits the use of incendiary weapons and munitions, prohibiting their use against civilians or military areas placed near civilian settlements. Moreover, it forbids the use of incendiary weapons in forests and plantations, unless such ar-

eas are used by armed troops as hiding places. Therefore, among the restricted weapons there are only those which are incendiary as their primary effect (such as flamethrowers), whereas weapons and munitions which may start a fire as a side-effect (such as illuminating devices, tracers shells and smoke bombs) are not limited. From a historical point of view, it

my towns or ships, boiling or inflammable substances were poured on the besiegers or on their siege machines. As gun-powder became widespread, combining incendiary with explosive effects, incendiary weapons played a secondary role. Again in the twentieth century they were widely used when, during the First World War, the Austrians and the Germans used flamethrowers, which, although not very effective, were quite impressive from

Mortar shells.



should be underlined that the incendiary weapons have always been considered extremely effective and with a strong psychological impact because of the sufferings they inflict to the victims and for their destructivity. Fire has always been used to harm the enemy by shooting incendiary arrows and shells against the structures of the ene-

a psychological point of view, so much so that the International Community for the first time started to consider whether their use was advisable. At that time this weapon consisted of a tube that could shoot against the enemy, at a distance of 20-50 meters, incendiary substances, by-products of oil, which were ignited when

coming out of the tube by a spark or an igniter. The tactical use of the flamethrower is mostly offensive, as the burst of flames is particularly suitable for destroying positions, machine-gun nests and small fortifications. After the First World War, the flamethrowers were improved and mounted on vehicles. The available quantity of fuel reached 500 litres, with a range of 120 metres. As petrol burns too quickly to be able to convey enough heat to the target, a mixture of aluminium dust soap, naphthene and aluminium palmitate (napalm) was chosen. Together with petrol it forms a mixture that can burn at about 1000 degrees Celsius (against 675 degrees Celsius of petrol). In the sixties and seventies, during the Viet Nam War, in order to drive out the Vietcong fighters, the Americans used napalm on vegetation causing serious environmental and humanitarian consequences. Such palpable effects had remarkable repercussions on public opinion, which, in 1972, persuaded the International Red Cross to take an initiative aimed at prohibiting the use of napalm and other incendiary weapons. In Protocol III the limitations regarding the prohibition or restrictions on the use of incendiary weapons are intentionally expressed in a very simple way. Only two articles exhaust the close scrutiny. In particular, the first contains the definitions and the second describes the field of application.

Protocol IV, unlike the first three, was drafted by the States Parties after the Convention's birth (1980). In particular, it was agreed upon in 1996, during the First Review Conference, and can be considered of "historical" importance as regards arms control, since it was the first time that the use of a certain category of weapons



was prohibited before actually using it in operations.

This Protocol refers to the prohibition to use blinding laser weapons, i.e. specifically designed to cause permanent blindness. Actually, weapons that can release an intense laser beam directed towards a distant target, or designed to be effectively used at a distance of tens of kilometres, can have other military uses, such as acquisition of objectives, artillery ranging or target lighting. As a consequence, because of the high energy developed by the light beam, the collateral effects of some laser weapons can cause a temporary or permanent damage to sight. Therefore, in order to prevent such collateral effects, Protocol IV urges the States Parties to take all the necessary precautions in order to avoid the possible blinding effects caused by laser systems primarily designed as designators or guidance for ammunition.

Protocol V, drafted in November 2003 by the States Parties which meanwhile had become 94, applies to the *Explosive Remnants of War* – ERW. Its aim is to minimize the risks of the explosive remnants of war that might be on the territory, including internal waters, as regards civilian personnel at the end of a conflict.

PROTOCOL V

It stems from the wars' aftermath, such as those fought in Cambodia, Angola, Bosnia, Eritrea, Afghanistan and Iraq, which highlighted the atrocious effects caused by the large amounts of explosive war remnants present on the territory at the end of the conflict. In Bosnia, for example, it is deemed that about 30% of the post-war losses can be attributed to the presence of *Explosive Remnants of War*, whereas in Cambodia and Afghanistan the estimated figure is around

A mixed minefield in the desert.

50%.

In order to cope with such problems effectively, the States Parties must pledge to exchange information about the location, number and typology of the remnants, and undertake to carry out clearance activities in the areas where there might be remnants of explosive ordnance and/or abandoned explosive devices and, moreover, take all possible precautions to protect the civilian population and the members of the international organizations.

The document consists of eleven articles, which require the States to map, clear, remove and destroy all the explosive remnants of war in the territories under their control. In particular to:

- record and retain the information regarding location, number and type of the explosive remnants;

- take every precaution for the protection of the civilian population and the personnel of Governmental and non-Governmental Organizations from the risks deriving from the presence of remnants in the territory under their control;
- co-operate with the other States Parties and the relevant organizations operating in the territory under their control;
- exchange all available information about the remnants and provide assistance to the abovementioned States and Organizations in terms of human, financial and technological resources;
- take part in general consultations among States to discuss the operational aspects of the implementation of the Protocol;
- give to their Armed Forces and the civilian organizations concerned the appropriate instructions in order to train them to carry out their tasks in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol.

The agreement is provided with a technical Annex which suggests the *best practices* for achieving the objectives of the Protocol. To this end, the Technical Annex provides details on:

- recording, storage and release of information for *Unexploded Ordnance* (UXO) and *Abandoned Explosive Ordnance* (AXO);
- elements to be used in information programmes about the risks connected with the presence of *ERW*;
- criteria to be followed during the production of munitions and the application of standards of quality control, in order to ensure the best possible reliability in the management procedures of munitions in storage facilities and during the transport and transfer to another State.

Although the Protocol is not

constituted by a series of rigid rules, in that every direction contains words such as “as far as practicable”, “as far as possible”, it is to be regarded as politically binding. In fact, should the provisions go back to the State which exercises “the control of the territory” through its Armed Forces and/or its Governmental Organizations, this would result in burdensome expenses in terms of human and financial resources for this State.

The activities concerning the clearing of the territory of any

many areas are still infested with devices. For example, in Afghanistan, the substantial funds allocated by the international community (about 75 million dollars only in 2003) and the work of many organizations, such as the “*Halo Trust*”, which has been involved in Afghanistan since 1988 with about 2000 workers and has removed and destroyed about one million and three hundred thousand UXOs and mines, have not achieved the desired effects. In 2003, in Afghanistan, there



A device camouflaged among the vegetation.

type of explosive device currently rely on non-Governmental Organizations, which manage long and expensive assistance programmes. An idea of the size of the task is given by the experience acquired in Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan and Iraq, where despite the unceasing work of the multinational Forces and several NGOs (*Non Governmental Organizations*),

were 846 victims in accidents caused by mines, while the estimated number of UXOs amounts to millions. There are about 300,000 mines still buried and 130,000 mines are stockpiled in various storages.

In 2004 the efforts made by



the "Group of Experts" in order to identify practicable common measures to produce "safe" munitions, equipped with self-destruction mechanisms in case of malfunctioning, did not achieve the wished results. In fact, the delegations did not manage to reach an agreement on a common standard. The Convention has examined several typologies of ordnance. Among them there are also the so-called *cluster bombs*, which split into hundreds of submunitions and saturate vast areas. Many non-Governmental Organizations are trying to prohibit the use of these bombs, as they do not have effective self-destruction devices.

On the other hand, remarkable progress has been made in the field of anti-vehicle mines,

where the United States and some Western Nations strongly support the initiative of equipping such ordnance with mechanisms of self-destruction, self-deactivation and easy detection.

Although these difficulties might not be overcome, the Protocol will anyway enter into force after its ratification by at least 20 out of the 97 States Parties. Currently only six States (Sweden, Sierra Leone, Lithuania, Germany, Croatia and Finland) have ratified the Protocol issued in 2003.

TAKING STOCK OF THE STATE OF THE CONVENTION FROM 1983 TO 2004

Some delegations had considered the birth of the Treaty as the

Sappers setting up a shaft for blasting war remnants.

realization of the will to have a flexible means, based on a framework that could be developed by adding new Protocols apt to give the adequate answers to the needs that might be in store in the future as regards arms control. In other words, the hope was that a dynamic document had been created, which could achieve an almost universal approval. But, during the twenty years of existence of the Convention, this enthusiastic start was never followed by the hoped success, due to the reasons we are going to discuss presently.

First of all, it should be underlined that in order to reach



A soldier on watch duty.

an “agreement” that could be shared by as many States as possible, the provisions enclosed in the final draft of the document were less incisive than the proposals submitted by some States. In fact, the decisions were adopted *by consensus* whereas, during the preparatory negotiations, they were ratified by the approval of two thirds of the delegates. Moreover, in order to allow the largest possible assent, Article 4 provided that, in order to participate in the Convention, each State Party needed only to ratify at least two Protocols, without necessarily endorsing the Treaty as a whole. Still, the “Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons”, if compared to other Treaties on arms control, such as for example the “Chemical Weapon Convention – CWC”, calling for their total

ban, which includes 167 States Parties, up to the present has been suffering from a partial lack of “universalization”, i.e. a limited number of States taking part to the Treaty. As a matter of fact, the initial limited number of States which signed the first document in 1981 (50 States, 7 of which non-ratifying States)) was afterwards joined by 47 Nations in the period from 1983 to 2004, thus bringing to 97 the number of member Countries. But these adhesions were not as numerous as was hoped for. Besides, the adoption of two Protocols, which followed the first three, caused a diversified and fragmented participation within the Convention itself, a situation which risks to reach its climax with Protocol V on the post-conflict explosive remnants.

The inadequate adhesion to the enlargements (Amended Protocol II, Protocol IV and Protocol V) is due to the lack of

mutual understanding on the various issues under discussion, mostly regarding the different approaches that the Nations involved have towards such complex problems. Obviously, as often happens in an international environment, the divergences are caused by the diverse readiness to employ resources for achieving the goals set by the Treaty and by the interests connected with the domestic industrial production.

Surely, a further “weakness” of the Convention, compared to other Treaties on arms control, consists of the lack of a mechanism to monitor the *compliance* with it, in order to ascertain the correct implementation of the rules by the State Parties (e.g., as provided for by Article 8 of the “Ottawa Convention”). This shortcoming contributes to limit the mutual trust of the State Parties and the consequent universalization of the Treaty. The European Union took an active



role in promoting the constitution of a *Compliance Committee* within the Convention, tasked with monitoring the enforcement of the agreements and report any violations, but up to now, notwithstanding the efforts of the EU Delegation, the initiative has not garnered the necessary consensus.

Among the attempts to increase the number of "adherents" to the Convention, it is worth stressing the interest shown by the States Parties in contributing to the limitation of the circulation and use of small-calibre weapons and munitions. This problem was detectable in the various regional conflicts which have been following each other, starting from the Nineties, and is now cause of growing concern with-

in the international community. Therefore, the "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons" discussed the possibility to extend the scope of its application to small-calibre weapons and munitions. Many "forgotten" conflicts are fought with light weapons, distributed to governmental and irregular troops as they are readily available on the market, easy to carry and hide, and quite inexpensive. Moreover, they do not become obsolete quickly, and are easy to use compared to heavy weapons and armoured vehicles which, moreover, need specific expertise for their maintenance. Light weapons can be used by a wide range of "adepts", from terrorist groups to citizens who intend to exercise their "right" to self-defence.

A serviceman of a dog unit with his partner.

The almost limitless diffusion and availability of light weapons make conflicts "more lethal", especially those that count also irregular units among the contenders, makes it easier to violate human rights and humanitarian law, fosters internal destabilization and undermines all efforts to establish democratic structures, thus worsening the sufferings of the civilian populations involved in the wars. The issue of small-calibre weapons and munitions has been dealt with by the CCW since the very first years of its constitution. But, at the same time, it has become the object of discussions in wider international contexts and has later

culminated within the UN, in the world conference held in July 2001, where a specific "Plan of Action" for *Small Arms and Light Weapons* (SALW) was adopted. The plan provided for a series of actions and agreements, not only at regional level but also within the individual States. Therefore, considering the abovementioned world-ranging initiatives, the discussion of the issue within the inner circle of the CCW adherents played a minor and limited role. In this regard, the second "Review Conference" of the Convention (Geneva – 2001), made official the limited consensus of the States Parties in relation to small-calibre weapons and munitions, but reported a general consensus of the States Parties on the amendment of Article 1 of the Convention. Thus it was possible to extend the application of its rules to non-international (local) armed conflicts. As a consequence, this increased the interest of the States involved in local conflicts, such as, for example, those in the African Continent, giving a new impulse to the possible adhesions to the Convention.

THE ITALIAN COMMITMENT

Italy joined the first group of States Parties of the "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons", taking part in the proceedings of the UN Conference which adopted the initial text in Geneva in 1980. The Convention and its first three Annexed Protocols were ratified by Law no 715 of 14 December 1994. Afterwards, Italy adhered to Amended Protocol II and to Protocol IV on blinding laser weapons (13 January 1999), amending its own national laws. In particular, as concerns Protocol II, Italy is one of the S-



tates that anticipated the total ban on anti-personnel mines declared by the "Ottawa Convention". Besides, it is among the States which give support to the UN organizations that help the Countries affected by mine problems, honouring the commitment to meet the principles of solidarity on which the Treaty on the prohibition of anti-personnel mines is based.

As regards the ratification of Protocol V on the explosive remnants of war, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs submitted a bill which is currently being examined by the competent Min-

istries. This was necessary in order to consider in detail the new tasks that could be assigned to the Organizations.

As far as the Army is concerned, should Protocol V be nationally ratified, in a first analysis this would entail:

- at home, the same institutional support envisaged for territory clearance, as sanctioned by Decree Law no 320 of 12 April 1946;
- abroad, besides carrying out the "operational clearance", also the probable mapping of the unexploded or non-employed ordnance;

- with regard to equipment supplies, the adaptation of the technical characteristics of the munitions to the "recommendations" of the Technical Annex to the Protocol.

FINAL REMARKS

The peculiar importance of the "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons" (also called "Convention on Inhuman Weapons") stems from the fact that it is a flexible legislative instrument that can connect the regulations on arms control with the ethical principles of the International Humanitarian Law. The CCW stresses the assumption according to which military requirements can anyway be met by using "minimum force", i.e. by gauging efforts and technical means to the "bare minimum", in order to reach the goals. The useless sufferings, caused by the improper use of weapons, are the hub on which the restrictions on their use, sanctioned by the respective Protocols, are turning. However, vis-à-vis these noble principles, after more than twenty years the analysis of the state of the Convention shows that the results are not very encouraging. Until today the CCW has been known only by some "insiders". The reasons for this should be looked for in the past. Already in the eighties and in the first years of the nineties, the Convention suffered from a lack of interest by the international community, which focused its attention on "more urgent" and pragmatic issues, such as the need to check the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, chemical and biological). The initial *impasse*, along with the other factors described before, determined the inadequate "universalization" of the Treaty. The efforts made by some States Parties in order to extend the consensus have not met

with the hoped-for success, because some States, already "Parties" to other agreements, which they considered as more specific and also more effective, still argue about the need for a Convention which is regarded as generic and a duplicate of other Treaties. As in the case of Protocol V, on post-conflict remnants, where there is a general lack of consensus, presumably due to a duplication of tasks, and/or commitments already undertaken with previous Treaties, as for example the abovementioned *Ottawa Convention*.

On the other hand, the good thing is that the "Convention on Inhumane Weapons", thanks to its specific importance, for more than twenty years has been a forum for discussion in which "militarily prominent" Nations take part. The United States, the Russian Federation, China, India and Pakistan, for example, did not join the "Convention on total ban of anti-personnel landmines", but they have the opportunity to discuss about landmine issues in this forum.

Besides, we should underline the remarkable presence and the "attentive observation" shown towards the development of the Agreement by the Non-Governmental Organizations, involved in the field of disarmament and assistance to war victims. In this context, the Convention could be a new "launching pad" and a forum of discussion for Non-Governmental Organizations and raise funds for the assistance to the victims or for the clearance of territories, especially in the developing Countries.

All things considered, so far the Convention does not seem to have fully met its ambitious goals, based on profound ethical and moral principles. Surely, from a realistic point of view, on the one hand we would like equipment capable of disabling

the combatant but, on the other, it is not easy to prevent these instruments from being lethal or producing collateral effects.

Perhaps this is why the Convention, as a result of this dichotomy, is not very convincing

As a matter of fact, from an ethical point of view, this Convention represents a further and very important advance in the much wider context of the successful efforts to restrict and reduce conventional weapons. In the "humanitarian" field, with its possible future developments, the "Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons" could well be one of the essential instruments for realizing a policy of international security. □

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NOTES

(1) It is relevant here the "Additional Protocol I", Article 35 "Basic Rules" which reads:

In an armed conflict, the right of the Parties to choose methods or instruments of warfare is not unlimited.

It is prohibited to employ weapons, projectiles, materials and methods of warfare which can cause superfluous injury or unnecessary sufferings.

(2) Ratification of a document: it means to conform the national legislation to what has been agreed upon internationally.

(3) "Convention on the Prohibition of the Use, Stockpiling, Production and Transfer of Anti-Personnel Mines and on their Destruction" – *Ottawa Convention*.

Situations, contradictions and hopes are crowding around the entire Mesopotamian area, a Theatre at the centre of our military engagement which should be studied in depth

NEW IRAQI ANALYSES AND PROSPECTS

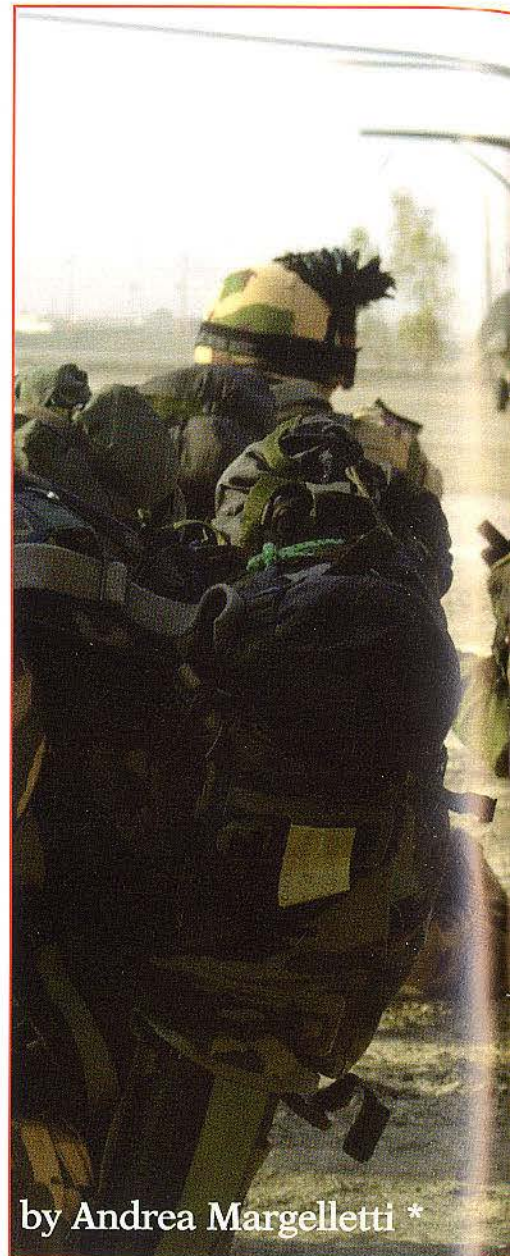
Evolution of the Sunni component of society, development of political and tribal components, protection of all the minorities scattered over the vast territory between the rivers Tigris and Euphrates, have become the key issues

To foster stability in the Country, the international community should continue to favour the political process afoot, persisting in strengthening security and completing the social and material reconstruction. Three aspects should be aimed at: the involvement of the tribes, a more active and primary role for the European Community; a federal Constitution able to guarantee in the same way all the social components, favouring the role and importance due to all of them in a democratic society.

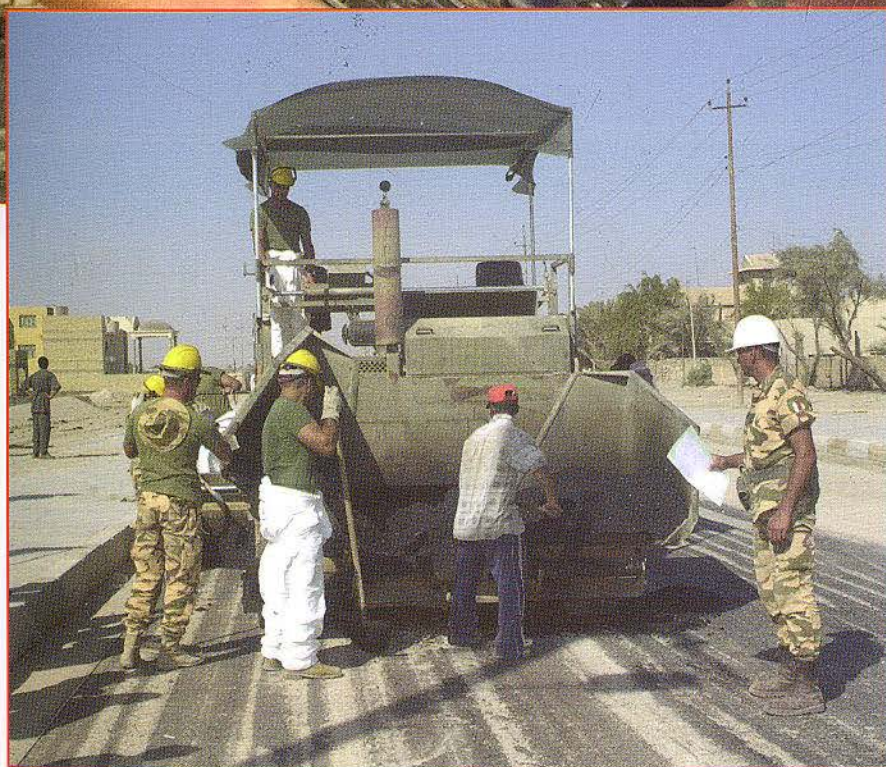
The formation of the new Iraqi Government, to the same extent as the political elections of January 30, marked a decisive passage in the recent history of Iraq. Never before had it witnessed the coming to power of a Government designated through free, though difficult elections. The long-going discussions which led to the formation of the Government headed by al-Jaafari confirm the serious difficulties the Country has been through but, at the same time, also prove the start-off of a democratic process which allows dis-

cussion and confrontation on the way to a possible compromise. The elections, even if held in an atmosphere of uncertainty and fear coming from guerrilla terrorist groups, still witnessed a significant turnout of voters (about 60 %, albeit irregularly distributed over the territory). Despite organizational difficulties and the impossibility to hold prior free discussions, a sufficient level of democracy and fairness (111 parties, alliances and political groups presented their candidates for the national Parliament, and 12 of them gained

the seats) (1). Unlike what had always happened in the past and despite a problematic boycott by the Sunnis, the elections produced a result which largely reflects the Iraqi social reality (with an unprecedented outright success of the Shi'ites and Kurds). These results reverberated in the formation of the Government, where the Shi'ites and the Kurds reached a majority agreement but undertook to involve the participation of the Sunnis, assigning to them some important positions in the Government. All of it did not go smoothly and created



by Andrea Margelletti *



serious problems, not only in the dialogue between the different components, but also within them. Still, it can be noticed that to some extent the violent outbreak of terrorist attacks, which between the end of April and the beginning of May caused over 500 dead, witnessed how much the forces opposing stabilization fear the ongoing political process.

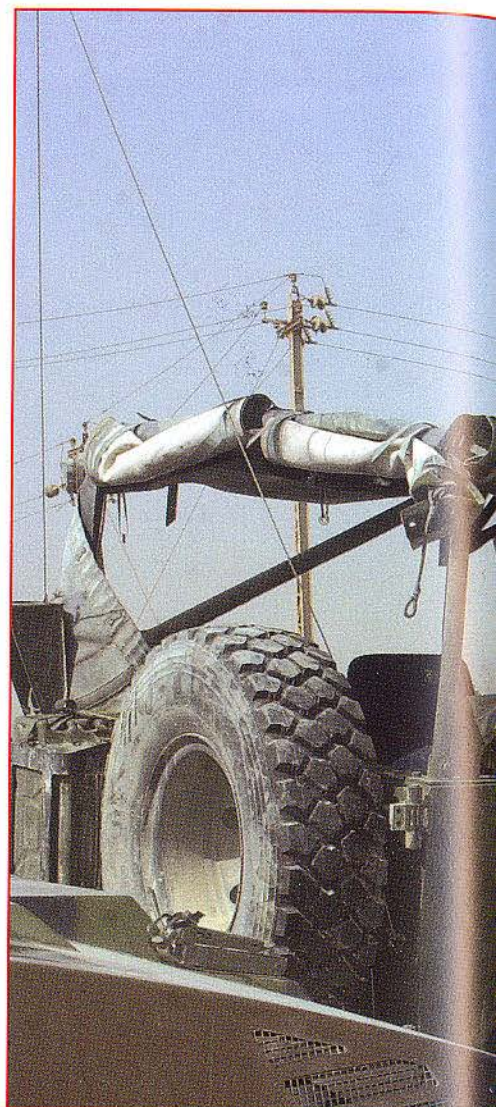
However, it is important not to underestimate the existing threats, such as the armed and terrorist struggle, but also the discontent of the population

caused by the slowness of the process of normalization, security, reconstruction, economical recovery, even the supply of essential services. At the same time the danger of civil war is still weighing heavily on the country, for there is still a temptation to fall back on arms for those groups which did not obtain what they hoped for from the current political process. Under the present difficult condition of daily life these groups can easily win the support of the population using ethnic and religious factors, along with the simplistic call of extremist ideas. Thus, the equilibrium underlying the construction of the new Iraq can still be considered fragile.

The actual effectiveness of the new Government and the Parliamentary Assembly, their ability to stabilize and run the Country, to open the dialogue with the left-outs (starting with the Sunnis), to guarantee minority rights, to open relations with foreign States, and, above all, to write a Constitution laying solid foundations for the future of Iraq, all of this still needs to be proved. In such context, some of

the outcomes of the formation process of the new Government should not be necessarily considered alarming. An example could be the going over to the opposition of the group headed by former Prime Minister Allawi, which will probably keep its position of political confrontation. Other situations are more delicate, such as the evolution of the role of the Sunni component, the dangerous marginalization of the forces which have already proved potentially subversive in the past, as is the case for the Shi'ite movement led by al-Sadr, the revival of Kurd irredentism, the protection of minorities.

To foster stability in the Country, the International Community should continue to favour the ongoing political process and carry on with security-building, not only through military actions and the necessary contribution to the formation of the Iraqi forces, but also by rebuilding the social structure. Three aspects should be aimed at: the involvement of the Iraqi tribes, a more active and leading role for the European Union, a federal Constitution which should guarantee the





protection of all the political components without any of them feeling deprived of their democratically due role.

THE NEW INSTITUTIONS

The new Parliamentary and Constituent Assembly is formed by 275 deputies who, with a two-thirds majority vote and based on the Shi'ite-Kurd political agreement, selected the Presidency Council, composed of President Jalal Talabani, leader of the UPK

Kurdish party, Vice-Presidents Mahdi, a Shi'ite from the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution, and al-Yawar, outgoing President of the Republic. They gave a mandate to form the Government to Shi'ite Ibrahim al-Jaafari, leader of the Da'awa party. His subsequent efforts proved difficult and tricky, so much so that to reach the definitive composition of the Government took several weeks of serious tensions with both Sunnis and Kurds. The latter, for instance, protested against the

Shi'ite Prime Minister's single-handed decision to leave the words referring to a Federal Iraq out of the oath's wording, thus making the ministers repeat the oath. The first list of ministers was still lacking some key-posts due to the tricky issue concerning the agreement with the Sunni representatives, who went so far as to withdraw from the talks, condemning harshly the new Government, but eventually reached an agreement which brought them, among other things, the posts of Vice Premier



and Defence Minister. The Sunni problem is still open, and even the United States insists on a greater representivity, especially in the Commission in charge of drawing up the new Constitution. In fact, despite the fact that they have a 20% quote of the population, the Sunnis have only two representatives of their political groups in the Commission.

The National Assembly has the fundamental task of completing by August 15 a draft Constitution which will have to be approved by referendum in October. In case of approval, new elections are due at the end of the year. To be effective and come into force, the future Constitution, however, will need the approval of a large part of the country: it will be invalid if two thirds of the population of at least 3 out of the 18 provinces constituting Iraq reject it. This is to guarantee, above all, the consent of the Sunni Arab minority (15% of the population), which presently is scarcely repre-

sented in the Parliament but has already shown signs of willingness to participate in the work of the new Government and, in particular, in the drawing up of the fundamental Chart.

The United States insists on sticking to the time-limit, and while launching extensive offensives against the Sunni and foreign guerrilla bases, mainly linked to al-Zarqawi, at the same time explicitly asks for strengthening the political process, as was repeatedly stressed by Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice during her visit of May 15. The declarations of the Secretary of State appear particularly significant, for they underline once more the pre-eminence of politics over arms, so refuting in some way what seemed to be the prevailing American choice in the Country. Thus, the United States persists on the advancement of this political process which is to open wide the doors to the Sunni world, including the part which



was the cradle and point of reference for the armed insurrection, and the low-profile ex-Baathist reality. In this context the United States, also accused of secret contacts with clandestine combatants, today has a position more open to dialogue compared

to that of the Shi'ite majority, whose aversion to the Baathists was one of the reasons for the exclusion of Allawi's party from the Government, Allawi was considered too soft. However, also the new institutions with a Shi'ite-Kurd leadership promised the possibility of an amnesty for ex-combatants, provided that they lay down their arms and accept to peacefully become part of the new Iraqi reality.

Besides national elections, there were local ballots for decentralized administrations. These Assemblies seem to be destined to acquire an increasing weight, not only because they are closer to the territory, which at this moment needs to be controlled in order to contain the guerrilla warfare and to restore the functioning of the essential infrastructure, but also because the State will have a strong federal system, as requested by the political forces themselves and rec-



commended by the UN and the Coalition.

13 groups took part in the competition for 111 seats in the Kurdish Regional Parliament, and 99 lists for 18 Provincial Councils, each formed by 45 members, with the exception of the Bagh-



dad Council which will have 99 members.

The advancement of the politico-institutional process is positive, though it represents just a first step. Many realities still wait to be proved by facts. Besides, the dynamics inside the new Parliament will be more complex that it may seem to a superficial Western observer. In addition to the marginality of the meagre Sunni representation, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the formations which obtained more consent are actually alliances among parties which had long been rivals, such as the

Kurdish UPK and UDK (2), and even more the different Shi'ite groups which, under the spiritual influence of Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani, constituted the Alliance (3). This division, in a less apparent but much deeper way, is still present also in the essential political choices, ranging from the relations with foreign forces (the coalition led by the US, and also Iran) to those with the minorities, up to the constitutional order and the importance to be given to the Islamic law. In this context certain tensions reemerge also within the Kurdish group, where the members left on the

fringe and even some political representatives of the PDK, less satisfied with the sharing of posts in the Government, accused their leader Talabani of having renounced the "Kurdish motherland" in exchange for positions of power.

THE PROBLEMS TO TACKLE

Therefore, Iraq is living through a key-moment in which all the forces present in the Country are facing each other, competing with each other and fighting for power. In particular, the most thorny problems concern the:

- strictly political plan, for the management of power, both governmental and parliamentary and the drafting of the Constitution;
- cultural challenge to define the characteristics of the future Iraqi society, in particular with regard to religion, thus to Islamic law;
- effective control of the territory, where security is threatened

by terrorists, guerrillas, and territorial, party or tribal militias, criminal gangs and armed factions;

- economic controversies for the management of the resources;
- ethnic, religious, and tribal rivalries.

All these disputes cannot be summarized in a clear-cut and well-defined opposition between two realities, for example Sunnis against Shi'ites, or Iraqis against the international coalition. They are a complex patchwork, where every element is on the same level, an instrument aimed at the objective of each group and, at the same time, a lever that can influence all the others. The military approach, to the same extent of the economic one, is seen as the extension of politics through other means.

But, if this approach was prevailing in the past years also on the part of the international coalition and the Baghdad Government, today the pursuit of a political solution is more topical. Although the most violent terrorist attacks and harsh mili-





tary clashes cause a high number of deaths (increased during the month following the formation of the new Government, so giving the truly realistic impression of an insufficient level of security and of a situation that could come to a head at any moment), it seems possible to assert that this violence can be imputed to al Qaeda terrorist groups and to the most extremist Sunni elements, and less to the Shi'ites. Besides, without forgetting the military presence, the most important protagonists

of the situation have opted for political competition.

However, a solution is still needed for the serious problems regarding not only and not as much the clash of the macro realities, such as the Sunnis and the Shi'ites, but rather the all-important disputes for leadership within each community.

As far as religious dynamics are concerned, 97% of the population are Muslims, with the major part belonging to the Shi'ite confession (about 65%), even if Saddam Hussein's regime favoured the

Sunni minority (32-35%, divided in: 18-20% Sunni Kurds, 12-15% Sunni Arabs, 5% Turkomans and others), insuring them the predominance over both the Shi'ite majority and the Kurdish component (15-20% of the population). Christians and others represent about 3%. The ethnical division in Iraq consists of: 75-80% Arabs, 15-20% Kurds 5% and 5% Turkomans, Assyrians and others.

As for the main groups (Shi'ites, Sunni Arabs, Kurds), their geographical distribution on the territory is not completely



homogeneous, rather it has a spotted character with marked overlappings and intersections. Therefore, it is correct to speak about areas with Sunni or Shi'ite majority, and so on.

THE SUNNIS

The Sunni world harbours two of the greatest dangers for the stabilization of Iraq: the risk of a Baathist restoration and the al-Qaeda-shaped terrorist threat.

Though in a numeric minority, the Sunnis have always dominated the Country. Now, for the first time, they have been forced out of power and realistically fear to

become the victims of vengeance. This is the reason why the Arab Sunni world (different from the Arab Kurdish one) has been opposing the new order and continues to do so. The Sunni parties boycotted the elections of January 30, even if later, after various phases, they accepted to participate in the political process, to be represented in the Government and to take part in drafting the new Constitution. They entered all these processes with some difficulty and with an inadequate participation which neither fully satisfies the Sunnis themselves nor, for example, the United States and the European Countries, which would prefer their

larger involvement. Still, the Sunnis are responsible for most of the armed struggle and terrorist attacks carried out, at least in part, not only against the Government in office, but also against Shi'ites and Kurds, evidently trying to unleash a civil war. But their situation is very complex. The Sunnis, in fact, also due to the inherited organization of the Baath party, are divided into territorial political groups which differ in area of origin and activity, and their harshest clashes are the internal ones for hegemony, although there are also fringes open to dialogue.

To better understand the complex situation we shall analyse the three main groups of Sunni guerrillas.

The Qaedists

These are a terrorist galaxy of Islamic extremists referring to al-Qaeda, of which the group of Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi (*Jamaat al*



Tawid al-Jihad, Monotheism and Sacred War) aspires to become the leader. Some other groups are also of particular importance: *Ansar al-Sunna* (Defenders of the Tradition) founded in September 2003, of Wahhabite orientation



(Sunni radical Islamic faction); *Ansar al-Islam* (Defenders of Islam), characterized by Sunni extremist behaviours and considered very close to al-Qaeda; *al-Jaish al-Islami fil Iraq* (the Islamic Army in Iraq), a particularly

complex acronym apparently used by terrorist groups, guerrillas and criminal organizations, in order to mark their activities with an Islamic stamp. The groups with the most distinctly terrorist character have no serious financial difficulties, and their strategy has ceased to attempt to become institutionalised – as al-Qaeda unsuccessfully tried in Afghanistan – in order not to offer targets. They may be interested, however, in encouraging a Baathist restoration in order to obtain in return logistic support and structures. This alliance has already taken place, but sometimes has also come to a halt, as it was the case of Tikrit, where the collaboration of Saddam's followers and al-Qaeda members broke off among mutual accusations. In addition, the leaders of Sunni Islamic extremism, who have opted for the terrorist struggle, could not rule Iraq because they are mostly foreigners, like

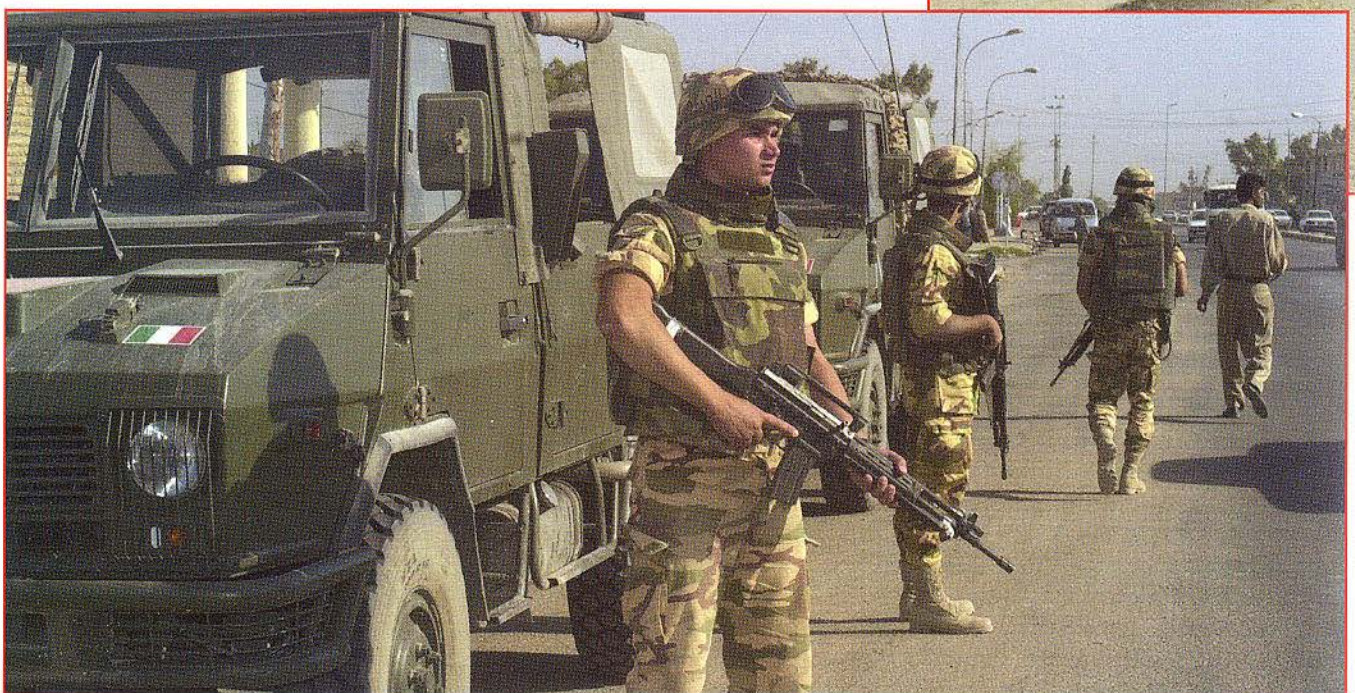
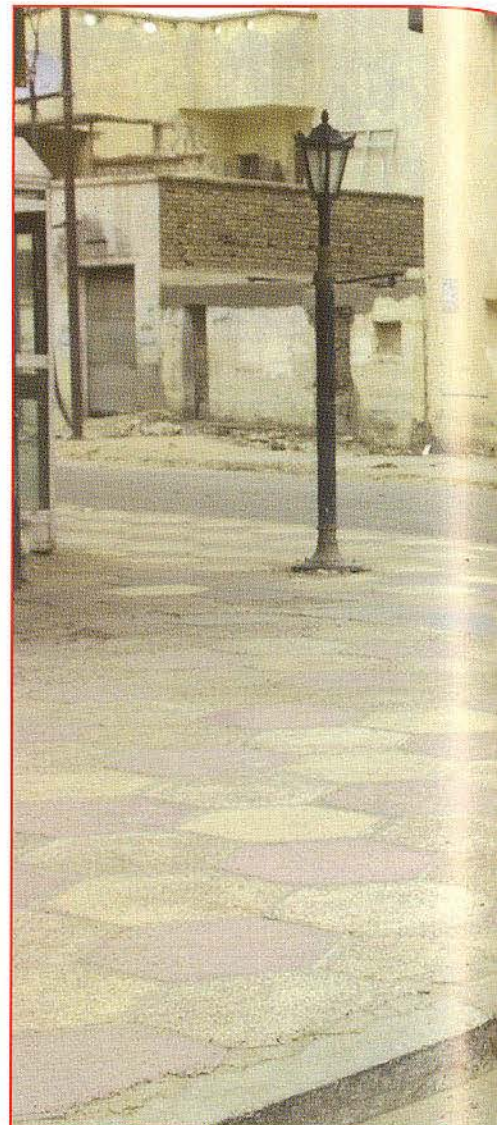
Zarqawi himself, a Jordanian-Palestinian. At the same time, among their goals there is also that of keeping the American presence concentrated and busy here rather than elsewhere, in order to have an enemy to face, achieving victories to be used as propaganda. The relationship between these groups and al-Qaeda is also worth observing. A galaxy of autonomous entities but not hierarchically structured organizations, a world of ideal reference which federates different realities. This is the situation at both the international and the Iraqi level. Zarqawi may have nourished the ambition to appear, rather than a deputy and probable successor of Bin Laden, his potential rival. Recently, this rivalry has probably been reshaped, taking into consideration that the foreign and external Qaedist component has prevailed in the conduct of the armed struggle vis-à-vis the religious

Iraqi Sunni one, which, as we said, seems to be oriented towards political dialogue. It may also be thanks to this favourable context that the most recent American military offensives have been concentrated against the Qaedists and brought apparently positive results, including the probable wounding of Zarqawi himself and the capture of some of his lieutenants. At the same time, however, this has led to an escalation of terrorist attacks which, albeit bloody and potentially destabilising, must be considered different from the actual guerrilla warfare, less spectacular but more diffused.

The Baathists

They are basically Saddam's feddayn and secret agents (4), survivors from the state-party, who manage to keep control over key-structures, safe houses, administrative capabilities, huge sums of money. They have a good structure and a centralized organization, going beyond the borders of Iraq and provided with foreign infrastructure and contacts. They are also able to work out clever political argu-

mentations, and aim at restoring the Baathist power at government level. One of their strong points is the fact that they could be a reference for all the bureaucratic-administrative world, which under Saddam's regime was the only one capable of running the Country. They are closely related to the territory and the Sunni people whom they help with the distribution of aid, thus ensuring their collaboration and political support. If at the beginning of the year they seemed to be the most dangerous force which could determine a crisis in the Country, now they have apparently faded into the background, owing to the political process credited by the Sunni world. This may have created among the ex-Baathists a wait-and-see atmosphere and a division among extremist elements, who could be attracted by the Qaedist world, and political elements faster in seizing the opportunity of profiting from their experience in order to reenter the political and administrative framework of the Country. Obviously, this process is only at its early stages and is easily reversible at any moment, but there





is always the risk of a return to armed struggle, more treacherous than terrorist attacks, albeit less spectacular.

The other factions

Political insurgents and ordinary criminals are widely spread on the territory and are sometimes interconnected. Having identical interests aimed at managing the territory and its resources, they make up a large network, though different in local

situations. They have joined their forces to oppose foreign presence, the risk of Sunni and Kurdish supremacy and the control of the territory by the Government. This is a scantily organised and badly financed nebula which alternates talks (they are not necessarily religious fundamentalists, even if these are also present, and not necessarily Baathists; in any case they are not extremists, and there are even former opposers of Saddam's regime) with the use of

arms to acquire new positions, sometimes only economic and/or criminal ones. It feeds more on resentment and opportunism rather than on ideology. The difficult security-situation fuels these groups, and many recent kidnappings, both the spectacular ones and the less noticeable everyday episodes, have only an economic character and can be traced back to them. The Sunni guerrillas have basically acknowledged the mistake of not participating in the elections and stay-



ing out of the political context. For this reason, also the politically extreme groups could make use of kidnapping as a means of establishing a relationship with the Western world, in order to get a recognition of sorts. Besides, the possible income deriving from ransoms could be used, according to a well-established tradition of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hizbollah and Hamas, to operate in the community in order to build a basis for consent, which would transform their movements from bands of guerrillas into political organizations.

For a long time the three abovementioned categories of armed and subversive opposition have shared aversion to the international forces, the transitional governments, the Shi'ites and to the ongoing stabilisation process. One of their objectives was the isolation of the United States, in order to cause the coalition to withdraw its troops and force the foreign firms to leave. The strongest collabora-

tion was reached by the first two groups, which had a possible common goal. As previously said, now the situation has changed, but this evolution is too recent and its roots are not deep enough to be considered established. The fallback to the old situation can occur at any moment, and to avoid this should be the main goal of the political process. This demonstrates how hard the competition is for the rule over the Sunni world. So, even guerrilla groups come into collision. Even more attacked are other realities which, for different reasons and in different ways, could transfer into the process of integration of the new Iraq the varied Sunni world, divided in: "collaborationists", moderates, Ulema Council, political groups.

These last realities should become the focus of the attention and efforts of the Government and the international coalition in order to achieve the goal. Almost all these faction chose to boycott

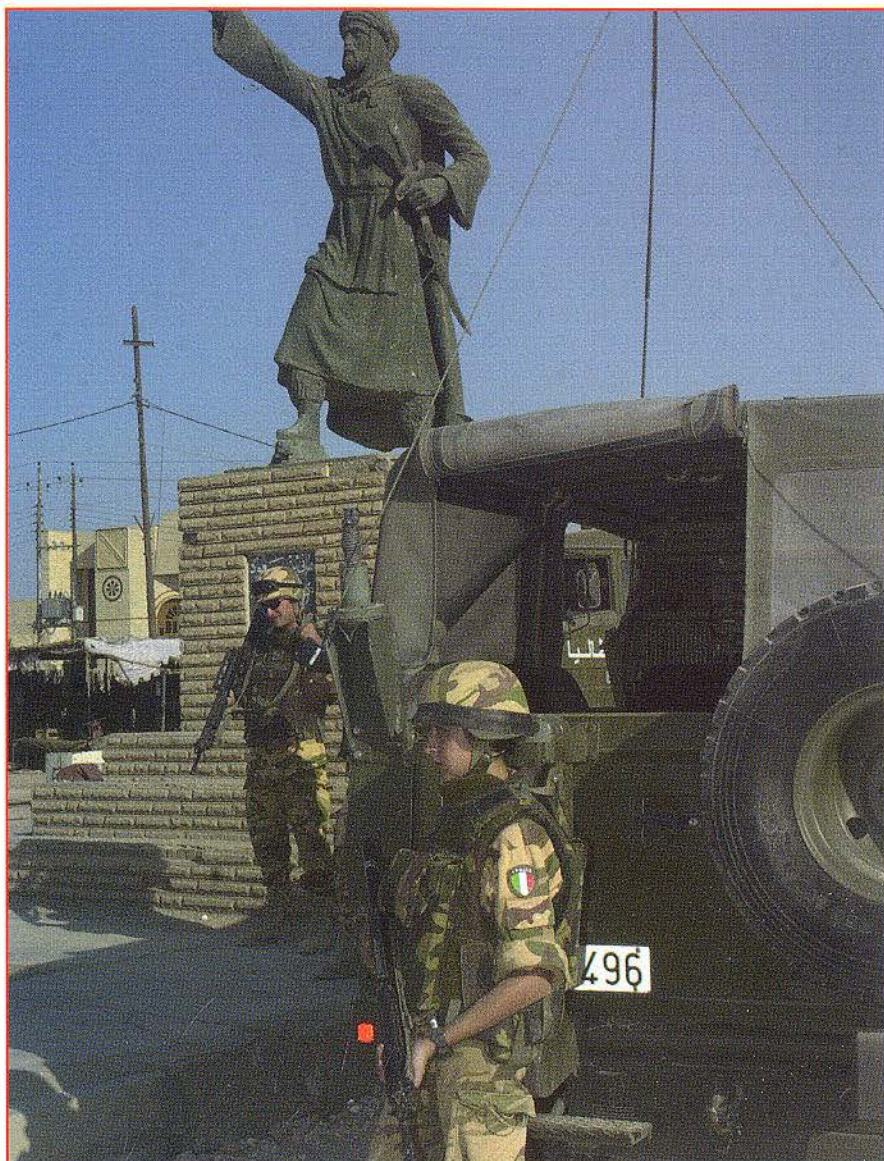


the political elections, above all after their failure to obtain a postponement of at least six months, and opposed the military operations in the Sunni area, Falluja in particular. An open opposition was also expressed by interim Sunni President al-

Yawar. However, also in the past, in an even more dangerous situation, these factions have shown their willingness to open a political dialogue. Even before and, again, after the election, the Sunni political parties (among which the Iraqi Islamic Party has the leading role) made public their intention of being involved in the drafting of the new Constitution and possibly to enter the new Government. These signals of national reconciliation seem to be acceptable to the Shi'ite winners, who have been repeatedly confirming their orientation towards an Iraq that would guarantee all. In concrete, they decided not to punish the low and middle cadres of the Baath party, as a recognition of their limited involvement in massacres, in exchange for their essential participation in the bureaucratic and administrative running of the future machinery of the State.



In view of this, a considerable importance is assumed by the Ulema Council, the highest Iraqi religious authority, which, though without an explicit political role, has a high conditioning power. It is precisely the Ulema Council which gets most



frequently involved as the main interlocutor in cases of kidnappings and even of armed clashes. The Council has been the target of threatening warnings by some terrorist movements, enjoining it not to get involved; this belongs precisely in the context of the struggle for the hegemony on the Sunni world. These are the channels, in particular the Ulemas, the Iraqi Islamic Party and the Iraqi United National Movement, that the international community should involve in order to favour the peaceful and full integration of the Sunni community, thus permitting the stabilization of the Country.

THE KURDS

The Kurds make more than one fifth of the population and are a majority in 8 out of the 18 Iraqi provinces and a substantial minority in other neighbouring areas. Their territory is a stable area which consolidated its administrative and political position in the nineties, thanks to the protection guaranteed by the "no-flight zone" established by the UN in 1991, under the tutelage of the Anglo-American air forces. The Autonomous Regional Parliament (KRG, the Kurd Regional Assembly) restored in October 2002 and renewed with the elections of January 30, is now func-

tioning perfectly. Also the economic development of the area is ahead of the rest of the Country. In addition, the Kurds enjoy a large international support. Elected President of the Republic, Jalal Talabani, leader of the UPK, has been the protagonist of a historical event which had a precedent in Kurdish history only in the days of Saladdin. The National Kurdish Alliance, consisting of two traditional parties (The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani, and the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), whose leader is Masoud Balzani, gained 75 seats in the National Assembly, plus the two posts taken by the Kurdish Islamic Group, which later announced to have reached an agreement with the larger group.

This population could be a stabilizing factor in Iraq also because of its interest in common strategies with the Shi'ites, aimed at guaranteeing the respective roles. However, there are also some elements of risk, which certainly include the separatist drive, proved also by the voting of January 30 in an unofficial consultative referendum which revealed that 99% of the voters expressed their choice for independence. As mentioned above, several Kurds representatives, including institutional ones, started to stir up again the idea of independence, to oppose the power conquered by the rival groups in the new Government.

Besides, there are some frictions between the Kurdish majority and other ethnic minorities (especially Turkmen) in the region of Arbil, Sulaimaniya and Duhok. Also, in many bordering provinces, such as Kirkuk and Mosul, there are sizeable Kurdish minorities which aspire to a closer relationship with the autonomous region already granted to the Kurds.

Actually, the ethnic rivalries are a shield for economic interests. The core of the success of

Iraqi federalism will be the sharing of the proceeds from the resources, oil in particular. In this situation of attrition the Kurds represent a decisive element, as their aspirations concern the Kirkuk oil area. The future organization of this area was one of the major problems causing the delay in the formation of the new Government and has nearly caused the breaking off of the relations with the Shi'ites.

THE SHI'ITES

The Arab Shi'ites were the clear-cut winners in the political elections of January 30, after a centuries-old history of submission to the Sunni minority. The United Iraqi Alliance, the list promoted by Grand Ayatollah al-Sistani which assembles 20 parties and movements, including SCIRI and Da'awa, gathered half of the votes (early forecasts had sug-





gested even a greater figure), thus gaining the majority in the new Parliament (140 out of 275 seats). This success changes the balance of forces in Iraq and concerns not only the Sunni community but also the international coalition. The electoral success of the Shi'ites will also have an impact on the international relations of the new Iraq, considering that both SCIRI and Da'awa are traditionally very close to Iran (Grand

Ayatollah al-Sistani himself was born in Iran, though it should be taken into account that almost all of the Iraqi Shi'ites are Arabs and not Persians), even though they entertain very good relations also with Great Britain. This is also due to the presence of a large community of exiles. Besides, they are not against the foreign troops, including the American ones, present in the Country to guarantee the security of Iraq.

Alongside the strictly political and economic problems, and together with the assignment of the most powerful posts, inside the complex Shi'ite world the discussion on the possibility of adopting the Islamic law in the new Constitution has also been opened. Prime Minister al-Jaafari, considered a moderate, is already known for his participation in the transitional institutions. His role was backed by SCIRI,



will be put to an even harder test than the formation of the government: the drawing up of the new Constitution.

However, since a liberal democracy to be complete must guarantee equal rights to all its citizens, it is necessary to constitute "chambers" of constitutional compensation, in order to permit the Sunnis, the Kurds and the other minorities to have a representivity of their own. Such "chambers" should be established together with the Shi'ites and should, in fact, be spaces given by the Shi'ites, not taken away from them. The space for the Shi'ites must not be "granted". If the Shi'ite majority once again felt deprived of something which was due to them, the risk of radicalization and consequent unrest, including armed strife, would greatly increase. Political isolation always leads to the radicalization of positions. If, instead, taking advantage of the numerous openings offered by the political, religious and cultural Shi'ite world, a real space was given to them, taking them out of isolation, the Islamic process could be guided, otherwise there would be the risk of a dangerous drift. In this sense, the formation of the new Government led by the Shi'ites is undoubtedly the best investment that could be made to test these realities.

However, there is also the problem of the Islamic law. It is inappropriate to impose a Western juridical tradition from abroad; on the contrary, it is desirable for a Country to found its laws on its own history and culture. Therefore, one should encourage a process that avoids the imposition of a rigid radical Islamic law and gives birth to a juridical system consistent with the Islamic principles and possibly approved by a referendum. It could prove interesting to propose a model similar to the current juridical system of Morocco.

the majority component of the Shi'ite alliance, to avoid making the impression that they intended to crush all minor allies.

The Western countries greatly fear a possible radical Islamic Shi'ite drift, which is certainly supported by the most orthodox parts of al-Sistani's group. However, most of the leaders of that alliance have clearly expressed their orientation towards a State which would take into account the Islamic principles and, at the same time, be a guaranty for all. This is also due to the fact that the Shi'ite leaders are perfectly aware of their control over only a part of the Country and, there-

fore, they have no interest in carrying the confrontation to extremes.

In this sense the Western world is clearly interested in favouring the rise of a new democracy which should not be felt as "fake", otherwise the resentment would grow, creating the opposite effect. The birth of a true democracy, which would give equal rights to all citizens, should be encouraged. But this must inevitably face up to the reality that the Shi'ites are the majority in Iraq, an essential factor that needs to be taken into respectful consideration. These are especially important balances which now



THE TRIBES: A PRACTICABLE ROAD

Tribes are a fundamental reality of all the Arab world, still Westerners tend to misunderstand or underestimate them. The real control and authority outside the large cities, and often inside them, are held by the tribal councils. Saddam Hussein's regime had already transferred the local jurisdictional to tribe chiefs and founded its rule on relatives coming from Saddam's native tribe. The solution to the Iraqis' problems also requires the knowledge of their origin, history, tradition and culture. The fact that the national idea is still much inferior to the sense of belonging to a tribe must be taken into consideration. The effective control over the territory should be given back to them.

Therefore one should pursue an agreement among the chiefs of the tribes, creating an equilibrium on this basis. It were in fact some of the tribes which instruct-

ed their members on whether or not to participate in the political process of forming the Government, and there were critical moments when some of Sunni families imposed to their representatives to leave the Government and later gave them the green light. At present the tribes operate at local level, keeping away from guerrilla warfare, neither supporting nor opposing it. However, they could do more, if a common ground with them was found. Many American analysts are against recognizing a role to the tribal system. Taking this assumption as a basis and trying to reproduce a party democracy in the short or medium term could prove extremely harmful. One of the key strategies to achieve the stabilization of Iraq implies a very large involvement of that world. It would be necessary, therefore, to devise a sort of Iraqi "Loya Jirga", a tribal assembly, which should find the adequate arrangement by itself. Their concrete participation could also

hold back the risk of a drift towards religious fundamentalism, as the tribes are composed of mixed elements and consequently are used to dealing with frictions inside the Islamic culture, without the extreme abstract strictness of radicalism.

Therefore, in order to reach a pact on national reconciliation, through an initiative sponsored by the European Union, the promptest promotion of a conference with all the tribes could prove necessary. The European Union should assume a leading role as a mediator in the process of Iraq's stabilization, also because the other international protagonists are seen as less reliable and are less welcome.

Consequently, the European Union could play a more active and present role, welcomed especially by the Iraqis themselves. The EU participation could be realized through the promotion of a tribal assembly, the assumption of military command, the training of the security forces, whose



control could be placed at European Union level (European Military Command) rather than NATO. The latter should give the new Iraq the possibility to join the "Partnership for Peace" programme.

THE FEDERALIST CHOICE

It should be acknowledged that the idea of a unitary Iraq is still underdeveloped and weakened by the events of the last decades, with the centralist dictatorship of the Baathist regime, the increasing autonomy of the Kurds, the repression of the Shi'ite uprisings and the processes set off after Saddam Hussein's fall. On the other hand, the Country does not represent a truly historical entity, but rather an artificial union of three distinct Ottoman provinces (*velayat*):

Mosul, Baghdad and Basra. The West should admit its mistake and understand that it cannot leave out of consideration the three Ottoman *velayat*. It is obvious, though, that the division into three separate states seems un-

acceptable, (also because the main ethnic and religious realities are not always clearly and distinctly distributed on the territory). This solution would probably be highly destabilizing for the entire Middle East. The federal organization of Iraq has been the core of the Shi'ite-Kurdish confrontation in the process of formation of the majority and the Government and, as we said, continues to be a controversial matter.

Therefore, in order to create stability, the creation of a largely federal State should be strongly supported, providing for a centralized Government, responsible for foreign policy and defence. In this sense the process could be facilitated by the willingness shown by the main Iraqi political forces. The fact that the new Constitution must be federalist has already been made clear and is also formally supported by the UN. An institutionally recognized and territorially recognizable federation would stop the disputes among the factions of the Country, which could be the result of the danger represented by com-

munities unevenly scattered over the territory. Regional Parliaments representing the Ottoman *velayat* (North, Centre and South) could be envisaged in the Constitution. An equal distribution of resources should also be guaranteed. Moreover, it must be stressed again that the constitution of chambers of institutional compensation is absolutely necessary in order to represent all the Iraqi realities. □

* President,
Centre for International
Studies

(1) The Parliamentary seats were divided as follows: the United Iraqi Alliance, led by Shi'ite Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, 140; the Kurdish Alliance formed by two large Kurdish parties, the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), 75; the Iraqis' List of the outgoing Prime Minister Iyad Allawi: 40; the Iraqis' Party, of the outgoing Sunnite President Ghazi al-Yawar: 5; the Alliance of the Iraqi Turkmen Front: 3; the List of Independent National Elites and Cadres, close to Shi'ite radical leader Moqta-

da Sadr: 2; the People's Union (Communist): 2; the Islamic group of Kurdistan: 2; the Organization of Islamic Action in Iraq – Central Direction (Shi'ite): 1; the List of the Independent Democrats of Sunni Adnan Pachachi: 1; the National Mesopotamian List (Christian): 1; the Movement of Reconciliation and Liberation of Sunni Mishaan al-Juburi: 1.

(2) The two main historic Kurdish parties which in 1998, after years of conflicts, came to an agreement.

(3) The United Iraqi Alliance consists of 20 main parties and movements, mainly Shi'ite, two major Shi'ite parties (Al Da'awa and SCIRI - The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq); the Iraqi Hizbollah; the movement of al-Fudhala; the Shi'ite Political Council (formed by 42 minor parties, was created by the leader of the Iraqi National Congress, Ahmed Chalabi). The list also included Sunnis, Shi'ite Kurds, Turkmen and members of the Yazidi religious minority sect, some tribal chiefs also from the North (mainly from the Mossul area), as well as numerous independent members.

(4) Iraq had complex structures of information and security services all over the Country. Those who belonged to that system, i.e. a great number of Saddam's followers, gained a lot of experience and now continue to exercise their authority, using structures and contacts. Then there are the main intelligence and security organizations of Saddam Hussein's regime, the Special Security Service (Amn al-hass, Hijaz Amn al-kass, Presidential Affairs Department, Special Security Organization, or SSS). It was the most powerful security service which had unified operations rooms to coordinate the work of the various services, with the particular goal of protecting Saddam. The General Intelligence Service (Mukhabaret, Dairat al Mukhabaret, Mukhabaret al-Amma, or GIS), the intelligence and security service of the Baath party; the Military Security Service (Amn al-Askariya or MSS) had its offices in every military unit to perform functions of inner security and anti-corruption. Like nearly all



the information and security services, it had its own paramilitary units. The General Security Service (Al-Amn al-Amn, or GSS), the secret police, the Service of internal security. The Ba'ath Party Security (Amn al Hizb) carried out informative activity for the members of the party. The Military Bureau of the Ba'ath Party, acted as a system of commissaries tasked with the indoctrination the Armed Forces and control of their political loyalty. The Tribal Chief's Bureau (Maktab al-Shuyukh), paid tribal chiefs to have them control their tribes, spy on possible dissidents and provide faithful tribe members with arms in order to eliminate dissident

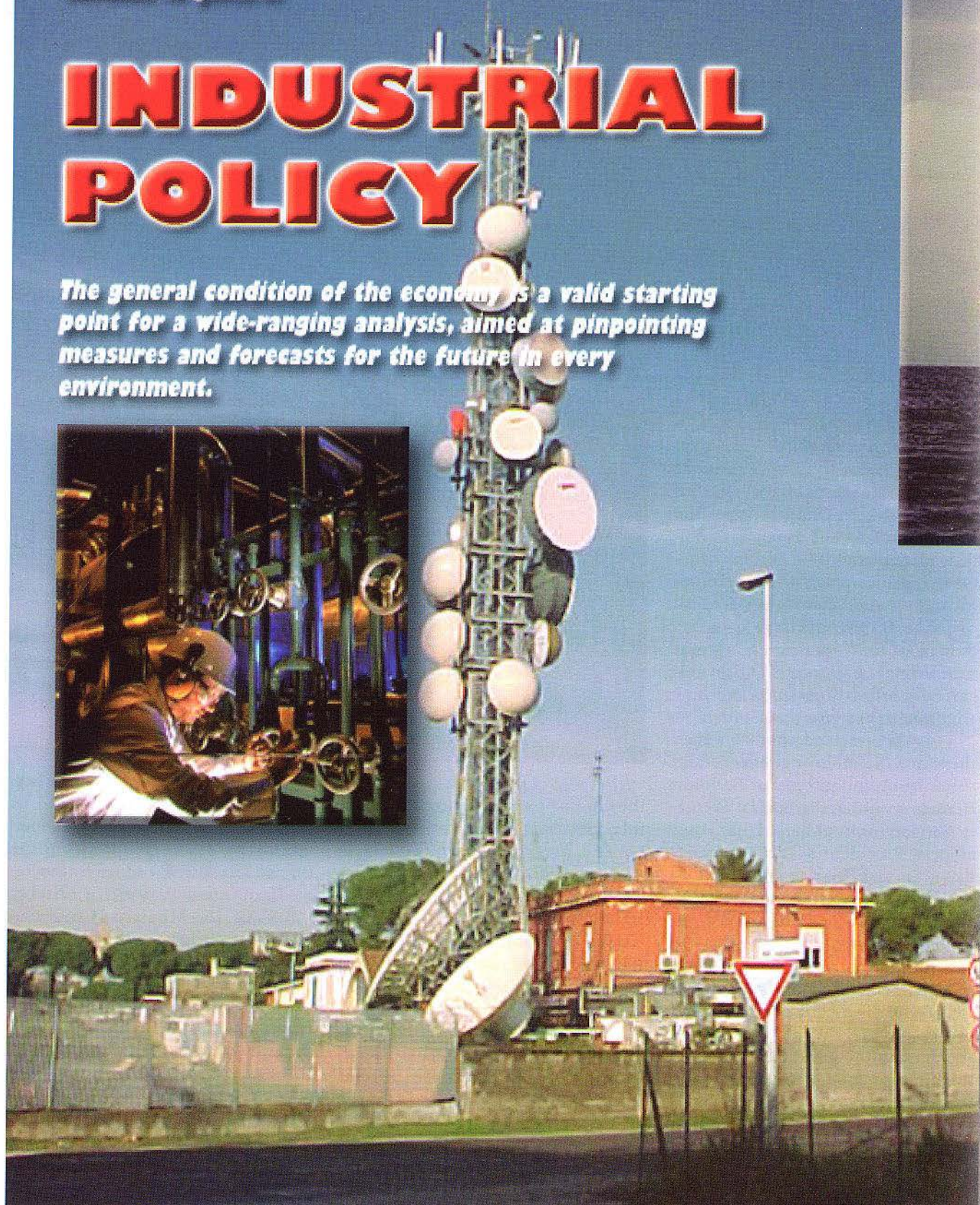
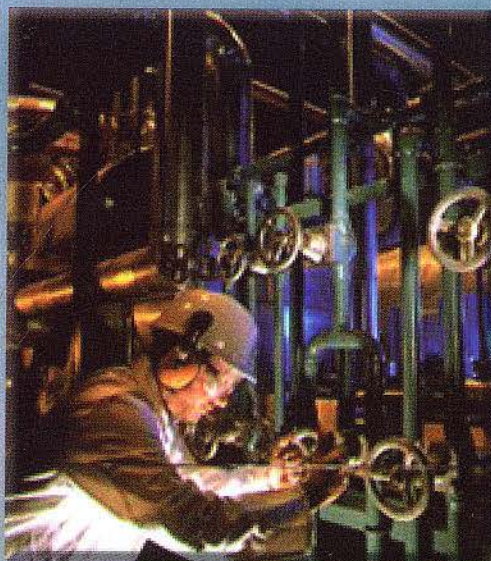
factions. Saddam's Fedayeen, led by Uday, a son of Saddam's, formed mainly by young people from the area of Tikrit, were trained by the Republican Guard.

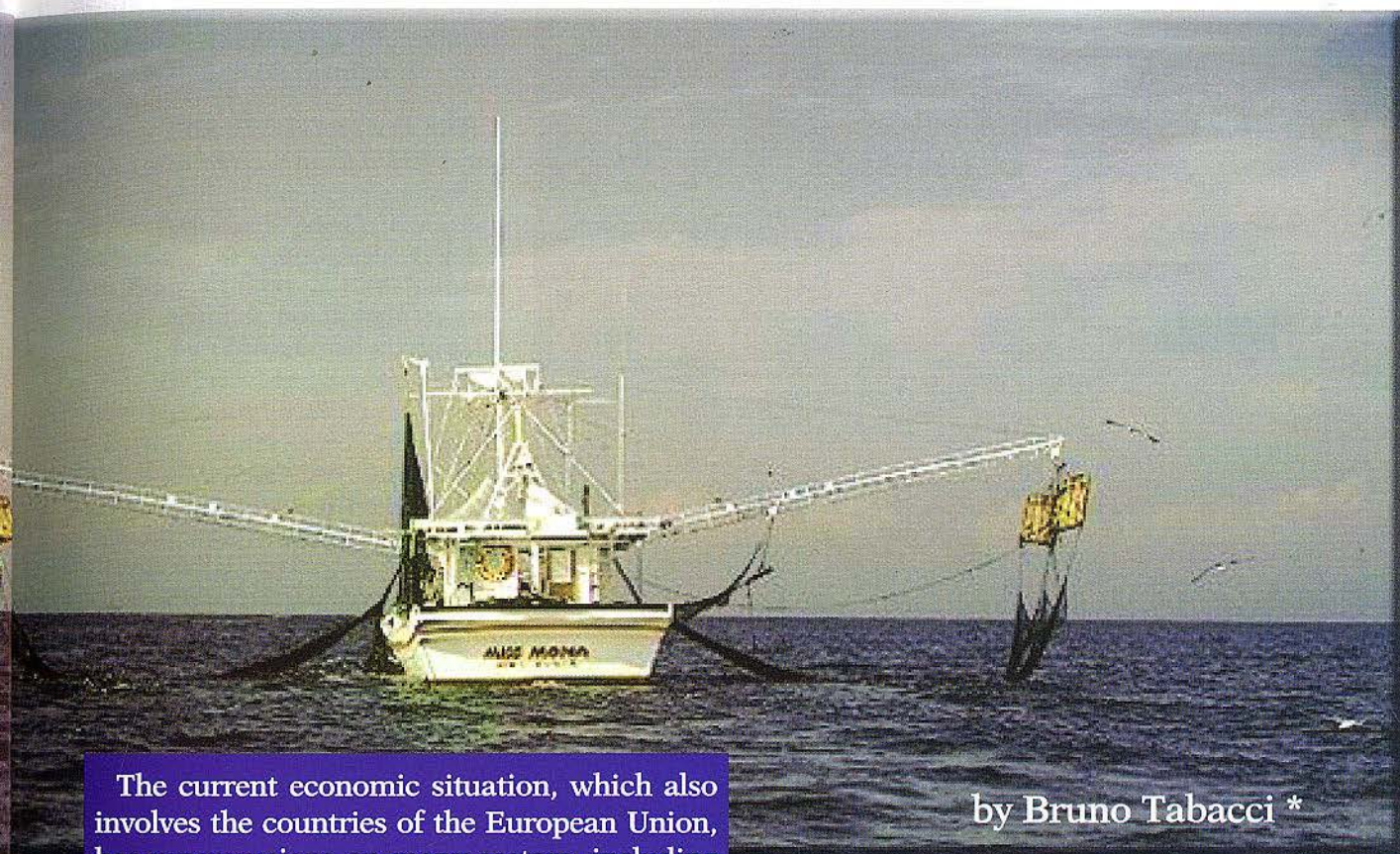
Besides, the Ministry of Information controlled the mass media, and the Foreign Ministry introduced elements of the secret services into the diplomatic environment. All the telecommunication systems, the major academies and the research institutions were infiltrated by security cells. There was also the Iraqi Signals and Electronic Intelligence (SIG-INT/ELINT) system. The Special Republican Guard reported directly to Saddam.

The current entrepreneurial and economic trend influences investments in strategic sectors, including Defence in general

INDUSTRIAL POLICY

The general condition of the economy is a valid starting point for a wide-ranging analysis, aimed at pinpointing measures and forecasts for the future in every environment.





The current economic situation, which also involves the countries of the European Union, has repercussions on many sectors, including Defence. Therefore the government policies aimed at the recovery, stability and development of the economy are very important. Italy, the European Union and its member States are now trying to find solutions and remedies in order to facilitate the comeback of a favourable economic cycle. As for our country, the most recent data referring to the Gross Domestic Product trend indicate the necessity of identifying specific intervention, but the state of the economic situation will be reversed only if everybody, from the ruling classes to civilian society, assume their responsibilities. However, what is not needed to come out of this particular moment, is the lack of self-confidence which leads to inactivity.

This analysis is extremely interesting for the Service and the Defence industry, always aiming at bringing into line our production standards with the European ones. Furthermore, the Army Cadres will find many points for reflection and, above all, a response to problems which have long concerned the delicate economic-industrial aspect.

by Bruno Tabacchi *

Our country is going through a complex economic phase which, logically, affects also the possibility of investing resources in strategic sectors such as of Defence. This situation, however, should not lead to resignation but rather induce to find solutions and remedies. Mostly, the difficulties derive from the loss of the competitive edge of our enterprises, emphasized by the sudden reversing of the economic growth rate, which, during the last six months, began to shift toward a negative sign, with unavoidable repercussions on public finance.

As is well known, the main difficulties are reported in the industrial field, where the assertiveness and growth spaces of markets with potentialities still to be explored, such as China, India, Brazil and many other countries in full economic growth, bring ever more rapidly the Italian industry to a state of crisis, or at least, of pre-crisis.

At this point, it is clearly needed an intervention in the industrial policy. But first of all we should thoroughly analyse the reasons of the difficulties facing the Italian system.

Therefore the first question we should ask ourselves is how an industrial policy can be defined. This is the question to which we will try to give an answer, quite schematically and referring to a spe-



the European Union, should not cast a shadow on the peculiar aspects of the Italian case.

THE COMPETITIVENESS OF THE ITALIAN SYSTEM

An analysis of the Italian economy and society carried out through the competitiveness indexes formulated at international level, confirms what we stated above.

From a generally competitive point of view, our Country stands between the thirtieth and the thirty-third place at world level. Among the macroeconomic factors affecting the competitiveness index there is the level

cific fact-finding inquiry carried out by the Productive Activities Committee of the Chamber of Deputies.

A foreword is needed: at present, the industrial policy seems an instrument too bulky on the one hand, and too scanty on the other.

The definition of any industrial policy must necessarily start from the general state of the economy. So, we should first of all keep in mind that we are going through a negative European and international economic condition, which influences the economic growth at world level. This starting datum is essential in order to analyse the Italian economy and find the measures to be undertaken.

The macroeconomic data at our disposal say that, within a general context of limited economic growth, the United States is better off than Europe.

In short, during the last five years, it showed a growing rate of 0.7 percentage points higher than Europe's. The secret of these better results seems to lie in the greater flexibility of the US economy and in its quickness in changing into a markedly post-industrial way, privileging high



technologies and services, vis-à-vis the traditional manufacturing activities. Both the United States and Europe, on the other hand, must reckon with the aggressive Asian economies, with China in the lead, as they keep on conquering market shares.

During the same period of time, Italy declared a growing rate about 0.5 points lower than that of Europe, which in the last few months has become even better.However, the features shared by the countries of

of the national debt and the state of public health services. This affects the tax load which burdens the enterprises. Further factors are the high level of the social security contributions, the labour legislative discipline (recently improved in order to make it much more flexible) and a high rate of structural unemployment, concentrated in some areas of the Country.

As far as education and research are concerned, the expense in favour of university and

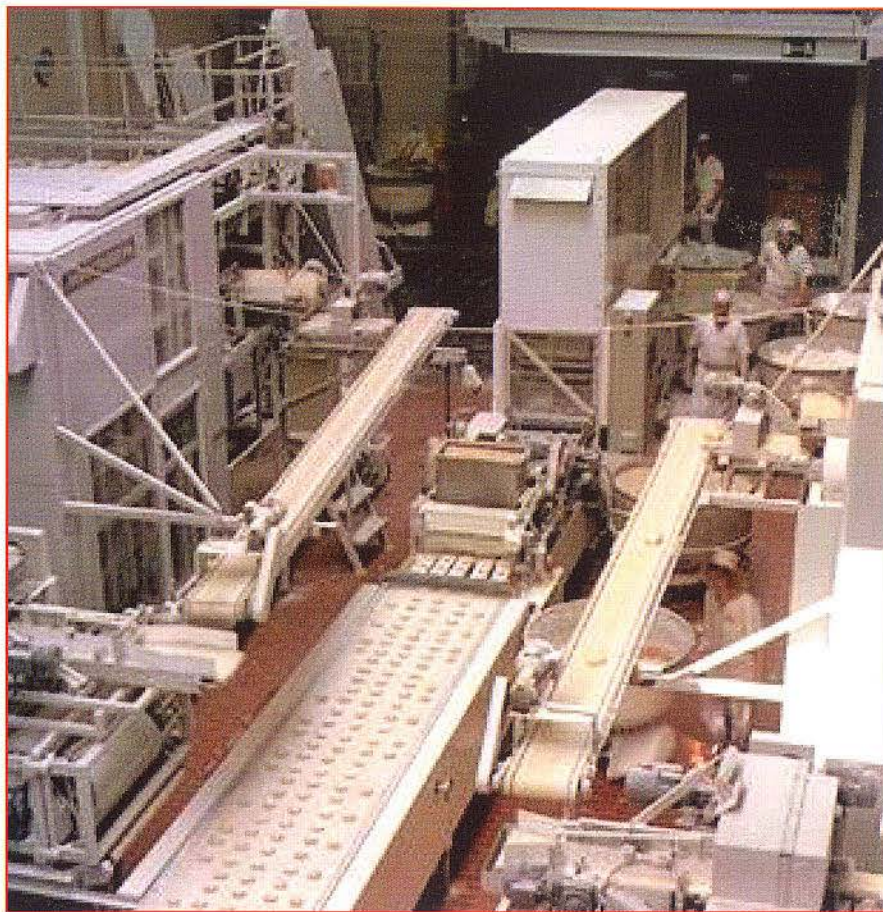
postgraduate education is 0.7% of the Gross Domestic Product, compared with the expense of the United States which is 2.5%. Moreover, it is quite low the percentage of students in economics, engineering and science, which are the faculties closest to the needs of a post-industrial economy. On the contrary, the Italian primary and secondary education, from elementary school to high school, is internationally considered among the best. In addition, the relation between Universities and enterprises is considered unsatisfactory, whereas the United States, once again, is among the most advanced countries, because it uses university research laboratories to support the enterprises which, in turn, guarantee their financial backing through sponsorships.

As for Research & Development, Italy spends about 1% of its GDP, compared with 2.5% of the United Kingdom, 2.8% of the United States and 3.5% of Finland and Sweden. The expense in the field of technology is also rather low: Italy spends 5%, Germany 5.5% and Europe around 6%.

In conclusion, we have to consider that Italy absorbs only 0.9% of the international investments, in comparison with 22% of the United States, 6.7% of Germany, 4.5% of France and 2.1% of Spain, but also 5.3% of China.

THE WEAK POINTS OF THE PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM

The reality of large enterprise represents a first element. First of all, in Italy there are very few large groups in comparison with other European realities. In recent years the resources have been shifted towards the service sector regulated on a national basis, and then, during the 1990s, towards a non-manufacturing reality, controlled by



private societies, not yet exposed to domestic and international competition. Besides, the ownership of the large national groups is still based on families, whereas the element common to European systems, of widespread property based on financial intermediaries, is missing.

Among the twenty leading Italian groups, in the first place we find FIAT.

The second large manufacturing group, Parmalat, which was recently wrecked by a devastating financial crisis, was only sixth, after ex-public enterprises such as ENI, Telecom and ENEL.

The variations in added value point out an increase of 8.88% for retail, 6.77% for public services (water, gas, highways), 3.19% for transport. On the contrary, industrial societies show a decrease of 6.06% and make the grand-total negative. These data show the scarcely

competitive structure of the retail trade and the circumstance that the public-service sector is distinguished by regulated prices and fares. Therefore, the difficulties exist in market sectors with a purely industrial character.

Another relevant element is the relatively small dimension of our large groups which, compared with the competing Countries, have a regional and non-global nature.

A further element of weakness is represented by the limited number of patents issued in our Country. This highlights the difficulty of applying at industrial level the results of the research activity.

In this respect, there is a wide gap between the European Union where, for example, in 2001 there were 161 patents granted per million of inhabitants, whereas the Italian average was 75.



THE STRONG POINTS OF THE PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM

Obviously, near the weak points there are also elements of strength. Our productive model proved to be able to adapt to several changes and evolutions of the international context. Despite the system limitations previously highlighted, Italy possesses an industrial and entrepreneurial wealth unique in the world for its originality and orientation towards specific markets. Italy is, or was till a few months ago, at the top in various sectors, some of which are distinguished by a significant level of technology. We are, or were, the first in the following sectors: textile, shoes, clothing, leather products, machine tools and instrument mechanics.

Another point of strength of our country is its unquestionably strategic position at the centre of the Mediterranean, which makes Italy a fundamen-

tal junction of the international economic flows. Such geographic position, which should be opportunely developed first of all at the infrastructural level, makes Italy a natural link between Europe and Middle/Far East.

The entrepreneurial vitality of the small and medium-size enterprises is generally acknowledged and is the object of many international attempts at copying it. The small and medium-size enterprises are realities with their own identity and autonomy, and in our country, for a number of reasons, they find an environment particularly favourable to their development, which must be supported and consolidated.

THE REALITY OF THE SMALL AND MEDIUM-SIZE ENTERPRISES

This reality lends itself to sev-

eral non-univocal evaluations, and it presents ambivalences that should be investigated.

Also during the current phase of economic crisis, when consumption is low and the service sector determines a decrease of sales, there is reportedly an increase in the net balance of small enterprises and an expansion of the productive capacity through the creation of new firms.

These phenomena, positive indeed, need a correct interpretation in order to understand the real prospects of this sector.

First of all, the increase of the net balance derives from the algebraic sum of the negative results of the textile, shoes and clothing sectors, which are having some difficulties with exportation, and the positive results of food, building, information and technology service sectors.

The high birth rate of enterprises, moreover, is a clear evidence of the vitality of the entre-



preneurial culture, and is balanced by a percentage of closing downs, near 50% during the first three years.

Moreover many small enterprises report a difficult financial situation, as they have funding problems and lack a strong financial structure.

At the same time, we note the absence of a large enterprise capable of strategic innovations to be transferred to smaller enterprises, thus playing a leading and propulsive role.

A particularly negative phenomenon which concerns, essentially, small and medium-size enterprises, is the permanence of a large underground economy, which is believed to produce a turnover of 500,000 billion of old Italian Lire and to employ on a regular basis about 3 million people.

The experience of districts, an almost spontaneous organizational form, is still looked upon with a preferential attention by

the enterprises. This pattern is however subject to various challenges which lead to reconsider the nature and the organizational method of the districts. They are, moreover, a pluralistic reality divided into three main typologies: the district with a definite leadership, the district characterized by a strong group of competing firms and, finally, the district characterized by a very fragmented structure. In this respect, we should mention that the idea of a productive cycle tends to become more and more important, with one or more firms leading the others.

In general the district, in order to continue to be a winning model, needs to be oriented towards the innovation of processes and – above all – of products. An important factor of weakness for the small and medium-size enterprises is constituted by their being positioned in traditional sectors lacking innova-

tion, where it is very hard to keep the pace of the developing Countries, capable of producing the same goods at much lower costs. The enterprises must increase the technological level of their production, in order to defeat the realities where the labour cost is decidedly lower, but it is impossible to measure against the new technologies.

The future of the district, especially in some sectors, will only be its internationalization.

Finally, there is the funding problem which affects not only small and medium-size enterprises, but also large ones, even though with different characteristics.

They meet difficulties in getting credit, in particular venture capital, so they run up debts with the banks, which, in turn, have great problems in managing the phenomenon without limiting themselves to unload the negative effects on the depositors.



tackling the weak points, enhancing the strong points of the Italian system.

In Italy such a definition has precise consequences and imposes to intervene in critical areas, which have already been pointed out long ago: high pressure of taxation which burdens the enterprises; availability of infrastructure; public administration; lack of dynamism in the university research system; rigidity of the labour market (actually on this subject some progress has been made); welfare system, object of a partial reform to be completed as soon as possible; high cost of energy, which is a real competitive disadvantage.



GUIDELINES FOR A REVIVAL OF THE PRODUCTIVE SYSTEM

Industrial policy and competitiveness policy

After defining the context, the strong and weak points and the peculiarities of the Italian system, we can now turn to the possible interventions.

An "old style" industrial policy cannot be suggested: the economy has been strongly privatized, and the firms must be free to operate on the market, for good or bad, even when their names are FIAT or Telecom.

However, there are sectors asking for an industrial policy. An interesting theme, deserving all our attention, is that of energy, which was paradoxically laid aside, from a political point of view, soon after the famous referendum which stopped the nuclear production of energy, and

which should have brought about, instead, a new energy policy in order to provide the country with enough energy at acceptable prices.

The notion of industrial policy is however insufficient to understand all the problems which the Italian system has to face in order to relaunch its productive machinery.

From the fundamental autonomy which today tends to be given to economic subjects, together with the marked tendency towards the expansion of the service industry, stems a new approach to the questions we are examining.

More than industrial policy as such, a "context policy" should be stressed, which should redraw the scenario within which the productive activities take place.

In other words, the competitiveness policy should aim at

The interventions to strengthen competitiveness

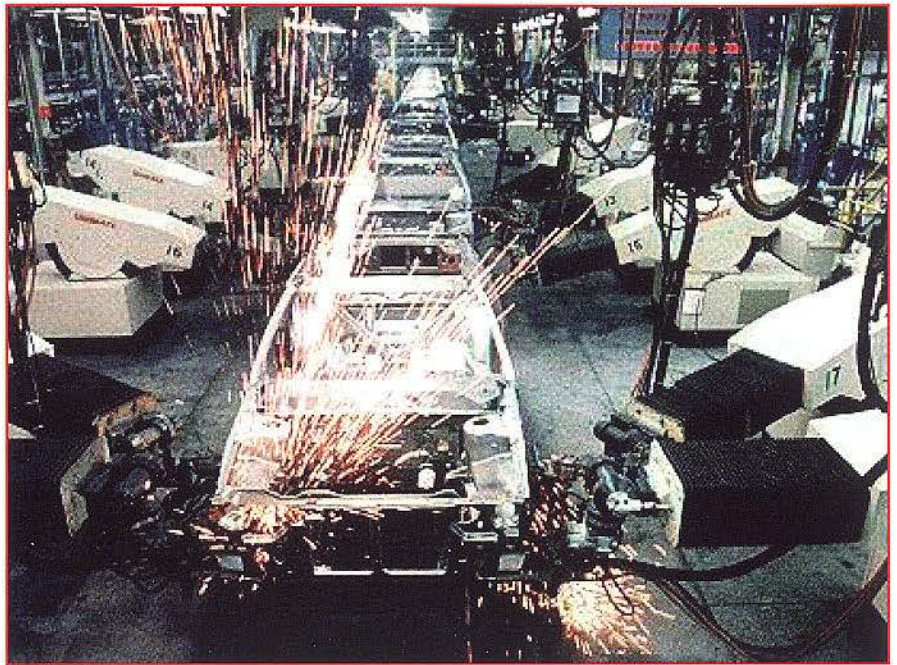
Beside general guidelines, there are more punctual themes which require a determined action.

A first aspect consists in the improvement of the liberalization process, in order to guarantee a real competitive set-up of each market. This need is particularly felt by the service

sector, where privatization was started and carried out quite promptly in order to reorganize the State finances, but without decontrolling those sectors. This measure, as a rule, should precede privatization.

Secondly, still within the context of the safeguard of competition, an answer is needed in relation to the future set-up of the local public services. In this respect, the local authorities have valid reasons, also because they often have to face managing difficulties.

But one should have a more wide-ranging vision, in order to develop competition, improve efficiency, reduce costs and create the great industrial protagon-



nists desperately needed by our country.

Thirdly, it is necessary to proceed with the revision and rationalization of all the intervention instruments provided by the national legislation and EC regulations in favour of the enterprises (incentives, policies for the South, structural funds), taking into consideration the new organization of the Republic, resulting from the current

title V of the Constitution. It would be advisable to avoid intervention overlapping and superimpositions by the various government levels, leading to bureaucratic and administrative complications. In this connection, the State and the local authorities should act in concert in order to identify their respective responsibilities, generally giving to the former a strategic role of coordination and contribution to the programme of interventions, and to the latter the task of defining and implementing the decisions.

A fourth aspect deals with promoting and protecting Italian products. The markets' opening to competition has caused clearly unfair trade practices, among which there are social and environmental "selling at a loss" and phenomena of overt counterfeiting of products traditionally produced in Italy. On the one hand, these events show our industrial potentiality and how the "made in Italy" represents, in many sectors, a clear guarantee of quality and reliability at international level. On the other, there is the irreparable damage that our

domestic economy would suffer in case of popularisation and trivialization of the national products, with the consequence that our enterprises could not use this unquestionable competition advantage.

In this respect, it would be urgent to adopt the following measures: the introduction, in a manner consistent with EC discipline, of the possibility of protecting our trademarks in ways similar to those pertaining to a public brand; a decisive action against counterfeiting activities, also calling to their duties the institutions in charge of international trade; a European Union initiative to introduce a new discipline on labelling, with the aim of giving the consumer exhaustive information about the origin of the products.

At present the fiscal instrument appears to be the most efficient and appropriate in order to favour dimensional growth and boost the enterprise system and districts. It seems quite urgent to introduce fiscal incentives for those service enterprises supporting quality, and operating within districts. Further facilitations can be identified in



tax exemptions regarding operations of constitution and increase of capital or assets, and of acquisition or contribution of companies or their divisions, acquisition or contribution of shareholdings, mergers, also by amalgamation, regarding, or between, small and medium-size enterprises.

Moreover, one should carefully evaluate the proposal regarding a further fiscal abatement of the regional tax on productive activities, which burdens small and medium-size enterprises.

The centrality of research

From our analysis it is clear that the promotion of the research and development activity on a large scale is vital for the productive system.

It is a commitment which cannot be eluded or postponed. It refers without any distinc-

tions to large and small enterprises, industry, services, the public and private sectors, and influences the future of the entire national system.

Large companies are the main driving force behind research in all developed Countries. Research is the key of their success, while its results are for the benefit of the entire productive system.

The problems of small- and medium-size enterprises are, in turn, caused by a complete lack of investments in research and development, which could fuel a new entrepreneurial activity (information and communication technologies and medical research) that, in all developed Countries, is the only trump card in the international competition.

Italian products need to be fortified by the right amount of technology and innovation, increasing their value and making

them unassailable by less developed economies. Moreover, this is the way to make companies grow within innovative high-technology districts, locally concentrated, where the participants are connected in a network and share science, services and finance.

Research is inadequate to the economic development level of our country and, to give this sector a decisive thrust, apart from acknowledging the intrinsic value of basic research, it is essential to increase the relations between productive world and research centres, using the university laboratories extensively, in order to sustain the innovative processes of the firms, helping them to promote and sponsor this activity. It is essential that the universities open their doors to the entrepreneurial reality, and start making an effort to meet the enterprises' requirements of support and in-

novation, and their need to upgrade their way of being.

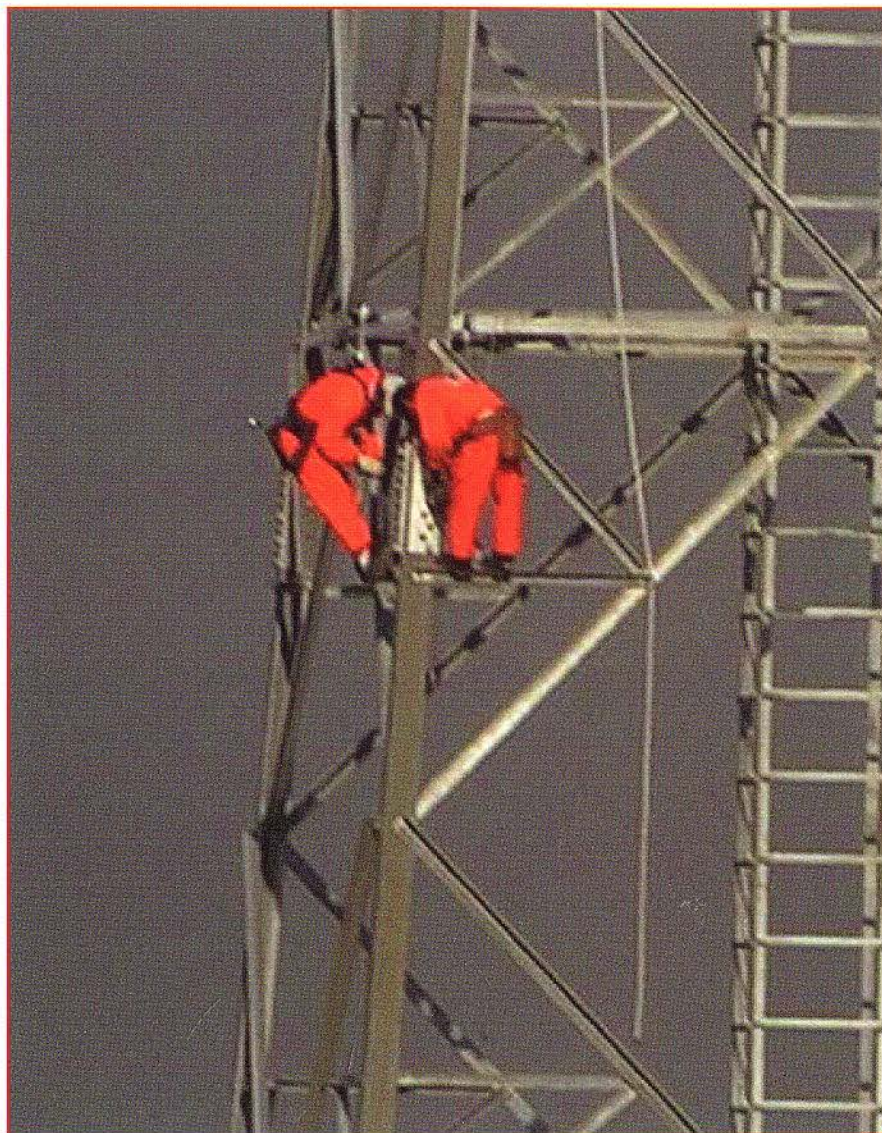
In order to intervene efficiently in the research debate, one needs to use various means. First of all, a greater employment of the tax lever, by introducing among small and medium-size enterprises such concessions on a permanent base. The use of company profits for research should also be favoured, helping those that increase the amount devolved to research and development. New tax reductions, ampler than what is provided by the present legislation, should be envisaged for companies that order research projects to universities and public bodies.

As concerns direct interventions to fund companies, it may be necessary to review the evaluation mechanisms and introduce rewarding criteria, making procedures easier and quicker. It would also be very useful to envisage long-term instead of annual funding.

The resources necessary to develop a European economic policy

We must acknowledge that, as we said before, though in many sectors things are getting started, at present there are not enough public resources to begin a virtuous process of vast dimensions in sectors that can be considered strategic: research and public works, in particular the large trans-European networks. It depends mostly on a modest economic growth, which coincides with restrictions deriving from the Stability Pact contracted within the European Union, and creates an obstacle to the development of a programme of public investments adequate to necessities.

So the limited margin currently at the disposal of domestic economic policy comes into play, just as it happens in all



European Countries within the Euro area, that have the same difficulties in meeting the requirements to support their economic growth.

It should be noticed, here, that the US economic recovery is backed by resolute public policies, hinged on massive investments in research and the military sector, and on the reduction of the fiscal load, also at the expense of the balance of public finance. At this point we may clearly pose the problem of European economic governance strategy and of the recovery of development, together with the stability. Currently, the European Union and all its member States are looking for

the instruments of intervention that could positively influence the economic situation.

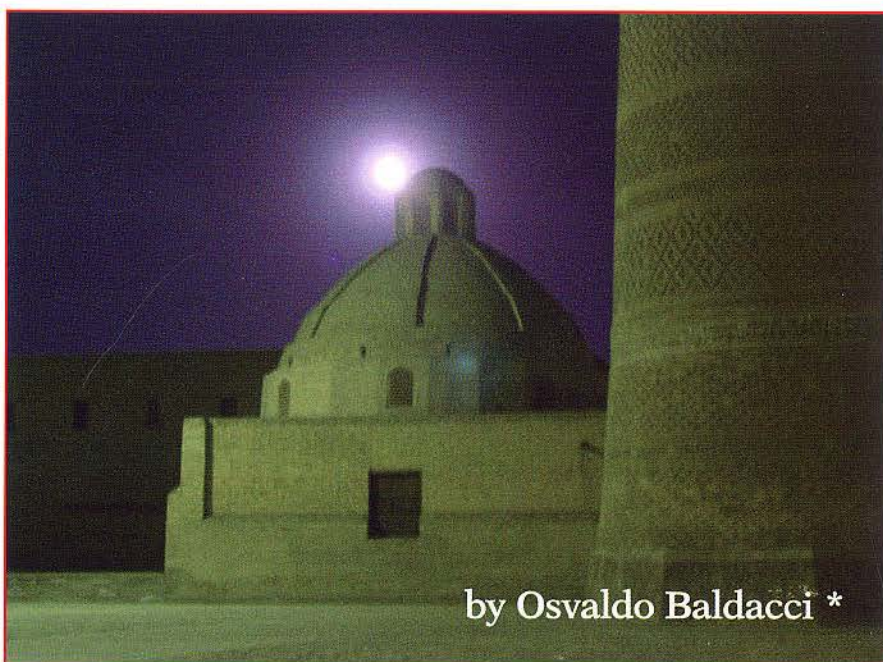
But the most recent data concerning the trend of the Gross Domestic Product also indicate that solutions and specific interventions are needed in Italy. The course will be reversed only through an assumption of responsibility by all the Italian people, from the ruling classes to civil society. What is really not needed, in order to come out of this difficult moment, is a lack of confidence which leads to inactivity. □

** Chairman,
Productive Activities Committee
of the Chamber of Deputies*

The new crisis threatens to cause a dangerous domino effect and induces to make an accurate professional study centred on its general factors

UZBEKISTAN INFLAMES CENTRAL ASIA

The most densely-populated nation among the five countries that belonged to the former Soviet Union has recently been hit by tragic events. Demonstrations repressed by force have given rise to many worrying questions



by Osvaldo Baldacci *



What occurred in Uzbekistan last May is not an isolated case but an element of a wider and more complex situation which deserves to be examined in depth, also because of the important repercussions that the events in those

Uzbekistan, together with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan, is one of the post-Soviet nations of the region. In this central-Asian Country, rich in natural resources and still in quest of democracy, poverty and economic crisis are persistent, while infrastructure and productive system are collapsing. The opposition is inadequate, lacking leading personalities and scarcely rooted on a territory receptive to the spreading of Islamic extremism and an area of confrontation among superpowers. The path towards democracy, opening to a non-violent Islam and religious freedom, through the assertion of human rights, remains therefore the only practicable road. Involving of course every reality, from ethnic groups to clans' representatives, from cotton growers to civil servants, from religious representatives to lay political movements. All this must be accompanied by a substantial economic development and by the concrete and evident support of the international community.



Countries, apparently far from us, can have on situations which concern Italy and the West. Economic crisis, unemployment, corruption, lack of freedom and disregard of the most elementary human rights are a fertile ground where violent demagoguery can grow and find its privileged channels in the subversive Islamic radicalism.

Central Asia is a fundamental crossroads at the start of the 21st Century. It is the meeting point of problems which can be determinant for the global order. It is the point of contact and confrontation of the strategic, political and economic interests of the main world powers, United States, Russia, China and the Islamic world (especially for the fundamentalist factions), but also of the European nations, of



Turkey and Iran. The five post-Soviet nations of the region, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan, exposed to heavy internal and external pressures, get by between attempts at self-preserving ultra-conservatism and rapid changes of place in the regional and international scenario, in order to obtain more solid support. That is why they have gone from a condition of isolation and of Russian satellites to critical positions towards Russia. Open to greater international cooperation, they have mostly looked towards the United States, but also to China, and then they have gone back, at least partially, to a policy of collaboration with the Kremlin. Some Communist regimes have evolved into authoritarian personalisms and then, in rare occasions, have launched tentative opening signs. From fierce war against political radical Islam they have progressed to state atheism with a smattering of rigidly controlled

zinc. And also lawful and unlawful trade routes, from oil pipelines to drug traffic. According to estimates, the region can supply about 250 billion barrels of oil (as much as Saudi Arabia) and over 13,000 billion cubic metres of natural gas (one fourth of the entire Middle East): an inestimable wealth which, once extracted, must reach the various part of the world through pipelines crossing many countries. Besides, the Countries of the area still have capabilities, infrastructure, potentialities and specialized capacities inherited from the Soviet Union, such as space and missile bases, scientific laboratories, universities and educated and specialized personnel. At the same time they have faced serious economic crises which, together with a lack of democracy and respect of human rights and persisting instability, due also to a strong and aggressive presence of a fundamentalist Islam, have thrown them to the bottom of the classification of the

tions and problems of this geographical area, and is perhaps the most exposed and central, and not only geographically. The *mufti* of Tashkent is historically the most influential authority of the region's Moslem spiritual leadership, and in Uzbekistan, for example, lies the largest part of the valley of Ferghana, the centuries-old heart of Islamic fundamentalism, which expands well over the borders of the region. It is in fact the valley where the disorders of May 12 flared up, when the demonstrations of thousands of people were repressed in blood. It is therefore suitable to make a global analysis, oriented towards possible military employments.

REVOLT AND REPRESSION

The reconstructions of the events vary according to the sources. Apparently the manifestations started at Andijan, in defence of 23 young businessmen



formal Islam. Besides being placed in a strategic position, these Countries are rather rich in resources, especially oil, gas, and cotton, but also open coal pits, iron, chromium, copper, lead and

world wealth.

Uzbekistan, the most densely-populated Country and the only one bordering with the other four, and also with Afghanistan, is experiencing all the contradic-

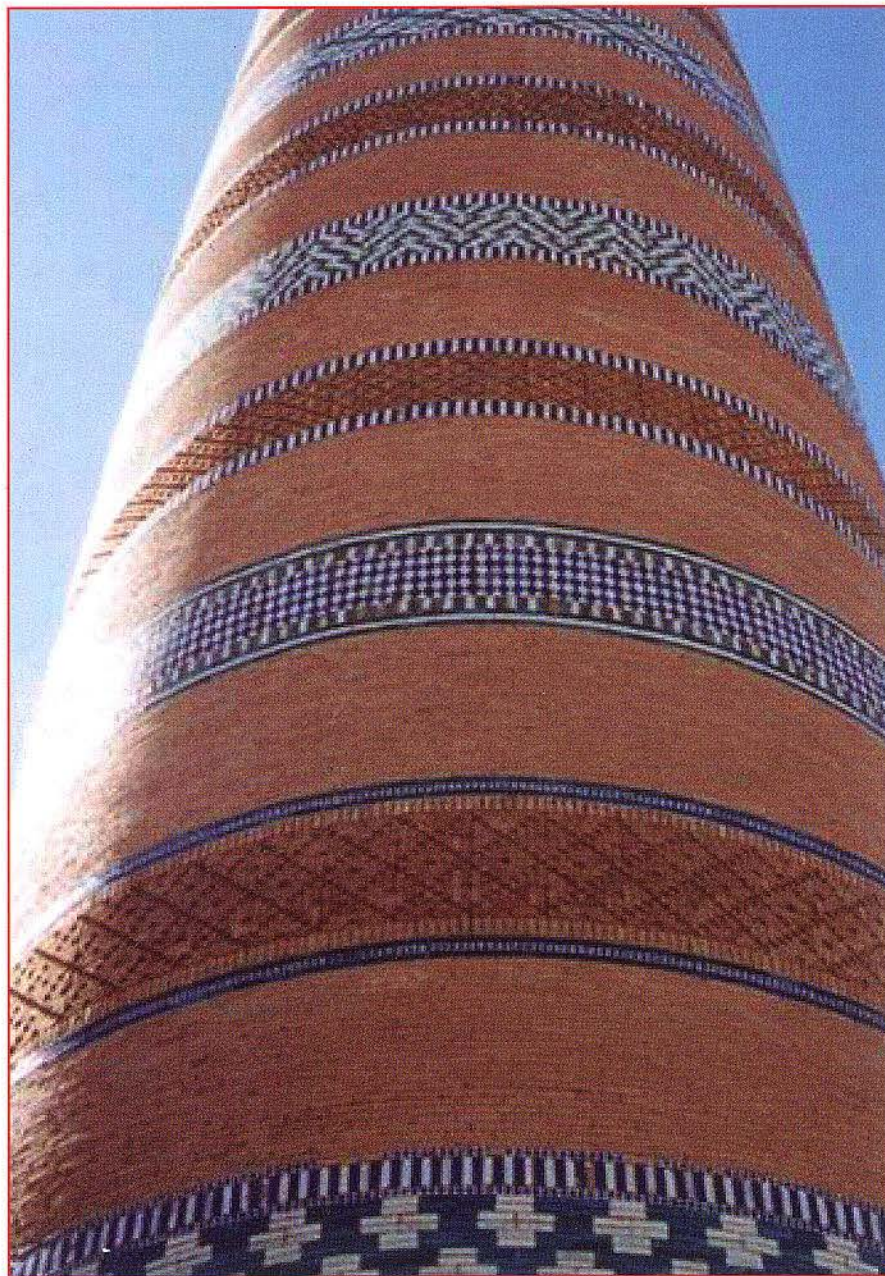
imprisoned and, according to their relatives, also tortured, who are now being tried for supposed links with Islamic extremism, in particular with a branch, not necessarily fundamentalist, of the



movements outlawed by the regime, called *Akromia*, i.e. a faction of *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. The manifestations, expanding to the themes of the economic crisis, unemployment, lack of freedom and discrimination towards the inhabitants of the valley of Fergana, was destined to involve tens of thousands of civilians. The connections with the manifestations are unknown but, during the night, a group of armed men attacked the local jail and freed 4000 prisoners. The following day, the Army intervened, firing on the crowd, in order to regain control of the city by force. According to several international humanitarian organizations and opposition movements, both Islamic and non-ideological, the Army opened fire indiscriminately and without provocation, also against women and children, causing hundreds of dead (745 according to the opposition party *Ozod dekhkonlar* – Free Farmers), to which one should add the victims of the repressions in other cities of the valley (Korasuu, Pakhta-Abad). According to the

Uzbek Government there were 169 dead, a number of which were soldiers. Actually, the manifestations apparently ended into revolts of armed Islamic movements, especially incited by the mentioned *Akromia* movement. It seems that among the victims there were many armed guerrillas, while the civilians were mostly killed by the “protesters” and not by the Army. According to experts and analysts, the truth could lie in the middle. Probably the Islamic opposition organizations, albeit widespread and influential among the population, in Uzbekistan do not have the organizational capability needed to assemble tens of thousands of demonstrators; but they could be at the origin of the revolt, with a core of organized protest which successively spontaneously spread because of the oppressive conditions. They could then have tried to take the lead of the manifestations in order to exploit them politically and, possibly, also militarily, using their superior political and attracting capabilities.

It is certain that the Uzbek Government has laid the blame on *Akromia* and has pointed out some well-known Islamic exponents as the leaders of the revolt (ad Andijan, Kobil Parpyiev, one of the leaders of *Akromia*; a Korasuu, Bakhtior Rakhimov, successively arrested, who, having occupied the city for a few hours, immediately proclaimed an Islamic State). It is uncertain whether this corresponded to reality in every case or it was only an opportunity taken by the Government for carrying out further repressions of dissidents, that the humanitarian organizations and the opposition envisage as fiercer and wider in the near future. Perhaps it is not by chance that, on the 24th of last May, they arrested the Uzbek lawyer, activist for human rights, who had given the media the figures of the massacre of the protesters at Adijan. Karimov's Government maintained that the disorders were organized at transnational level, in connection with what had happened in Kyrgyzstan a few months before. In support of this, he insisted that



there was a Kyrgyz citizen among the wounded, while the rebels kept telephone connections with the Kyrgyz towns of Osh and Dzhalsal-Abad and with Afghanistan. To be sure, undoubtedly on the one hand the Islamic movements have transnational links but, on the other, the ethnic and clan relations in the region are so involved that the exchange of telephone calls across the border cannot be considered a probative element. However, on the basis of these assertions, the Uzbek regime has proceeded to roundups and arrests.

THE SCENARIO

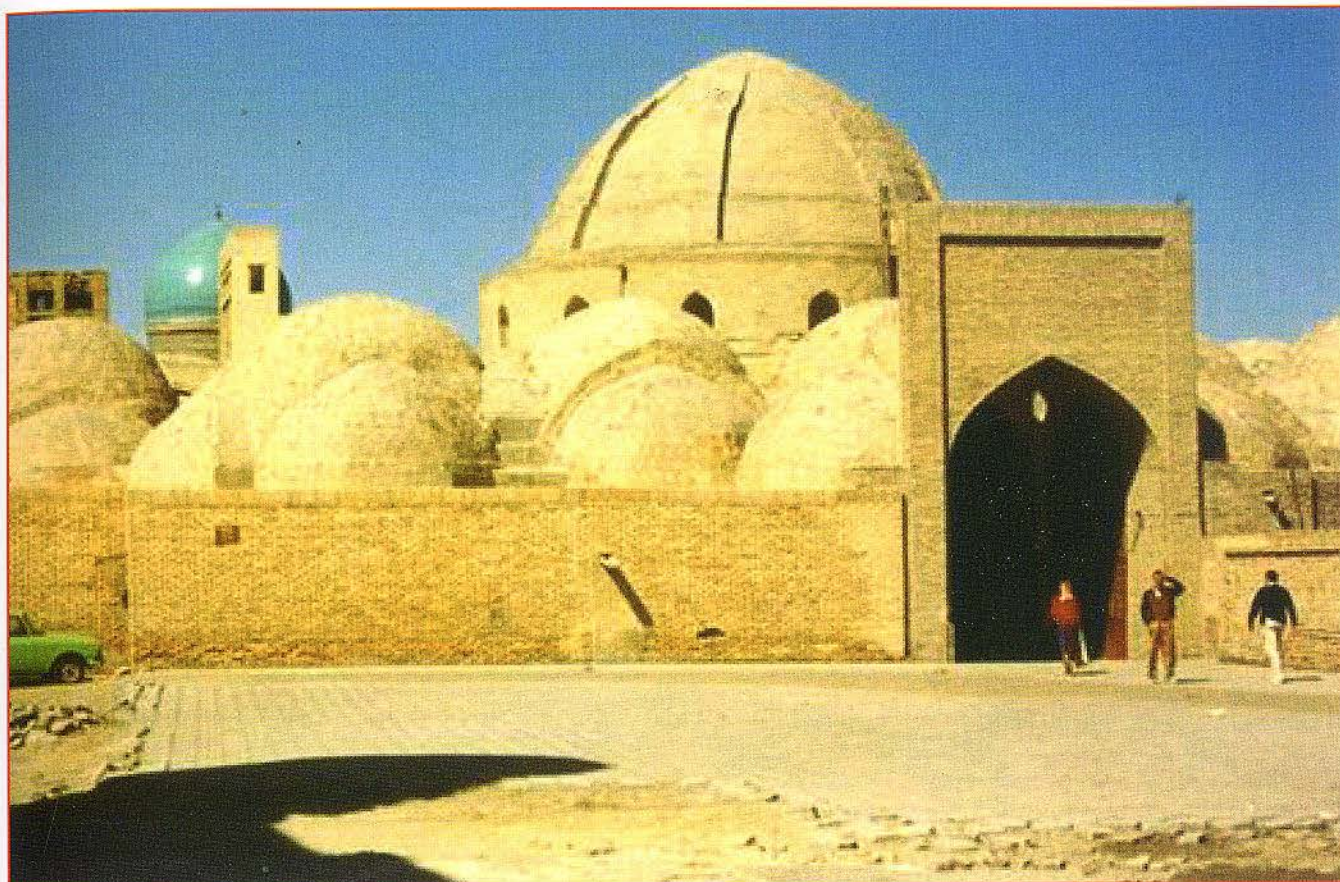
Uzbekistan, a former Soviet republic of Central Asia, covers an area of 450,000 square kilometres (one and a half that of Italy) and has an estimated population of about 20-25 million inhabitants. Its capital is Tashkent (approx. 3 million inhabitants). Other cities, important for their history and monuments, are Samarkand and Bukhara. The population consists of Uzbeks (75%), Russians (7%) and other minorities, mostly from other peoples of Central Asia. Almost all the inhabitants

profess themselves Sunnite Moslems.

The Country has been independent from Moscow since August 31, 1991. A presidential republic, it has gone from one to two Chambers in 2004. Since its independence, President of the Republic has been Islam Karimov (67 years old), undisputed lord of the country already during the last years of the USSR, when he was secretary of the Communist party before converting to moderate nationalist positions. In 2000 was re-elected with a majority of more than 95%. Karimov, after surviving an attempt on his life in 1999, attributed to Islamic extremists, has become an ally of the United States in the war against terrorism.

Uzbekistan stands firmly between the second and fourth place as world producer of cotton, thanks to the fact that the Soviet Union had reserved for this country the role of sole supplier for the whole USSR. But this monoculture, already in trouble, is experiencing now negative repercussions because of a very serious water crisis. There is no water in the Country, and even Lake Aral, which a few years ago was as big as Austria, risks to disappear within ten years. Moreover, it is polluted by pesticides and toxic substances which have enormously incremented the disease and death rate. Also the exports of maize and cars, which in the nineties had ensured a relative economic stability, are going through a crisis. 80% of the population hardly manages to survive in dramatic conditions of underdevelopment. In the main cities one can hope at most for a salary of 30-50 dollars per month, while in the country the earning is one tenth of that. The economic crisis and the iron hand of the regime have thrown the Country down in the lowest world indexes.

The opposition was excluded from the elections of December



2004. According to the international observers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) the elections did not conform to democratic rules. The press is not free and non-aligned journalists, dissidents and opponents are jailed with the most diverse charges. There are doubts about the murder of at least one journalist who, moreover, was a Russian. According to the international humanitarian organizations, thousands of dissidents are in jail exclusively for political reasons.

SOME DATA ABOUT ISLAM KARIMOV

Oddly enough, precisely the harshness of the regime could protract its survival. There is no serious political opposition, well organized and in a position to make itself felt. The existing groups have no financing whatsoever and have no access to the

communication media. The regime could only be overthrown by the tribes, which are responsible for unlawful trafficking and therefore potentially interested in creating a further instability where they can move about. Or by Islamic fundamentalists, who can count on an transnational network of support. It is therefore possible that revolts against the regime could break out, fiercer and more violent, which would hardly be able to establish a new and more democratic governmental representation.

Karimov's star was already born during the Soviet era and, in particular, rose in the eighties with Gorbachev. With a university degree in mechanical engineering, he worked in a factory and then made a career in the Uzbek office of the Gosplan (the USSR body where the rigid five-year plans were prepared). He has been dealing with politics since 1983, when he became Finance Minister in his Republic,

before being appointed Deputy Prime Minister in 1986.

In 1989 he is First Secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party; a year later enters Moscow's Politburo and, appointed President of the local Parliament, soon becomes involved in the ethnic rivalries and in the repression of religious extremism in the rich south of the Country.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Uzbekistan in 1991, Islam Karimov is confirmed master of the Country. He is elected President with 86% of the votes, makes use of the old Soviet bureaucratic machinery and of his total control of the Army for maintaining absolute power. But, like so many others, he shifts from Marxism to a confused nationalism. He keeps the five-year plans (with muddled economic reforms) and, above all, guarantees the laicism of the State, even if, at the beginning, he ensures his permanency in power thanks to

the accords with the Islamic clergy. He accepts to swear on the Koran and go back to Islamic teaching in public education. He even reintroduces the Arabic alphabet, which had been put aside in 1936 favour of Cyrillic. Once confirmed in power, he chooses the road of persecution of the non-controlled Islamic expressions. Thanks to two referendums (in 1995 and 2002) and an election (in 2002 with 95% of the votes), allegedly rigged, he has managed to remain firmly in power without interruption since 1991, with his present mandate expiring in 2007.

Securely in power, he proceeds to repress any dissent with greater strength. The two most important opposition parties, *Erk* (Liberty) and *Birlík* (Unity) are banned soon after independence, after being forbidden even to register. Their leaders, who have chosen exile (Muhammad Salik, head of the *Erk* party has taken refuge in Norway) have been convicted in absentia for subversive activity. But Islamism soon becomes the primary enemy. According to the Marxist-Soviet tradition, only one official cult, controlled by the state, can be admitted.

THE ISLAMIC ASPECT

The repression of the last decades has favoured the shifting of Islamism from the intimist and Sufi one, which has always been pre-eminent in central Asia, to the more extremist and politically active Islam that refers to Wahabism.

Islam in Central Asia has its historical centre of diffusion precisely in the valley of Ferghana, the only fertile region rich in water, even if this depends much on the artificial lakes in Kyrgyzstan. The valley is isolated from the rest of the Country, hemmed in between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, with a higher degree of development and a density of population eight times that of the average of the Country. At the same time, it has been kept by the regime in the worst conditions and left in underdevelopment, with unemployment rates that reach 80%, and an overpopulation which in the present situation is very serious. A first attempt at revolt had already occurred in November at Kokand, an ancient religious centre, against the new trade laws. The valley of Ferghana is the most densely-populated region of central Asia with its 12 million in-

habitants. The Soviet authorities, in order to prevent the emergence of a new regional identity in the area, had decided to divide the valley between Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. However the majority of the inhabitants are Uzbek, also in the zones that are not part of Uzbekistan. The valley is an actual oasis surrounded by mountains and grows especially corn and cotton.

The repression and poverty that characterize mainly the valley of Ferghana but which, together with corruption, taxation and unemployment, is extended through the whole Country, risk to foster extremism. According to experts, the economic crisis and the centuries-old pride of the inhabitants play an important role even beyond the religious question, but after all it is this latter which can catalyse the consent and give an international weight to the Uzbek problems. Many analysts do not exclude that, if the situation were to persist, the "strangers" could also arrive here, like in Iraq. First of all the Afghan Taliban who have survived the fall of their regime in Kabul. Then the Arabs, through the *al-Qaeda* network which, thanks to financing and propa-





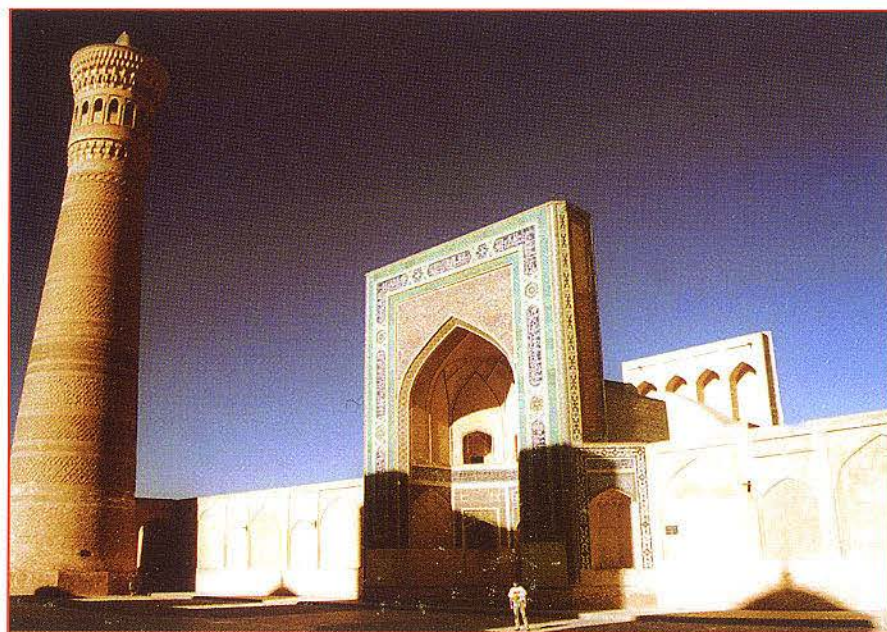
ganda, could slip into the Country both for carrying out a fast recruitment or for promoting and supporting a new season of attacks. The Islamic revolt could expand also to traditionally laic areas which up to now have been apparently peaceful but which are rapidly being Islamised as the economic difficulties grow, such as the devastated zone of Lake Aral, which, with its cotton fields, was once the mainstay of Uzbekistan's wealth and which is now suffering a bad crisis. Here, like everywhere else, the itinerant preachers, especially the Wahabite ones, have started to work and make proselytes. A revolt of Islamicist inspiration had already given a lot of trouble to the Soviet authorities at the end of the eighties. This also in relation to the war in Afghanistan and the support of third Countries. The Islamicist trends have continued to grow in the following years, both for the anti-Soviet investments and for the strengthening of the Islamic groups, starting precisely in neighbouring Afghanistan, and also for a politi-

cal and religious revival spread in the entire Moslem world. The coming to power in Kabul of the Taliban has strengthened the Islamic extremist groups in all the surrounding regions, both directly through the regime and through the *al-Qaeda* organization. It is in fact since the mid-nineties that the extremist groups have been organising and reinforcing themselves also in Uzbekistan. According to the observers, these groups did not disdain to finance themselves also through the routes of drug trafficking. The war in Afghanistan of 2001 against the Taliban has very much weakened the groups connected with them, such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, and also *Hizb ut-Tahrir*.

Since the fall of the Soviet Union the relations between Karimov's regime and the Moslems have always been strained: at the bottom of the Soviet policy, never abandoned by Karimov on this subject, lied the concept according to which religion, like any other activity, had to depend on the State. Therefore, independent

and non-recognised cults were not tolerated. As a consequence, there is in the Country an "official Islamism" opposed to the "parallel Islam", considered potentially destabilizing. The Government appoints the institutional *mufti* and forbids to practise religion outside the fixed places, the "State Mosques".

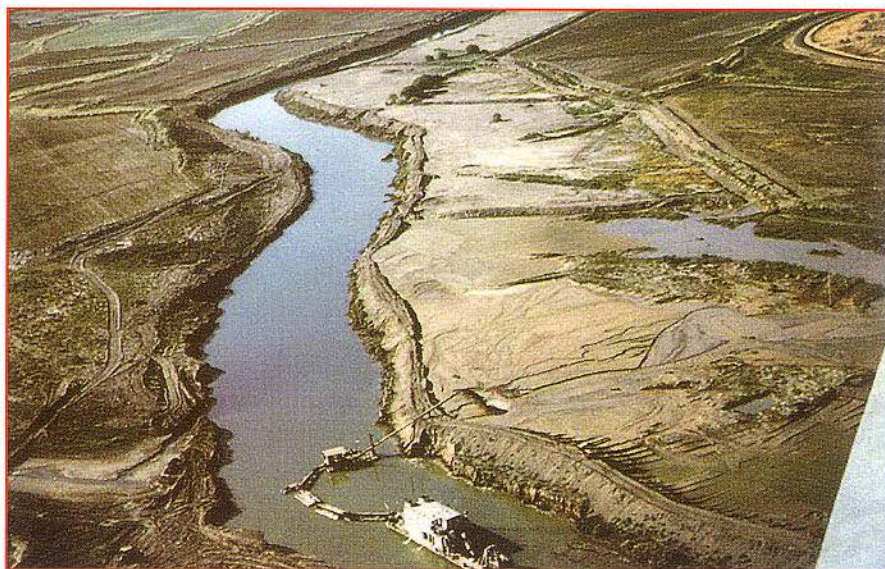
However, in the Moslem field the situation has changed in comparison with the Soviet times. For centuries, in fact, the Uzbek version of Islam has been oriented towards the Sufi doctrines, which envision a very personal and non-rigorous observance of the Koran, shamanist practices and cult of the saints. But between the eighties and nineties, also under the pressure of a bad economic crisis and very high unemployment, the movements inspired by Wahabism started to expand. These groups tend to a more severe interpretation of the Koran and aim at creating an Islamic State governed by the *Sharia*, the Islamic law that follows the model of Saudi Arabia. A caliphate of Central



and reform society in an intransigent Islamic sense. In 1979, after the death of his founder, Palestinian university student Takieddin al-Nabahani, the group has moved under the leadership of Jordanian theologian Abdelkadir Zallum. In 1974 several of its leaders were arrested in Egypt. The organization proclaims itself non-violent but has been outlawed in almost every country of the region, accused also of terrorist activity. Apparently in Uzbekistan it can count on tens of thousands of followers, mainly among the young unemployed.

Hizb ut-Tahrir denies the charges of terrorism and insists on its peaceful approach to the

Asia, like in the past centuries. With the crisis of the Soviet world and the parallel affirmation of the Islamicist Taliban in Afghanistan, while there was a religious revival in the whole Moslem world, also in Central Asia the Islamic drive regained vigour. The repression exercised by Karimov's regime after the first very timid concessions has only radicalised the positions, giving force and violent connotations to the emarginated movements, which in the economic crisis and lack of freedom have found the most fertile ground for their preaching.



THE ISLAMIC OPPOSITION MOVEMENTS

The main Islamic Uzbek political movements are Sunnite and draw their inspiration from the Moslem Brothers. All, apart from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, claim a political and social role and distance themselves from the armed attacks.

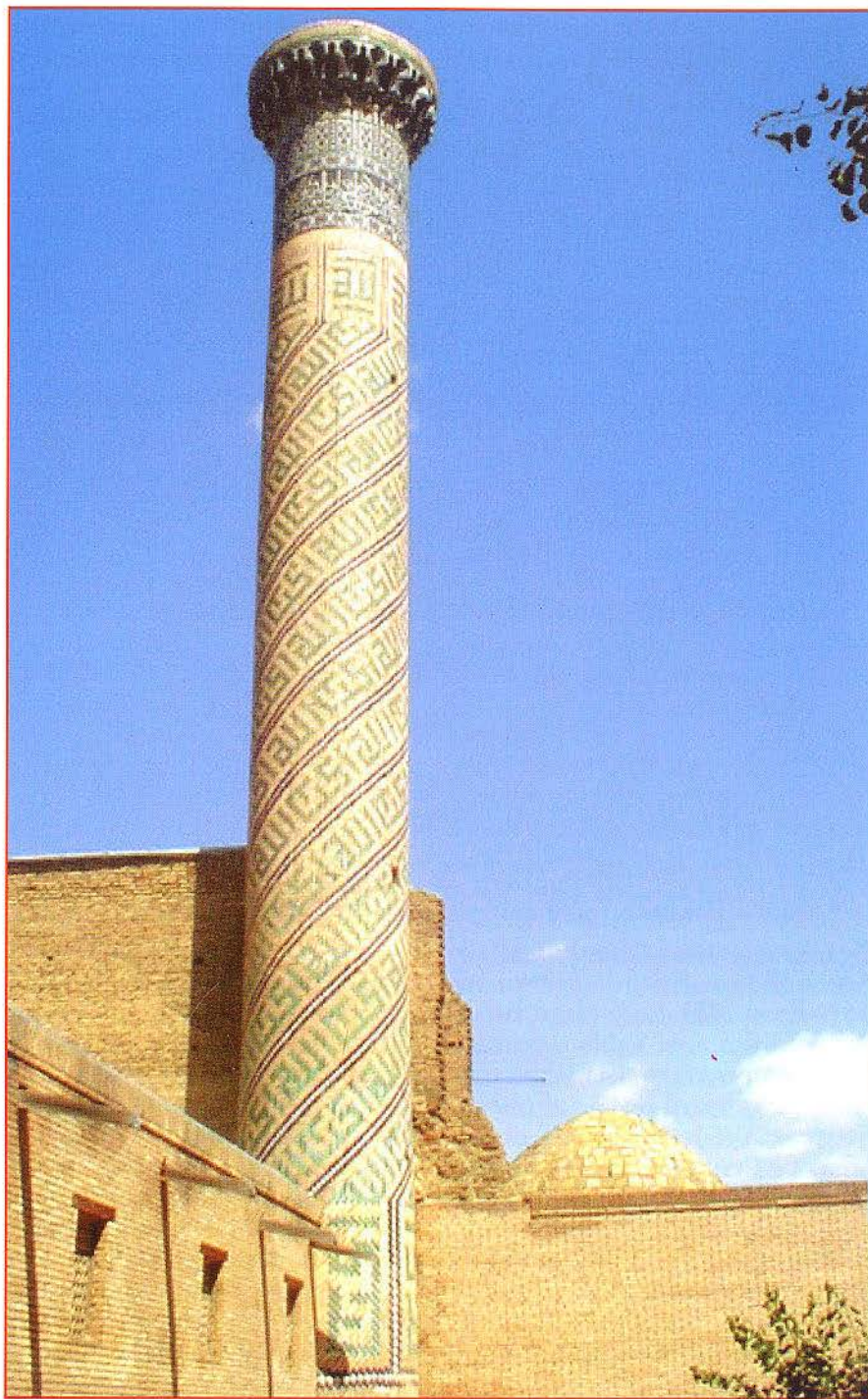
The main group which covers the entire Central Asia but has its base in London is *Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami* (Party for Islamic Liberation, a transnational organization which aims at establishing a

caliphate that should go beyond state borders and unite all Moslems) which has been active in the Asian world for some fifty years but has grown exponentially during the last decade. It was founded in Saudi Arabia in 1953 within the ideological galaxy of the Moslem Brothers, it follows the Sunnite extremist guidelines and wants to establish a pan-Islamic State in Central Asia, which should replace the post-Soviet regimes now in power. It preaches a strict application of the Koranic law to wipe out corruption (a topic of great appeal in Central Asia and especially in Uzbekistan)

world problems (in London its spokesman Imran Wahid repeats: *We want to overthrow Karimov's regime with peaceful means*) even if he verbally assails Jews and too-lukewarm Muslims (but with the purpose of "reconverting" them) and pursues the creation of an Islamic State in Central Asia. Albeit denouncing the use of violence and presenting itself as a movement of political opposition, recently it has assumed more radical positions. Despite the very aggressive tones, it is however recognized at international level as a substantially peaceful movement, whose activ-

ity is carried out through conversion and the diffusion of the so-called "Islamizdat", clandestine propaganda leaflets which praise the overthrow of Karimov's regime. *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, organized in five-people cells, even if its members are forced to live underground and despite the violent and indiscriminate persecutions suffered from Karimov, it seem to have become increasingly popular. Almost all the other Uzbek Islamic movements are derived from *Hizb ut-Tahrir*. Other minor limbs, which in their turn have an ambiguous relation with the use of violence, are the *Hizbi al-Nuzra* and *Akromia* groups. *Akromia*, which has also its headquarters in London, is a small movement founded at the beginning of the nineties by a preacher of *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, Akram Iuldashev, who in 1999 was condemned to 17 years' imprisonment for subversive activity.

Much more significant is the role of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), which coordinated itself with other groups of Central Asia in order to constitute the Islamic Party of Turkestan (or Islamic Movement of Central Asia). Sprouted also from *Hizb ut-Tahrir*, it has the characteristics of an armed guerilla movement, and has rightfully entered *al-Qaeda's* reality, at whose side it fights especially in Afghanistan, after it lost the civil war waged on the Islamicists in Tajikistan. It was formally founded in 1997 (although it had actually been active for some years) by Joma Namangani and Tahir Yoldashev, under the wing of the Afghan Taliban and *al-Qaeda*, but it has never been able to take root on the territory. Joma Namangani was killed in Afghanistan in 2001, while Tahir Yoldashev, considered number 10 in the informal hierarchy of bin Laden's group, escaped to Pakistani Waziristan, together with other *al-Qaeda* leaders, and there he was hunted down



and wounded in 2004 by Pakistani troops.

IMU has claimed responsibility for the attempts of 1999 against Karimov and is seriously suspected for those of 2004. It is responsible for kidnappings (the most sensational was that of four Japanese geologists in 1999) and armed raids.

Another group which may be an IMU ramification is the less

known Group for Islamic *Jihad* in Uzbekistan, which, like others, has claimed through the internet the two series of attacks in 2004, but without further proof.

In Uzbekistan there are also other movements of Wahabite inspiration but, also because of the conditions of stiff repression in the Country, they have no evident organizational and numerical strength which as for structures

and objectives could be clearly distinguished from the major groups.

THE UZBEK ISLAMIC TERRORISM

In 1999 the Uzbek Islamic Movement has claimed an attack with six car-bombs at Tashkent, against President Karimov, where 14 people were killed. Last year, several suicide-attacks, with the participation of women-bombs (the "black widows") which, between March 29 and April 1, bathed Uzbekistan in blood (a few dozens of victims) and with three simultaneous actions (five victims) on the 30th of July, also against the embassies of the United States and Israel.

That the problem of violent Islamic fundamentalism in Uzbekistan is not a problem circumscribed within the national borders is proved by the net of Uzbek fighters outside their nation. The Uzbeks are present as Islamic fighters from Chechnya to Afghanistan, from Pakistan to Tajikistan. The very close links with the defeated Taliban regime in adjoining Afghanistan, the opportunity offered by the *al-Qaeda* network, the instability of many areas of Central Asia, from Caucasus to Kashmir, have allowed the Uzbek fighters to move about, train, participate in actions, confront themselves and give-receive help from the other Moslem movements of the region.

Some examples may suffice to give the dimension of the phenomenon.

The man who is considered the present leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, Tahir Yuldashev, is also pointed out as number ten of the *al-Qaeda* network. Charged with the attempts of 1999 at Tashkent against President Karimov, he has lately been reported in the tribal areas of Waziristan near the border between Afghanistan and Pakistan,

where he seems to be leading the resistance of some international groups of *al-Qaeda* against the offensive of the Pakistani, Afghan and US. Forces. Under his orders there were Uzbek, Chechen, Arab, Uigur and Afghan fighters. Reportedly, Yuldashev may have been wounded during the skirmishes of the last months.

It is more than possible that Uzbek militants may be present alongside the Islamic Chechen guerrilla warfare (and possibly in the adjoining Caucasian regions of Ingushetia and Dagestan). For a certain period there have been unconfirmed suspicions have advanced the hypothesis of a possible presence of Uzbek guerrillas in the attack to the school in Beslan, in North Ossetia.

A quite different situation, but exemplary and useful for understanding the indissoluble relations that cross this region, regards the Uzbek minority in Afghanistan and its fighting forces. Their historical leader is Rashid Dostun, who is now a member of Hamid Karzai's government after being a candidate for the presidency with the opposition. He has gone through various political positions and military alliances, an inconstant member of the Alliance of the North against the Taliban, having established variable alliances. His feudatory role on the north of Mazar-I-Sharif (a town that he contends with other warlords) has been decisive in the past (also for the American victory of 2001), and still is, for the stability in Afghanistan.

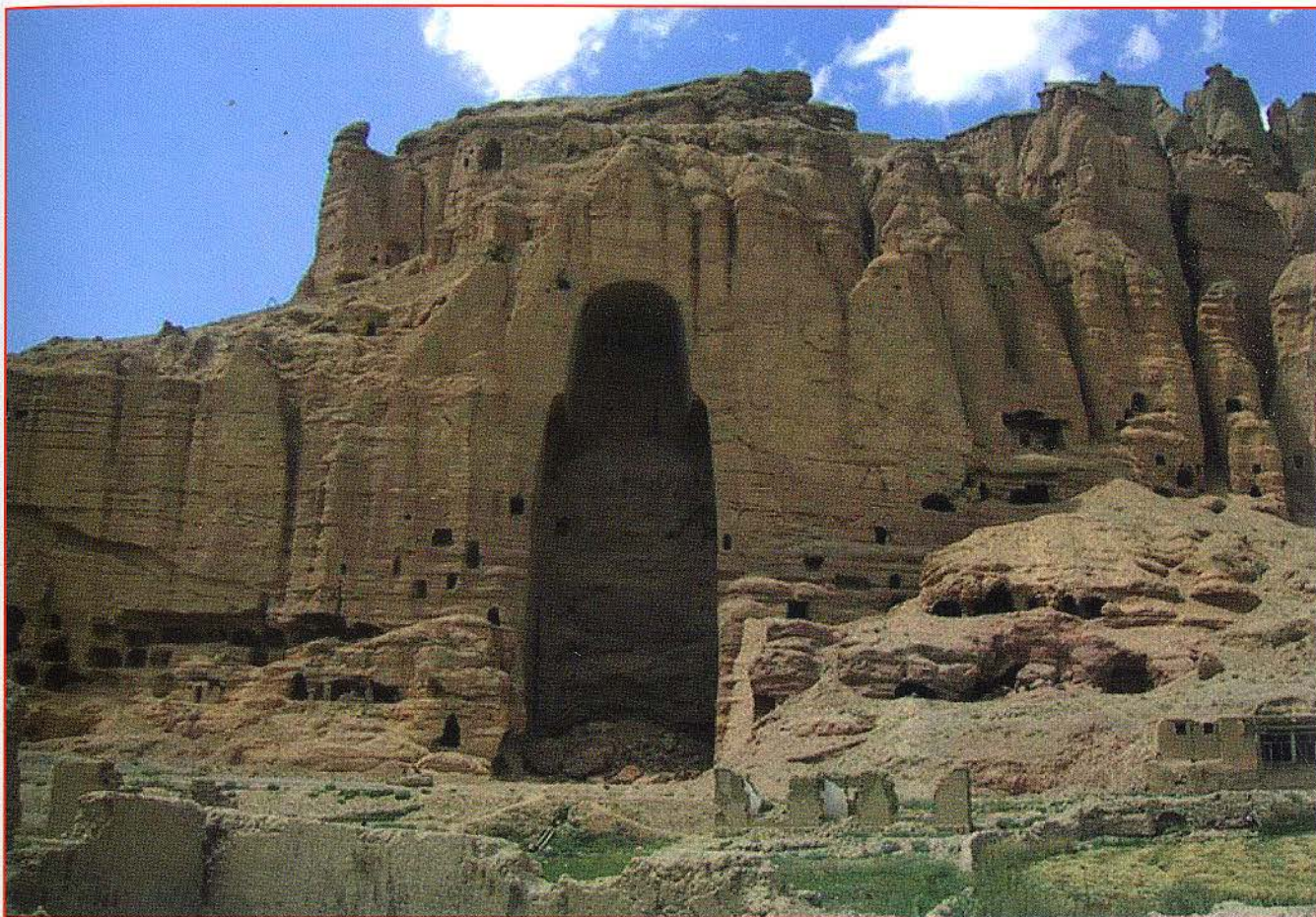
THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Karimov, a Moscow's ally at the beginning, has progressively distanced himself from the Russians. Adding this line to his fear of the threats deriving from Islamic fundamentalism, in 2001 he immediately seized the occasion for approaching the United

States. However, the harshness of his regime cooled the relations with the West, reopening the door to his friendship with Russia, as well as with China and even with Islamic (Shi'ite) Iran.

In 2001, Uzbekistan was among the first to offer help to the United States after September 11, particularly in view of the war against Afghanistan, also allowing the Americans to build a military air base at Khanabad. Karimov who, as we said, had already been conducting a personal ruthless war against the Islamicist movements, even before September 11, has immediately been considered a precious ally in the war against terrorism due to the position of Uzbekistan, absolutely fundamental from the strategic viewpoint. In March 2002, President Karimov signed in Washington an accord of "strategic cooperation". From 2001 to July 2004 Uzbekistan, a former Soviet Country and therefore coming from the Russian orbit, received from the United States more than 350 million dollars to help its struggle against Islamic extremism. In the face of the regime's despotism, the United States has progressively reduced its aid and stopped it completely in July 2004, denouncing the absence of democracy, tortures, the inefficiency of the confused economic reforms and the shameless nepotism. The revolt of May and its repression have been a further evidence which has forced the American administration (and the European chanceries) to openly denounce the Uzbek regime.

In addition, Uzbekistan had obtained benefits from NATO, which are now also being discussed. Uzbekistan has joined the "Partnership for Peace - PFP" programme and is a member of the "Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council" which assembles the 27 members of PFP and all the 26 States members of the Organization. Within this framework, Uzbekistan has undertaken to



implement democracy and human rights. If it fails to comply, NATO threatens to cool the existing relations. The same is applicable for the other various international organizations. Already in April the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development has cut aid and investments because the Tashkent Government has not met the requirements on human rights wanted by that organization. OSCE has defined as irregular the parliamentary elections held in December, because they have not complied with the international requisites related to democratic elections. It is moreover denounced that death sentences and executions continue to take place. The High Commissioner for Human Rights of the UN, Louise Arbour, has promised an independent investigation on the clashes of May at Andijan, which has been rejected by Tashkent, causing strong protests from the European Union. The

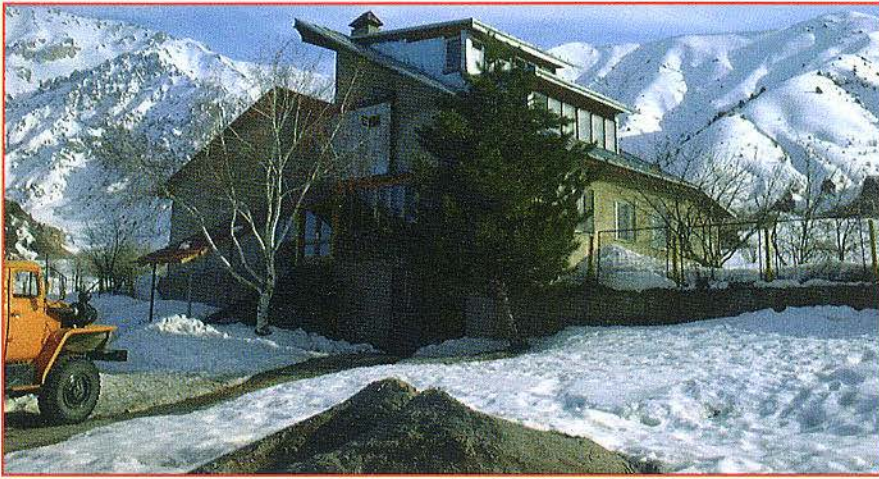
Foreign Ministers of the Twenty-five in the Conclusions of the Council of General Affairs and External Relations have expressed *deep concern for the last events in Eastern Uzbekistan*.

On the contrary, within this framework there has been a rapprochement of Russia and China.

After the May clashes Beijing and Moscow have supported Karimov, even if they have expressed regret for the innocent victims. Russian and Uzbek troops have carried out joint exercises that suppose a response to an Islamic attempt to invade the Ferghana valley and establish a caliphate. Once more, geopolitical and economic reasons, together with fear of Islamic fundamentalism, intertwine in the Central-Asian scenario and in the choices of the Countries involved. Extremism is also the great enemy of China which, in its Central-Asian regions faces a daily confrontation with Islamic separatism.

Another structure, very important for Central-Asia's good order, which also shows how central in this area is the fight against separatism and Islamic extremism, is the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), created in 2001, in which Uzbekistan participates with China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and to which Afghanistan has been admitted as observer. The objectives of the new regional pact are economic cooperation and fight against drug trafficking and organized crime but, above all, "against religious extremism and international terrorism". The member Countries together have already drawn a black list of terrorist organizations they want to fight. In September 2003 they decided to establish in Tashkent a common Centre for the fight against terrorism.

As regards the relations of Uzbekistan with its neighbours, we can mention the difficult rela-

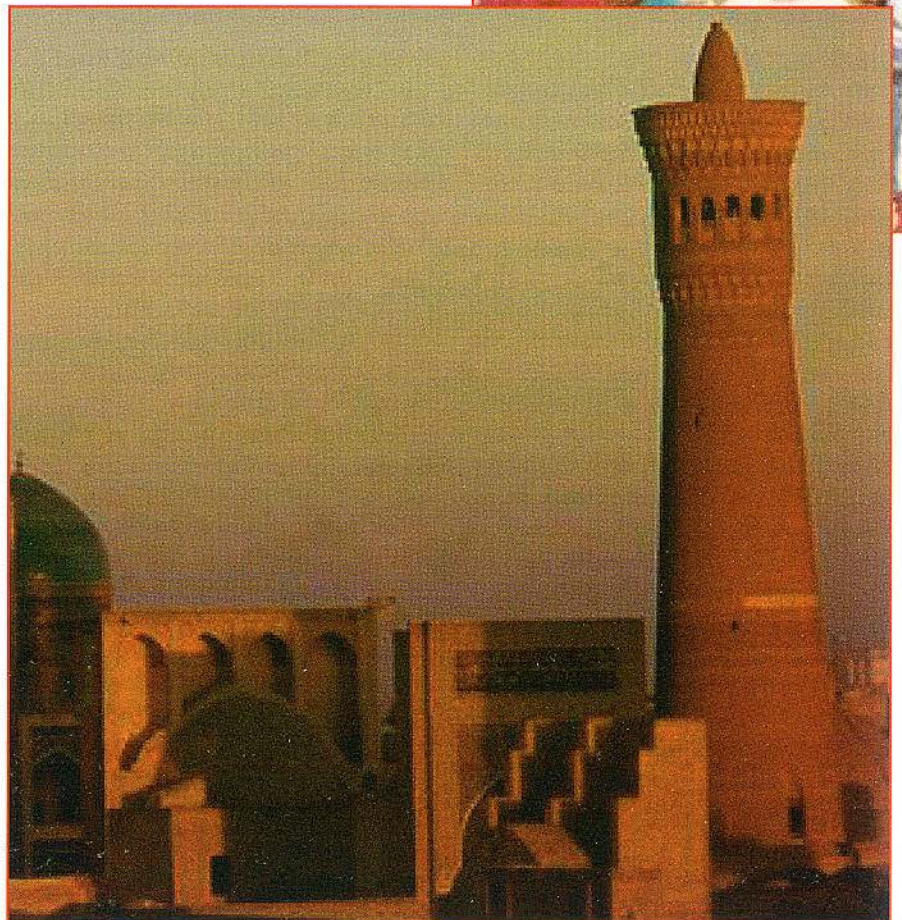
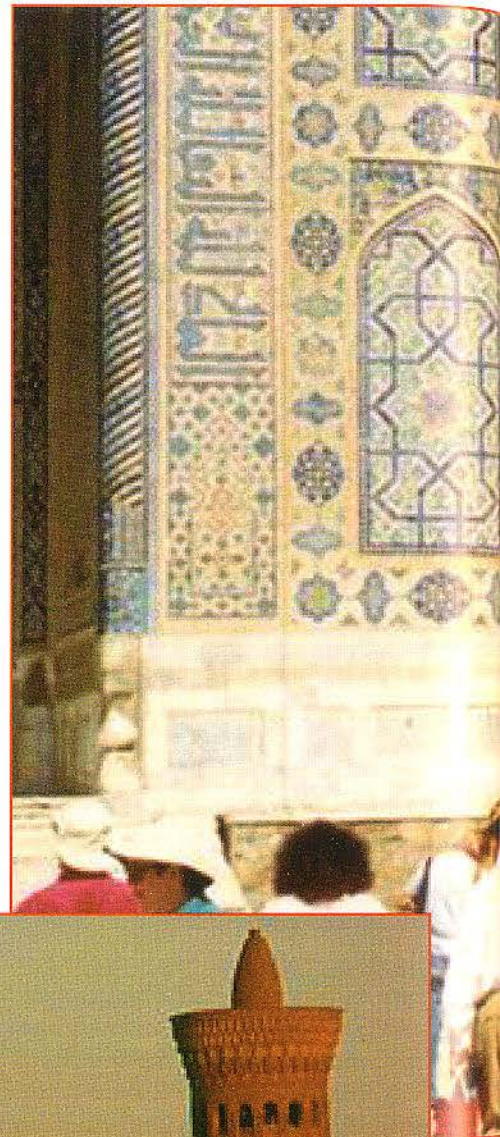


tions with Kyrgyzstan where, moreover, many Uzbeks live. The recent revolution that has overthrown President Akayev has originated precisely on the Uzbek borders and probably started within religious circles and tribes not dissimilar from the ones that were the protagonists of the May demonstrations in the Ferghana valley. Nevertheless, and although Uzbekistan a year ago had physically destroyed the bridges that linked it to Kyrgyzstan and closed the border passes, Tashkent has hastened to recognize the new Kyrgyz authorities. This attitude can perhaps be explained in two ways. First, to prevent contagion by removing the reasons of attrition. Second, no less important, the moderate and also sufficiently pro-West Kyrgyz political forces seem to have been able to channel the protest within institutional forms, taking political control of the rebellion and preventing it to become an uncontrollable popular, and in particular extremist, revolt. Also the first signs of ethnic clashes and reckonings among clans seem to have rapidly been brought under control. That is the reason why Uzbekistan does not dislike the new order in the bordering Country, provided that it remains stable.

POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS

The situation in Uzbekistan could seem without a way out. In

the Country there is a dictatorship which, besides, has proved unable to manage the economic situation, throwing the nation in a condition of poverty which could appear irreversible, accompanied by a very serious environmental crisis and the collapse of the infrastructure. A regime that in these conditions is unable to ensure, for itself and for the international realities concerned, a





profitable exploitation of its resources. On the other hand, it is countered by a Moslem and lay opposition which, at the moment, seems unable to offer a realistic alternative, disjointed and disorganized as it is, with no leading personalities, lacking financing and with little or no roots on the territory. These are elements which, together with the economic crisis, promote the spreading of Islamic radicalism. A territory, moreover, where the superpowers compete while they risk getting in each other's way, favouring the establishment of transnational realities like Islamic extremism.

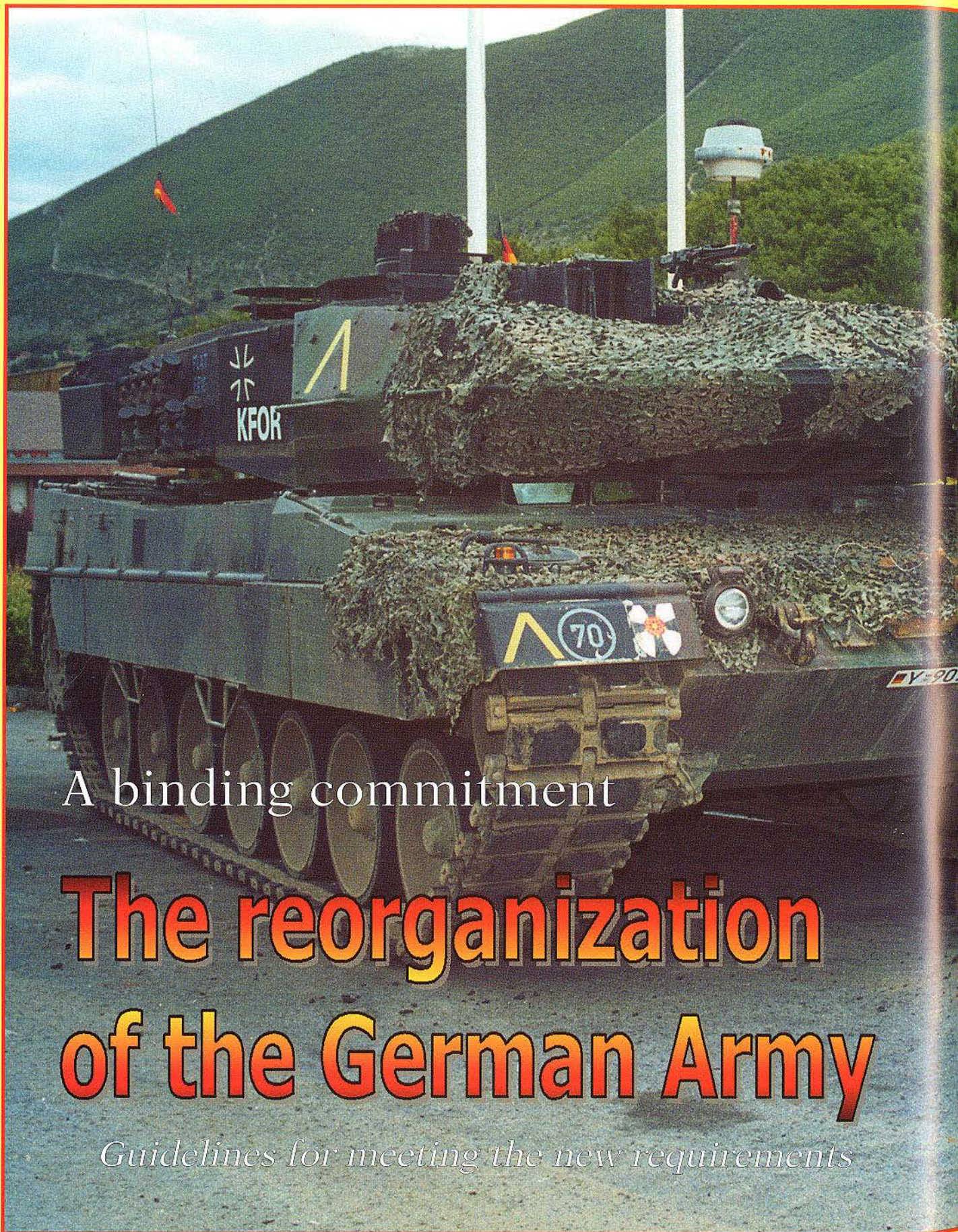
If the road to a progressive democratic development seems

necessary, one must admit that the history of the last years has shown that the despotic regimes are unable to stand even the smallest opening to liberty. Any minimal attempt at democratic reform has led to collapse.

The path to progressive democratisation and opening to a non-violent Islam and religious liberty, passing through the respect of human rights, remains therefore the only practicable road. And it must be travelled involving every local social reality, from ethnic groups to tribe representatives, from cotton growers to bureaucrats, from religious representatives to lay political movements. But this must be accompanied by a substantial

economic development and by the concrete and evident support of the international community. The latter, on the one side, should be guarantor and participant in the transition and on the other should ease the exit of the present leaders, offering protection against possible vengeance. Only an international guarantee, together with a concrete economic development, will prevent Uzbekistan from going from one bloodbath to the next, in the contraposition between two opposed extremisms, dangerous for the Country, for the region and for the whole world. □

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A binding commitment

The reorganization of the German Army

Guidelines for meeting the new requirements

by Hans Otto Budde *



The new politico-strategic scenarios have had a great influence on the Bundeswehr. It is in fact under way a process of rationalization which will lead the land forces to assume a more incisive role in the prevention and management of crises and fight against international terrorism.

A fact clearly emerges from the guidelines issued in May 2003 by the Federal Ministry of Defence, from its provisions for the development of the Bundeswehr (October 2003) and from the new doctrine that must be applied: the international missions for the prevention and management of crises, including the fight against international terrorism, are future tasks for the German Armed Forces. In the setting of the transformation process started in 2003, the Army has started a planning suitable for adapting the instrument to the new challenges. The first concrete steps have been taken with the "Army of the Future" organizational model and with the decision taken by the Minister on the redistribution of the forces. According to the political – and especially politico-financial – dictates, the land component has



A "Marder" transport and combat vehicle in Kosovo.

already started the rationalization of its organization which will lead, by the end of 2010, to a reduction of no less than 30,000 effectives, thus being able to rely on a strength of about 104,000 servicemen. Like the other Services, also the Army, which is still the most numerous one, will be divided into three components: operations, stabilization and support. The "Army of the Future" concept will have its place in this context. However, it is necessary to adapt the body of responsibilities and the *continuum* among the forces which oppose the possible risks for the security of the Country, obviously taking into account the new technological developments and the modernization of equipment and weapon-systems, particularly against the background of a new "joint" and "combined" dimension.

NEW CHALLENGES, NEW TASKS

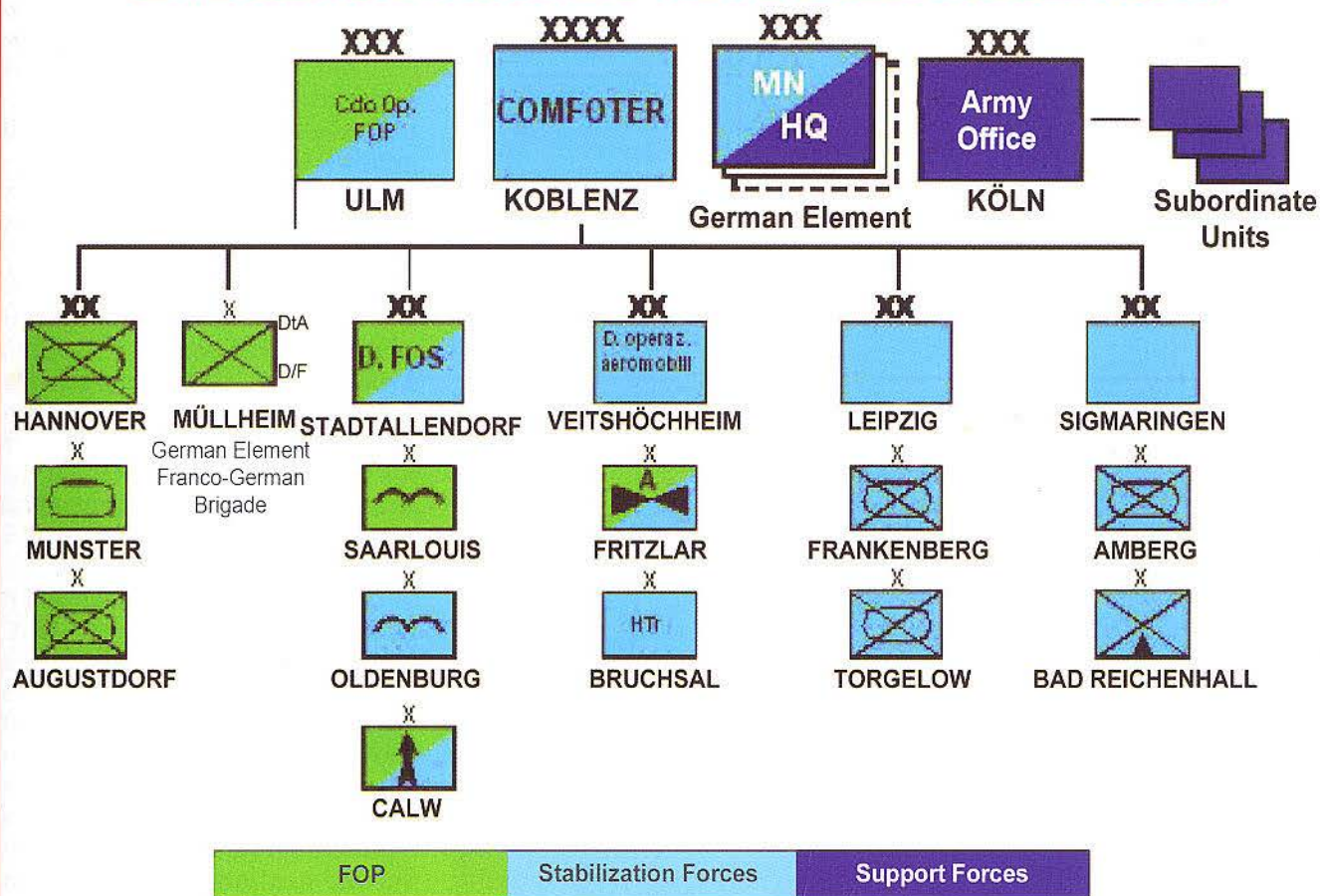
The events of September 11, 2001 in New York and Washington, with the addition of the tragic episodes of Madrid and London, have dramatically shown the existence of a new dimension of danger threatening our security, international terrorism, nourished by fanaticism and ethnic/religious fundamentalism and favoured by the disintegration of many States, the end of the State's monopoly on the use of force and the consequent destabilization of entire regions. Taking for granted the political willingness to employ the military instrument against these threats to our security, it is necessary to acquire the capabilities suited to comply with this will, such as the Special and Specialised Operational Forces, which are already part of the German Army.

As we see the new asymmetric threats becoming concrete, we

also witness a widespread globalization of conflicts. Against this background, the need to eradicate the threats at their source becomes more and more urgent. If politics wants to be in a position to react to the crises by employing the military instrument, the latter must be provided with a high projectability and sustainability for employment abroad, since these are indispensable elements for the projection of stability. In order to reorganize the land component, one should have a well-balanced *continuum* of light, medium and heavy forces, capable of implementing credible procedures of escalation and de-escalation.

Moreover, the Army must be oriented towards the polyhedric nature of conflicts, a phenomenon which is becoming more and more frequent in crisis areas. The experience made mainly by the Americans and the British in Iraq with the scenarios called "Three-Block War", i.e. the capability of

THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE GENERAL STRUCTURE AND TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION



assuming different attitudes, at the same time, within the same scenarios, does not permit a clear distinction between combat operations, stabilization measures and reconstruction activities, not even in limited areas.

FORCES AND CAPABILITIES

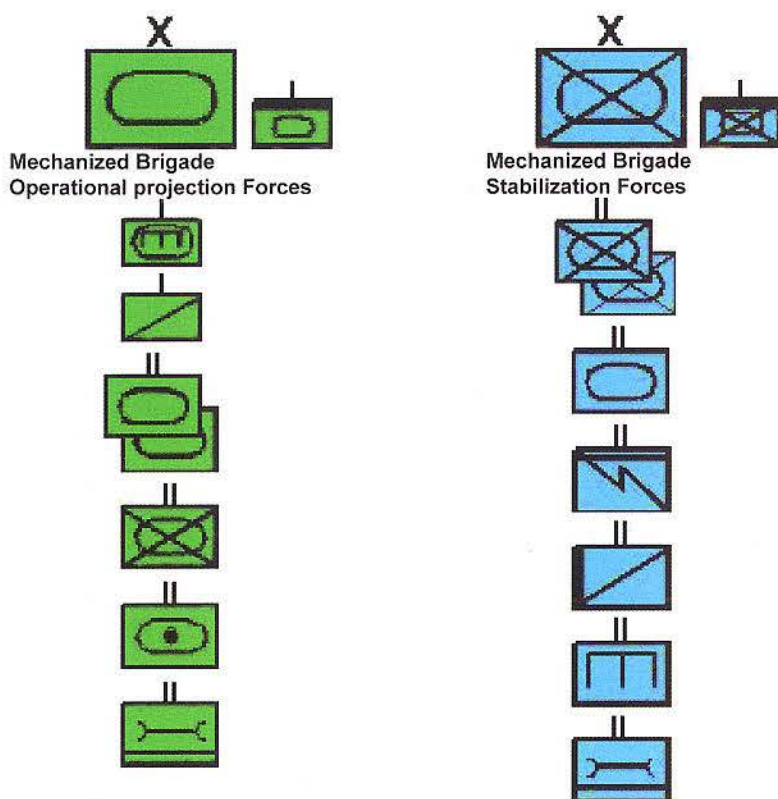
The abovesaid network of political provisions and conceptual premises is the basis for the "Army of the Future" project, resulting in a harmonious whole of forces and capabilities aimed at conducting joint and combined operations throughout the entire range of possible engagements, from high-intensity combat to stabilization operations and humanitarian assistance.

The heart of the "Army of the Future" will consist of five Division HQs with a total of 12 Brigades. As regards the mechanized forces, the "Projection Operational Forces" Division will be the central core of the projection forces. These are the actual "front line" and will be provided with the capabilities necessary to carry out "peace-enforcing" missions within high-intensity "network centric" operations, in an operational environment inspired by both the concept of "jointness" and that of "combinedness". With two mechanized Brigades and the possibly-assigned French-German Brigade, plus an appropriate "command and combat support", the Projection Forces Division has the units and the capabilities for "combined-arms"

combat up to Division level. The range of the capabilities of the Projection Operational Forces is completed by the light air-mechanized assets of the Special Operations Division and the Airmobile Operations Division. This will enable us to create, with a rapid initial action carried out by light forces, the conditions for implementing a stabilization activity or, in the international environment, a larger operation of peace enforcement. The "Army of the Future", nevertheless, will no more envisage the logistic management at Division level. This capability will be directed by the Joint Support Service, which is a perfect example of interaction among different forces and special branches.

The Projection Operational

THE ARMY OF THE FUTURE ORGANIZATION OF THE BRIGADES



HQ" and will enable us to assume also the "lead-nation" role in stabilization missions at that level. Furthermore, with the new Airmobile Brigade, new manoeuvre capabilities will be realized. In addition to combat and transport helicopters, the Brigade will include reinforced infantry units. Thus, we shall be able to achieve our first air-manoeuve capabilities and reevaluate the whole air-mechanized component.

As regards the missions of peace-stabilization, the German Army has at its disposal four "Stabilization Brigades", subordinate to two Division HQs. The relevant force multipliers will be made available to the Command of the Army logistic and support Forces. The stabilization capabilities can be integrated, when necessary, with artillery, NBC and anti-aircraft assets. The main task of these forces is to set up the bases for the institution of state structures and, finally, to start the nation-building process, by keeping apart the conflicting forces and safeguarding the civilian populations. At any rate, considering the permanent risk of escalation, the stabi-

Forces will also be the basin of the NATO Defence Force and the envisaged Battle Groups of the EU for crisis-response operations. The modernization of the Projection Operational Forces will mainly concern the command capabilities within "network centric" operations and also the equipment needed to carry out the assigned tasks.

The Special Operations Division (DSO) does not change much, since the structure and the dimension of the instrument, projectable for rescue and evacuation operations as well as for special and antiterrorism operations, are already basically in line with the requirements of the future. The fact that one of the two airborne Brigades will be assigned to the stabilization forces stresses the concept that the units of this category must be capable of acting along the

whole scale of intensity.

Also the Airmobile Operations Division (DLO) has undergone structural and functional changes. The Division HQ will be conceived as a "Framework

A "Tiger" support helicopter.



lization forces must also be capable of carrying out combat operations down to reinforced-battalion level.

If one compares a Brigade of the Projection Operational Forces with a stabilization Brigade, it clearly emerges that the organization of these Units is studied in view of their optimization according to their specific tasks. For example, the POFs armoured Brigade commands forces and capabilities suitable for combined operations. Further elements of combat support are managed by the Division, when necessary and in a flexible manner, according to the "task organization" principle. The stabilization Brigade, in its turn, has at its disposal three battalion-level manoeuvring elements, equipped like those of the operational forces. This is absolutely necessary, because the units of the two categories are bound by a relationship of operational interaction. Besides the capabilities mentioned above, the stabilization Brigades include forces and assets devised mostly in view of stabilization missions such as, for instance, a construction component within the Engineer battalion, or elements particularly suited to guarantee the command capability and sustainability of the Brigades in that type of missions.

All the Brigades of the "Army of the Future" have highly sustainable and sturdy structures, and follow the saying "fight as you are trained and organised".

The support forces, which are mostly assigned to the Army Central Office, among other things deal with training at the Central Training Schools. Also the conscripts of all units are grouped in the support forces. This is an important and necessary contribution since, without

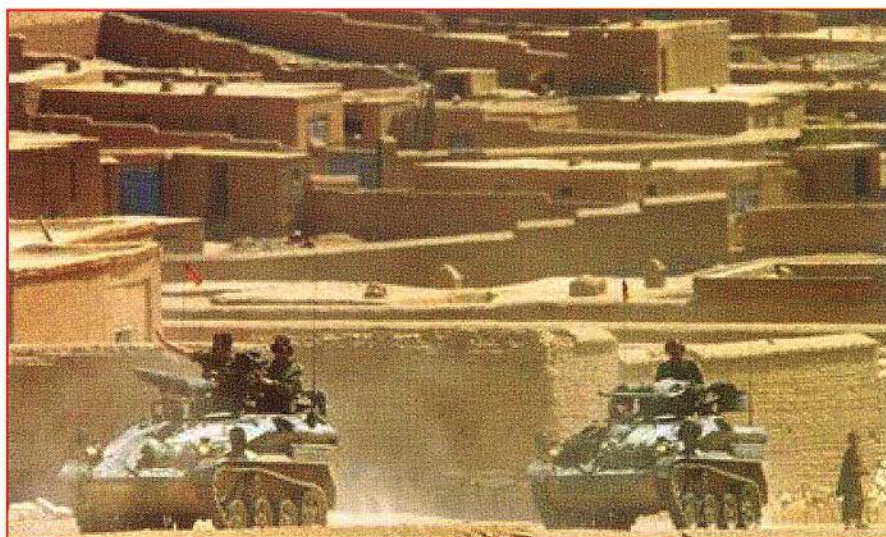


them, the missions of the long-term volunteers would not be possible.

THE CRITERION OF AVAILABILITY FOR EMPLOYMENT

In the Army, conscripts hold most functional jobs in Headquarters and support formations. Furthermore, every unit receives a company for in-garrison support. This means that in the future the number of long-term personnel engaged in command and training of conscripts will decrease and, as a consequence, the number of long-term servicemen available for operational missions will grow.

The same goal is also pursued through the increase in the number of students for the training of Cadres. With more than 20,000 positions for students, the vacancies in the training courses can be managed better. This causes an increase in the actual presence in the units and, by and large, also the availability for employment. Altogether, the Brigades of the "Army of the Future", i.e. - so to say, the deployable forces formed by long-term servicemen - will be employable 100% in operational missions. Despite the rationalization under way, the land forces will not lose too many of the projection capabilities they need to perform their tasks.



Left.

A German patrol equipped with "Wiesel" armoured vehicles in Afghanistan.

Below.

A German infantryman in Kosovo.

Facing page.

A "Fuchs" armoured car.

THE MODERNIZATION OF THE EQUIPMENT

However, the reorganization cannot be limited to structural planning. The resources assigned to the Army compel us to fix a number of priorities that cannot be realized in the immediate future. The adaptation of equipment and systems to the new challenges is based on precise and long-term objectives. Based on marked capabilities of reconnaissance and command skills, our efforts are aimed, first of all, at ensuring protection and ability to prevail through operational effectiveness. The Army's provisioning concept follows this simple formula. Also in this case, the reference criterion is exclusively the mission.

The wish to improve the protection of the soldiers employed in a mission led to enlargement of our fleet of armoured vehicles. In this sense, the acquisition of the "Dingo 2" patrol vehicle, the "Mungo" for Special Operational Forces, the "Wiesel 2" and the infantry-carrier "Hägglund" BV 2065 infantry carrier has been a good start, which must be followed by a mass procurement. Besides, we must remember the planning under way for the purchase of the "Boxer" armoured personnel carrier. Very effective are the *Infanterist der Zukunft*

(Future Infantryman) and the *Soldat im Einsatz* (Soldier in Operations) systems, which are part of the modern equipment of all other Branches. For the

moment, the first "Future Infantryman" systems will be employed mainly in Afghanistan.

Another significant contribution to the soldier's protection is given by the collection of information on the enemy. Today the integrated reconnaissance system has already at its disposal a set of particularly efficient means, such as the "Fennek" recce vehicle, the "Cobra" counter-battery radar





and the "KZO" and "Luna" remote-control mini planes for target spotting and reconnoitring, soon to be integrated with the "Aladdin" very-short range UAVs and with micro-UAVs.

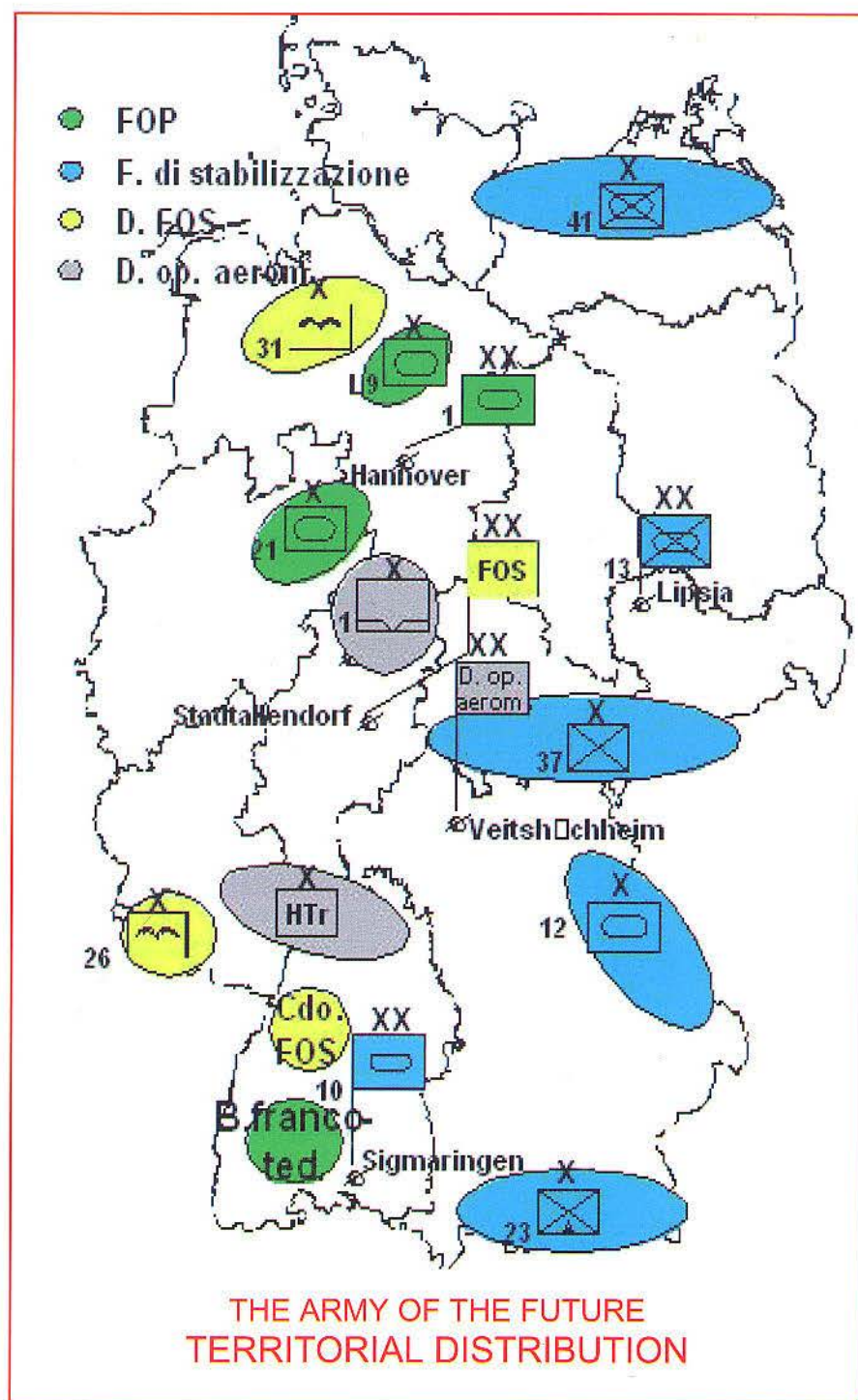
The further net connection, finally, will enable us to exploit at best the information acquired, which is a basic requirement for the achievement of capability objectives in terms of network-centric combat. In view of this, the Army has crossed the threshold of conceptual development long ago. Based on the already tested systems and other means, such as the "Adler" artillery command-and-control systems, the C2I system and the "Faust" command system for Command levels up to Brigade, the simulation centre and the combat training

centre, we are now trying to find pragmatic solutions for the integration of the individual components in a single homogeneous and effective unit. The achievement of the capability of conducting "network-centric" operations will require, also in the future, an efficient and effective

command-and-control system, acting as an integral part of a C2I system for the whole defence. Thus the acquisition of the Army's C2I system (FüInfoSys H) continues to be an absolute priority. Even with the greatest technological progress, an undeniable truth remains: at the centre of



A "Puma" prototype.



The largest modernization programme is represented by the “Puma” system, which is the mainstay of the operational capability. There is no possibility of any compromise as regards basic capabilities, security and protection of personnel, ability to prevail, effectiveness and skill in command-and-control during a mission. “Puma” is an ideal and advanced system which integrates all these central capabilities and meets all the requirements of versatility and flexibility connected with the range of the Armed Forces’ future engagements. Next year we are going to buy a preliminary series of “Pumas” for a total of 5 systems.

TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION

The decisions concerning the territorial distribution of the “Army of the Future” taken in November 2004 by the Federal Ministry of Defence, are based on technical, functional and economic evaluation criteria. In the future, the Service will be divided into 123 garrisons, located all over the Country. In particular, the Brigades of the Projection and Stabilization Operational Forces will be in interconnected geographical areas. This will provide the opportunity of realizing common training and exercise cycles, thus enhancing the principle “Fight as you are trained and organised”.

the system there is man, the Commander, who will be unconditionally responsible for the employment of his soldiers and of the equipment and materials given to him in view of the operational target. This concept is defined as “Network Enabled Warfare”, where technology is in any case only an “enabler”. Nevertheless, this does not

reduce the importance of the integrated networks, which are the decisive prerequisites for “jointness”, the key element of transformations.

The development of air-mechanization will continue with the “Tiger” and “NH90” programmes and will be completed by the measures concerning the CH-53 helicopter.

THE PROCESS OF CONCEPTUAL DEVELOPMENT AND EVALUATION

An important method for the structural approach to the process of transformation occurring within the Army is represented by the so-called process of conceptual development and

evaluation (CD&E). The development of new concepts, procedures and operational principles aims at achieving future useful results, at the same time taking into account the operational experiences already made, the resources available and, obviously, also the present and future capabilities.

The evaluation of new conceptual approaches also includes the whole range of notions acquired through studies, exercises and missions, or learned on the basis of models and simulations.

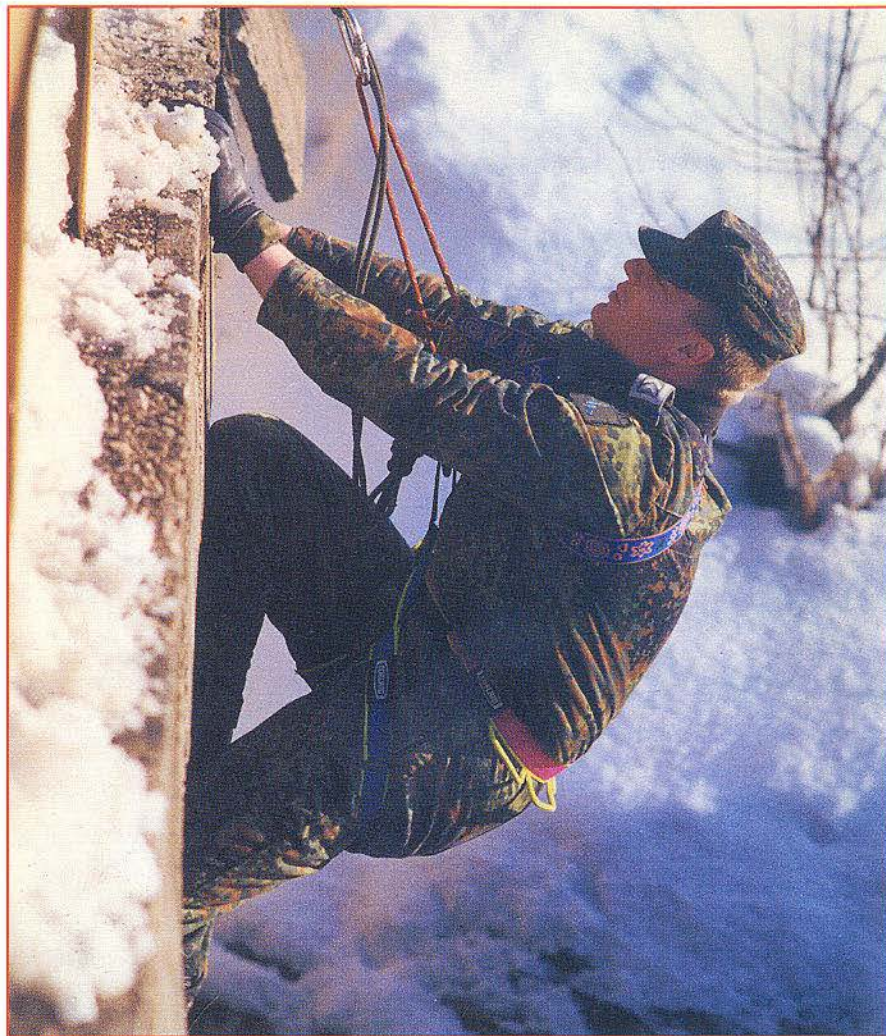
As regards practical experimentations, we envisage a gradual progression: when new ideas are born, we proceed, but when the innovations are of little significance we stop the experiments and try another path.

In view of this, the Army takes part in joint and multinational projects while continuing the development of its own activities, in collaboration with other Services and functional areas. These are mostly projects dealing with the new capabilities of the Army and the requirements for the implementation of the "network-centric warfare". As examples we can mention the improved interaction and collaboration, the strengthening of command capabilities within multinational contingents, the "Joint Fires" concept, the new reconnaissance units and the Airmobile Operations Brigade.

ECONCLUSIONS

The transformation process within the Army also extends to other fields and sectors, such as command-and-control, schools/training as well as personnel planning and management.

Considering the various restructuring measures which have involved the Army in the



recent years, and in view of the numerous provisions to be taken in the near future, we must be capable of convincing the military, men and women, to continue with us the journey we have undertaken. Otherwise, the development of all the concepts mentioned before would turn out to be useless.

The projects for the realization of the "Army of the Future" have been worked out with great care. Now we must implement them, and this will be useful also to servicemen, civilian collaborators and their families. This is the only way to create transparency and confidence. All that is undertaken from now on will obviously have to be strictly based on the requirements connected with the mission. Taking also into account,

Mountain training.

in the operational scenario, our contribution to the NATO Response Force and to the envisaged Battle Groups of the European Union.

In short, there will be a lot to do. But despite this intermingling of measures to be taken and the different levels of the organizational structure, everything will go as planned. We must be ready to introduce corrections and further adjustments during the missions, in order to proceed in line with the model of transformation envisaged.

**Lieutenant General,
Chief of Staff
of the German Army*



di Daniela Bracco *

Army and Mass Media **TO INFORM** **COMMUNICATE** **AND PROMOTE**

A wide-ranging strategic plan

The Army, bearer of an atypical condition, must exploit at best the instruments provided by the media, in order to acquire consensus and relaunch the values of unity and national solidarity.

According to an unwritten law of communication, when a request for information is born and ignored by the official interlocutors, someone else will answer it, for good or evil. Perhaps with half truths, leaks, accusations, improvised and ill-informed reactions.

Many choices of secrecy, press silence and Anglo-Saxon "no comment", made by the press offices of noble institutions and companies have been shattered by this law. But the rule is that void must be filled: silence is "deafening". The first headline is the newsmaker: further communications, no matter how official, will do nothing but run after some visibility with minimal effects.

This law is well known by the I-

talian Army, which has paid, and sometimes still pays, with accusations of lack of transparency or of communication efficiency, the difficult coexistence between secrecy, inherent to the logic of military communication, and the media request for details.

Marketing and advertising offices, too, know and exploit it to their advantage: they are after the people's unconscious needs in order to find the communication key to make a product take off.

Therefore, as it cannot be ignored, it is worth using this mechanism in a strategic manner, devel-

The promotion activities meet an increasing success among the young public.



oping some issues which can be studied for their capability of producing "information needs", singling out the means and symbols which allow to multiply the communication effects and reach the goals. By working exactly along these guidelines, the Army is in fact becoming a "news factory", reversing, at least in part, the defensive philosophy which accompanied the early stages of its activity of public information.

MASS COMMUNICATION

It is undeniable that, during the last ten years, the Service learned at its expenses the cost of its isolation from communication, starting to build up talking skills, responding

its own identity and messages are reflected. In doing this, it makes clear in a modern manner the identity of the "Army as an Institution" in the service of the Republic. In particular, it placed in the foreground the elements which unite the values of the Army with those of the individuals (as for example the advertising activity for the recruitment of volunteers) and those of the community (national celebrations, information on the support to populations abroad).

The web site, a real litmus paper of the willingness and capability to hold a dialogue with the world outside, is the first element of comparison and should be promoted with full marks. The promotional campaign of the "New Army" – with its radio spots, the programmes on the

tween 18 to 25 (1).

Through the correct management of the rules of engagement and with the its skilled and helpful behaviour during the operations carried out in Italy and abroad in the last 10-20 years, the Army met the need of public opinion, that wanted to have at its disposal a Service capable of providing security and professional support. A general consensus inevitably developed in the press and the political world, wiping out many antimilitaristic stereotypes.

However, this result did not stem from plain "spontaneity": it was the consequence of the deliberate and planned support to the media, of training courses for war correspondents, of the production of documents and promotional material and the activation of specific channels of internal information.

OBJECTIVES

Given the acceleration and proliferation of the information sources, not only the public has become more demanding, but there is also an increase in the number of targets to which communication should refer. Apart from public opinion, extremely variegated, the Army has to take into consideration the growing political sensitivity of military information. A phenomenon widened by the Italian participation in international operations, causing an increased information flow between public opinion, Army and political decision makers.

Another target is the internal one. Internal communication is the basic lever for improving the consistency of the operational behaviours with the strategies of the summit, the support to values and the solidarity between individuals and groups. Computerization has revolutionized the possibility to spread information from centre to periphery, rapidly and at low cost, using newsletters, intranet and internet sites, mailing lists, forums and blogs. Moreover, the communities'



Facts and values, transparency and dialogue, trust and solidarity: these are the basic concepts of communication.

to external stimuli and learning to "negotiate" with the media, exploiting the media levers. Considering silence and "masking" obsolete models for good, it developed a more dynamic communication strategy, supported by a direct and, in most cases, effective language.

The communication of the Army has followed an increasingly professional *modus operandi*, multiplying the mirrors through which

"RTL 102.5" radio station, the news from the theatres of operations, "radio West" and the "Rap Camp Summer Tours" – has updated and made more dynamic the way in which these values can be communicated, remembered and shared. In other words, the Army has a new basis for a "continuous management" of the consensus. This is confirmed by the widely known results of an EURISKO survey, ordered by the Army General Staff in 2004, which show that the image, the values and the training potential of the Army are highly appreciated among young people aged be-

“tom-tom” may be a precious ally of institutional communication.

To public opinion and to the internal audience one should also add the international scene, to which the Armed Forces belong. The communication offices entrusted with the monitoring activities should take in high consideration, pay a ceaseless attention and compare the information coming from abroad or perceived there, in particular what is coming through the press of allies or adversaries.

Judging by the current organization of the Public Information Office of the Army General Staff and by the activities being carried out, a lot has been accomplished in order to speed up the responsiveness of the structure and the optimization of its functions. Working there means to answer under pressure to the daily requirements of a professional public, more and more variegated, needing a personalized and quick support. However, a constant care should be taken in improving two basic variables: reply time and news-journalist relation.

The first factor – the response capability, and not only during a crisis – is responsible for at least half of the news effectiveness. Even a one-day delay in giving an answer may prove useless and damaging to the image. As for the time of diffusion of the information, it is difficult to estimate how much weight is carried by the procedures connected with the authorizations between Army General Staff, Defence General Staff and Ministry of Defence, but it would be desirable to reconcile the two typical elements of the structure – stratified bureaucracy and accurate organization – in order to achieve effective results in line with the logic of communication.

A possible path could be the strengthening of the current structures of Public Information. The appointment of a spokesman, currently enjoying considerable autonomy – especially in crisis management – has brought immediate results; but the spokesman’s involve-



ment in summit meetings could be increased, enabling him to point out possible risks or detect positive elements.

In short, the communication structures should effectively be considered staff elements, closely connected with both the summit of the Army General Staff and the Defence General Staff. They should be granted discretionary power and the autonomy to carry out quick initiatives, but also the resources necessary to accomplish their strategy. Such an architecture implies a sufficient number of professional figures, closely coordinated on the national territory and in the theatres of operation, adequately trained and considered.

As for the second variable, i.e. the relationship between news and journalist, it is essential to develop the sensibility to appreciate the individual work of the journalist. Actually he needs to go back to the original source, verify the information, obtain a direct report and know further details. He writes for a specific newspaper and has to deliver to his editor an original work. Sometimes the strategy of the private discussion bound by the “off the record” rules, allows the source to avoid risks and get a deeper involvement of the journalist. In a military circle it is useless to stress how profitable the briefing instrument can be, i.e. that of meeting the press on fixed-terms or on the

The Army developed a more dynamic communication strategy with a direct and effective language.

eve of an event, a method commonly used at international level.

However, the eternal dilemma of the coexistence between communication and secrecy remains in the foreground and it is not yet clear, to an outsider, how it is managed today. On the one hand the information must be given, because the Army is a public institution and as such it has to report its activities to Parliament, citizens and mass media; besides, a detailed communication is important, as it can give ample reassurances to citizens as to the level of protective measures the Country can rely on and, as a consequence, have positive repercussions on the role of the Armed Forces. On the other hand, reserve is a prime and necessary element justified by security and strategic interests. In this case, too, the Army has greatly improved its approach, considering communication not only a duty but also an indispensable factor of success.

CONTACT WITH THE YOUNG

Young people are in part a new public for the institutional communication of the Army since, up to a few months ago, the military was



The briefing instrument is a method widely used to strengthen the relation with the press.

only interested in attracting a “niche” public to meet the need of a limited number of individuals to be assigned to highly specialized centres, military academies and special Corps. Now there is a sharp turn: the main aim is to attract an “audience” as wide as possible. Thus there are different communication modules on which to work: those aimed at the “before” (to attract a surplus number of youths vis-à-vis the offer, in order to improve the quality of the selection), those concerned with the “during” (to inform, involve and implant positive values and bonds) and those dealing with the “after” (making the young be the first Army ambassadors to the families, at work and in society, but still remaining a point of reference and cohesion).

As far as recruitment is concerned, the goal is to get young people with cultural and motivational backgrounds up to the envisaged levels, in order to guarantee the future operativeness of the Army. As for the means of communication, one must choose a model that combines the quick communication stream that is now familiar to young people, with their expectations and the capabilities of the institutional communication. Today the internet is certainly the most

important channel, and this is exactly the reason why the Army site alone is not enough. Links with other sites or successful search engines have to be looked for and acquired, both in the institutional and entertainment sites, getting to the heart of all information directed to young people. Besides, one should not consider a secondary option to spread news by sms, through agreements with mobile telephone companies. Regarding the contents, it is especially with young people that communication has the difficult task of facing the suspicion caused by the old commonplaces about barracks life, and the “competition” of civilian volunteers.

An appealing element can be found in the history of the last twenty years, which the young can actually remember, with the actions and images of an Italian Army projected in a highly operational dimension, an important, international, professional and modern instrument. Then, it will also be necessary to talk about peace, describing it as an element not to be taken for granted, which has to be built through a constant defence of individual freedom and of the free institutions that are its guarantors. By using the instruments of indirect communication, it must be made clear that peace “is not a game”, and has to be built through the cooperation and solidarity between Armed Forces and citizens.

The Army has already started good advertising campaigns for

Long-Term Volunteers. By studying the young people’s behaviours and needs, these promotional activities lay stress on individual ambitions: promising a non-levelling training approach and real opportunities to develop their personality, in addition to “strong” and “adult” values. With the “Rap Camp Tour” – the event for “recruitment and promotional activities”, which started in the Summer of 1997 with two-day stops in the most important Italian towns – the promotional activities scored a great success with the young public. In studying new ways of recruitment, the Service also cast a glance to foreign realities. But looking for models, we see that the most famous ones do not perfectly meet our requirements: the American one appeals to the feeling of defending the Flag and the Country’s role for itself and the world. This is inconceivable in Italy, where the reciprocity between State and citizens is scarcely felt. The British model is not compatible either, as it appeals to a very strong historical tradition which sees Homeland and uniform as the sides of the same coin (suffice it to see the relation with school uniforms, accepted as an immediate and distinctive social mark). Thus it is better to turn to our own specific traditions. We are a Country which has written in its cultural code the world of Communes and Regions since ancient times: every citizen lives his own identity through his links with the territory and the history written in every village or local border. The territorial institutions – not only those politically-oriented – work at full capacity in order to be in contact with their citizens. The citizens themselves show a deep sensibility, promoting associations and sources of information. It is fundamental to enter this network of communication opportunities.

Therefore, the Army can exploit the territorial institutions in an ever more coordinate and detailed way (municipalities, cultural and training associations, sports clubs and

secondary schools) in order to work out plans to promote recruitment. There are many ideas: proposing cycles of conferences about training, opening stands at local shows (how many of them are organized every year by the municipalities of each province or region?), promoting debates at civic institutions (on these occasions D-VDs and monographs could be given out), planning more visible and widespread advertising posters. In conclusion, one can increase the occasions of contact with young people and their parents by providing more detailed information about the opportunities offered by the "New Army" (2).

Besides, it should not be forgotten the "reality show" role of television: that young Officers and Volunteers, properly prepared to meet the media, should be called to tell their training experience in popular programmes and debates is an important sign. The women's entry and their presence in the new military reality cannot but improve the quality of the debate, bringing it closer to the public.

Television and radio programmes are situations at risk of triviality, but rejecting them a priori is of no use. Instead it is important, on the one hand, to answer the need of the adult public that want to meet "fine young men" like many others, who feel that their value is increased by the uniform and think of contributing to the future, and on the other to meet the request of the young people to "see" the exceptional nature of the experience, the human values which it might develop, the professional competence that can be acquired and the international projection of the context.

A NEW COMMUNICATION STRATEGY

The Army's communication is often present on the territory, in an institutional way, when its representatives take part in official celebrations or create events such as

the above mentioned *Rap Camp*. In some cases, its presence manages to connote massively and economically a given area, creating a vital relationship with the population. But much more can be done to increase the visibility and convey an image of the Army as an element of security and national unity.

First of all, the Army is not everywhere, entire areas are not in contact with the culture, history and activities (mostly those of support during emergencies) of the Armed Forces as a whole. So, the communication can start from below, trying to "beat" these territories with annual events and meetings, creating, where they do not exist, occasions for local historical commemorations, tracing them on the map of the social memory.

Those historical events could be restored in a joint effort with the other institutions. A striking case of such "restoration to communica-

"popular communication plan" successfully realized by the President: during his seven-year term he visited almost all Italian provinces and other peripheral places rich in historical value, reviving the pride for the institutions, participating personally in a thorough tour of the memory places of the Republic. During each visit and on every occasion he magnified the event contacting people of all ages and any social condition, paying careful attention to local issues, talking to families, encouraging young people and reminding the old about the past.

He has always done so, in every context, from North to South, on the basis of the explanation and restoration of symbols, without rhetoric or political colouring. And, without effort, he has found in the polls an implicit need of adhesion to the values of national unity and solidarity. The means and the mes-



Entering the network of the communication activities is fundamental for staying in contact with the young.

tion" is the public holiday of June 2, revived with new prestige by the President of the Republic. With all due proportion to historical value, how many other occasions of local commemorations could be restored by the Army in favour of the community? What other dates or places could be translated into a language of communication of events, nearer to the current needs of the people? Or where is the Army still absent and could be an instrument of national cohesion?

Then we should think about the

sages through which this revival of an "Italy of all Italians" were diffused were all there: the Tricolour, the National Anthem, the commemorations and the places of history. The waving of flags and the enthusiasm accompanying the President during public events astonished the observers and "forced" the media to an unprecedented amplification of the messages coming

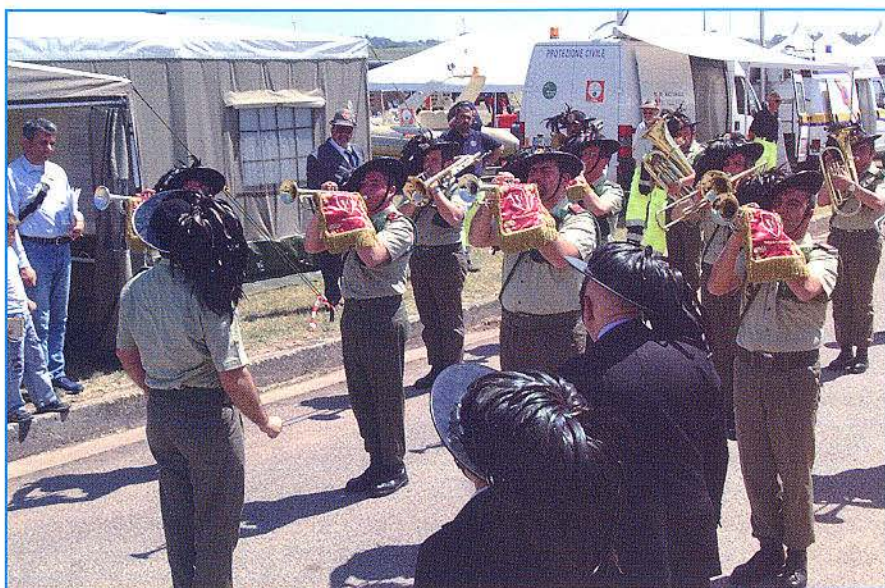


Conferences and debates are necessary for improving communication and promotion.

from "the Hill". Through these addresses, expressions such as "national identity", "proud of being Italian", "civil fervour", "solidarity among peoples", "sense of the State", "defence of the free Institutions", found new citizenship in the homes and in Parliament.

The main lesson learned from this "communication policy" is simple: it is essential to cultivate image and events through the network of institutions, letting the messages emerge as if coming from

The performances of military bands are a strategic element of communication.



"one and only institutional body", and be based on laic and rigorous "super-partes" goals and values.

Leaving out self-celebrations, when in contact with the public it is important to give space to actions, numbers, graphic displays of results and programmes under way. We should ask ourselves: what does the public really know about the Italian involvement, not only in operational missions abroad, but also in the present system of international alliances? The message is that the Army is "defence", but also competence and guarantee at the citizen's disposal, development of advanced technologies to the advantage of the system. A friendly Army, ready to be known and seen, and willing to accept suggestions. In this regard, it is useful to support the idea of a calendar of peri-

odic appointments, and to "open the doors" of the barracks or the most significant historical buildings of the Armed Forces, with possible guided tours and concerts.

In short, everything to answer another need of the citizen-taxpayer: to have the evidence of the results and the effectiveness of the institutional targets of the Armed Forces. Facts and values, transparency and communication, trust and solidarity. This is what the citizens, worried by the uncertainties of the future, are asking for. This is the basic concept of the communication that today speaks of an "Army of the Italians".

RADIO AND TELEVISION COMMUNICATION

The Army has always given great importance to communication through images.

The development of the activities for the production of videotapes and the realization of special photo-reports, to be put at the journalists' disposal, today is undoubtedly increasing and the circulation of images is guaranteed by agreements with the leading agencies. The Army web-site has already has a valuable media library, but the technological innovations will certainly give further opportunities to develop the service and make it successful: this will have to be taken into consideration by those submitting the communication budget.

Compared to the past, the presence of uniforms on radio and TV has certainly increased. The "exchange of services" (materials and productions on the operations or on the new model of Defence made available by the Army in exchange for airtime) is by now an established reality, appreciated by regional televisions. Instead, at national level it is neither simple nor easy to reach an old goal: to have, within the programming of the Italian broadcasting corporation, RAI, a regular appointment, a sort of special window, where the Armed Forces could give an immediate

stream of information. This should not be necessarily focused on Defence news only, but could range from entertainment, in-depth analyses and high-level technical and training subjects. In part, this is what already happens on radio, thanks to an agreement with the independent national station RTL, but television, with the communication "plus" of its images could produce un hoped-for results. On such a television programme, the most specialized and "intellectual" part of the Army could be put in the service of the Country. In short, it is a complex plan which could be tried out through the creation of an internal web TV and media training (3) aimed at the top management.

From this long series of observations, it comes out that the supply of information which can be offered by the Army, though difficult to manage, is greater than the demand. The information is a representation of values, a management of the image, a restoration of identity, a display of competence and the presentation of results to the citizen, of the Army's crucial contribution to success in the theatres of operations, spreading a style of excellence and of service to the State. This is the meaning of a communication which becomes for the Army a wide-ranging and long-term strategic project, to which increasing resources should be destined. □

* *Journalist,
Communications expert*

NOTES

(1) More than one third of the Italian young aged 18 to 25 consider the military profession appealing and a source of personal and professional experience. It is striking that more than one third of those who made this statement are women. But the consensus and a particular trust in the present role of the military professional is even higher (three quarters of the interviewees).

(2) Before and after this, the Army "back office" must naturally ensure a high degree of efficiency, being able to

give answers to users/volunteers through recruiting centres, offices, single staffers and toll-free telephone numbers. The information about careers must give a practical, clear and exhaustive explanation of the "work programme", the terms of the contract and the prospects for the best ones (the excellence value has a strong emotional impact and is always appealing).

(3) Their ultimate end is the *ex ante* protection of the information and the communication effectiveness from any type of mistake, both during a promotion activity and while managing a crisis. While being trained, the subject experiences a simulation of the media programme including the most difficult possible questions asked by the journal-

Above.

The Army is "defence", but also competence and a guarantee for the citizen.

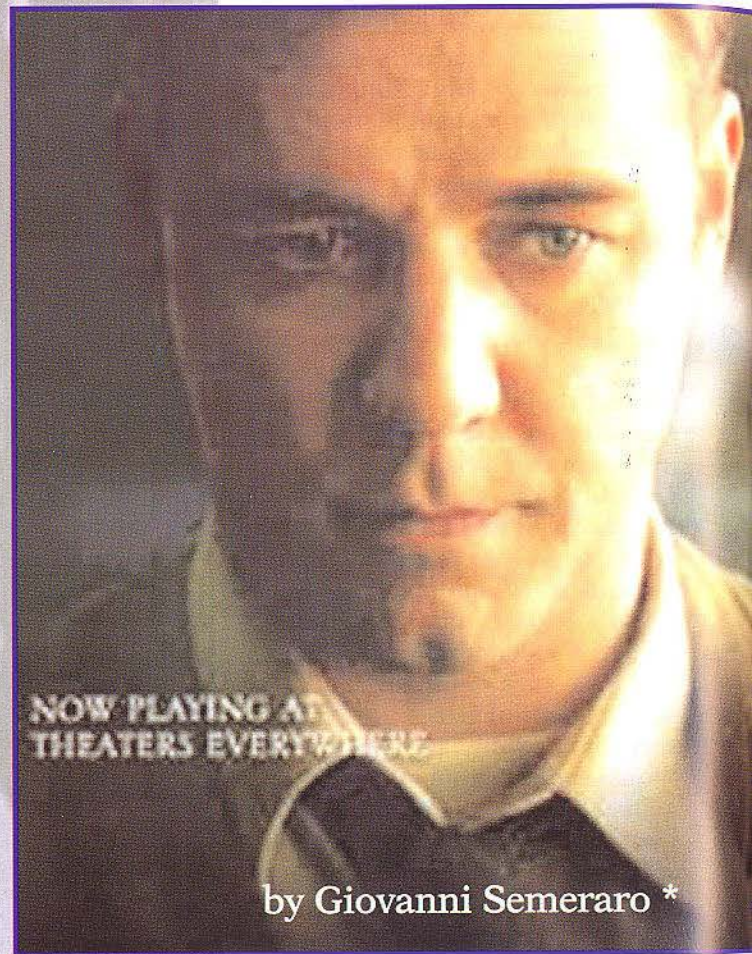
Below.

Compared to the past, the presence of the military on radio and television programmes is constantly growing.

ists, preferably formulated by an external professional. His reactions are examined, both the verbal and the non verbal ones (the type of communication made of attitudes, reactions, looks, postures and voice tones, which can tell also what we don't want to tell). The elements that may distort the information or even create crises of credibility are pointed out and corrected.



For centuries, scholars have been trying to transform the art of war into an exact science and to frame strategic decisions into a structure of mathematical functions. To this end the "Games Theory" constitutes a new approach borrowed from the economic world. This theory, which has no relation with games, refers to situations where the decisions made by a number of subjects are interdependent: when taking a decision, one must also evaluate the moves of the others. In particular, the advantage of each choice does not depend only on one's own decision but also on other subjects. This is what commonly happens in military conflicts, where choices are simultaneous and independent.



Initially it was just a meeting point between mathematics and economy; now it can be effectively applied in the most diverse environments, including the military one

THE «GAMES THEORY» A USEFUL PROFESSIONAL AID

From conflict situations and construction of mathematical models comes a different approach to the problem of strategic decisions.

HE SAW THE
WORLD IN A WAY
NO ONE COULD HAVE
IMAGINED.

RUSSELL
CROWE
A BEAUTIFUL
MIND
ED HARRIS

The "Games Theory" is a relatively young discipline which, until a few years ago, has been confined to the university and government research circles (mostly in the Anglo-Saxon world). It was discovered by the general public and became rather "fashionable", thanks to a film biography of John Forbes Nash, which was made into an American film, "A Beautiful Mind", starring Russell Crowe. The "Games Theory" is the mathematical science which analyses conflict situations and tries to find competitive and cooperative solutions through models. In other words, it studies individual decisions in situations where there are interactions among different subjects, and the decisions made by a subject can affect the results that may be achieved by a rival, according to a mechanism of retroactivity.

The applications and interactions of the "Theory" are manifold: from the economic and financial

sector to the political one, from sociology and psychology to data processing, from biology to sport. Nat-

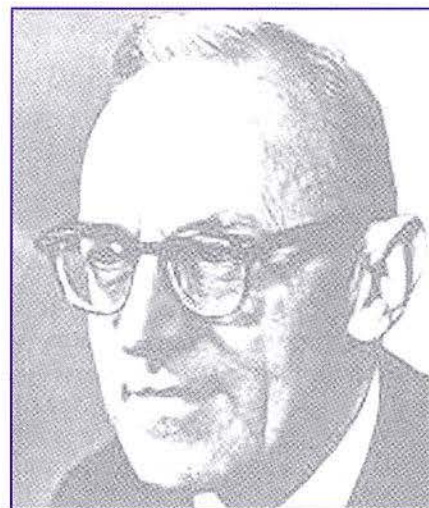
Right.
Oskar Morgenstern.

Below.
John von Neumann.



urally, in the present context, the theory is interesting for its applications in the strategic-military sector. The "Games Theory" was officially born in 1928 with an article by mathematician John von Neumann, and found its first important applications during the Second World War. Neumann, in fact, was one of the fathers of the "legendary" ASCC processor (whose real existence was a military secret), a forerunner of the Mark 1, the first "official" computer in history.

The "Games Theory" was applied for the first time in the military, for processing the bombing altitudes of the allied aircraft and for choosing the convoys' routes less likely to be intercepted by the enemy. A fundamental step forward in the development of the "Theory" was made with the meeting in Princeton between von Neumann and economist Oskar Morgenstern;



in 1944, the interaction produced the publication "Theory of Games and Economic Behavior", which was going to completely change the relations between Mathematics and Economics.

The idea of these two scholars can be informally described as an attempt at mathematically describing (mathematicizing) the human behaviour in those cases where the interaction between men involves the winning, or sharing, of some type of resource: a situation, therefore, which for its characteristics

can also include military operations. In the "Games Theory" the term "Game" has no playful meaning but, on the contrary, points to a situation where the decisions of two (or more) subjects are interdependent, in the sense that when one subject makes a decision, he must also consider the decision

30% on a route and 70% on another; prices can be changed in rotation, and so on. In the models of the "Games Theory" everybody must know the rules of the game and be aware of the consequences of every single move. The move, or all the moves, that an individual intends to make is called "strategy".



Russel Crowe played John Forbes Nash in the movie "A Beautiful Mind".

made by the other subject/s. More precisely, the gain obtained by each choice does not depend only on one's own decision but also on the decisions made by the other deciders. Usually, when studying these problems related to decisions, the students assume that each subject decides simultaneously and independently from the decisions of the others, without knowing their decisions, as is normally the case in military conflicts.

Within this framework, each decider is a "player", i.e. a rational subject who can choose from various "moves". For example, if the player is a tradesman, he increases, decreases or leaves unchanged the prices of his products; a buyer's moves could be to change or remain faithful to a product or supplier; the moves of a military logistician could be to dispatch a convoy on a certain route rather than on another. Every "strategy" consists in adopting a move or a combination of moves. For instance, convoys could be sent, periodically,

In relation to the strategies adopted by all players (or agents) each one receives a "pay off" (the final winning) according to an appropriate unit of measurement, which could be positive, negative or null (victory, defeat or level).

THE VARIOUS TYPES OF "GAMES"

A game is defined "at constant sum" if for each player's winning there is a corresponding loss for the others. In particular, a game "at zero sum" between two players represents a situation where payment is given by a player to the other. For example, the military operations where the objective of the two deciders is the total occupation of the enemy Nation can be considered "at zero sum". The military operation where two Nations are competing for the occupation of a third one can be considered a game at constant sum, where the sum of the winnings is constituted by the total of the resources of the third Nation, the one that should be occupied. The military operations which envisage the mere reciprocal

destruction of the adversary's resources can be considered a game at non-constant sum, where the total sum of the resources decreases as a result of the destructions and generally the winner is he who manages to "lose less".

The main results obtained by von Neumann concern games "at constant sum". The problem of "non-constant sum" games was tackled in 1950 by John Nash (later a Nobel Prize for Economy) who introduced and developed the "Nash equilibrium" concept. A set of strategies adopted by all players constitutes a Nash equilibrium if for no one is profitable to change his strategy when all the others keep their choice unchanged. Let us consider, for example, a game with various players, each with a fixed number of strategies arranged according to a certain criterion. Let us assume that the payment rules assign positive winnings (the achievement of the respective objectives) to all players in case they, all together, select their first strategy; again positive winnings for all if they, all together, select their last strategy; otherwise no winnings for anyone. It is easy to verify that the set of options for which each one plays his first strategy constitutes a Nash equilibrium. The same is true for the set of choices for which each one plays his last strategy.

Obviously not all games are so simple. In 1953 Nash tackled the problem of the strategies of cooperation among players and the sharing of winnings. "Nash cooperative solution" for two-person games is an important contribution to the methods for solving conflicts. An important aspect to be considered in the "Games Theory" is the fact that the strategic choices refer to the deciders' objectives, which could be identical, common but not identical, different, contrasting, opposite. For example, allied Nations often have common and even identical objectives, enemy Nations engaged in a limited war have contrasting objectives, enemy Nations, in a total war, have opposite objectives.

An important subdivision among the various situations is that between cooperative and non-cooperative games. But one should notice that this does not mean that in the cooperative ones the players are expected to have more altruistic attitudes: this is never assumed, since the basic assumption is always that each player pursues his own interest (if, on the other hand, the interest consists in doing good to fellow-men, this depends on the degree of satisfaction felt in obtaining a given result instead of another: still the key point is that, in these cases, doing good satisfies the decider, and this is what guides his actions, and also those of humanitarian organizations, for example).

The cooperative theory studies the development of coalitions, precisely because they can be advantageous for the individual members. The non-cooperative theory, instead, tries to explain the mechanisms of the individuals' decisions, on the basis of personal reasoning, without alliances among individuals. Von Neumann, in particular, had the idea of analysing the games by studying the birth of coalitions among individuals, while Nash is the one who gave a strong impulse to the non-cooperative theory.

Another important subdivision of the games concerns their description in a mathematical form. In that case, we speak of games in extended form and of games in normal (or strategic) form.

The first category includes the games that can be effectively described in the form of a tree: it is a matter of making a graph which, starting from the root, describes the game move by move, until it comes to present all the final situations ensuing from a given series of moves. This form provides an extremely effective and exhaustive way of analysing a game, but has

the shortcoming of being extremely complex and practically impossible when the variables that come into play, as almost always happens in military operations, are too numerous and interdependent. In this case, one must either recur to simplifications and/or to the other form, the strategic one.

The strategic form specifies the number of players, the scope of their strategies and the "utility function" of each of them: a mathematical function in real values, defined on the "Cartesian product" of the sets of strategies.

The fundamental difference consists substantially of the fact that the strategies thus described are a datum of the problem (and this is a limit because their full determination is often difficult), while in the extended form all possible sequences of moves are considered and, therefore, the delicate task of

the analyst is to deduce from them the strategies of each player. Another possible representation, almost intermediate between the other two, is the "matrix" one, which will be adopted in the examples shown in the following pages.

Another important distinction is that between full-information games and incomplete-information ones. In this regard, we can say that the former are a preparatory step towards the latter, i.e. in the direction of a more sophisticated theory which is also more satisfactory, because its models are closer to reality. Actually, when studying a phenomenon, for example an economic or biological one, not all the pieces of information are equally known to all protagonists. Therefore, a model taking into account this fact appears more likely and naturally more suited to the requirements of a military decider, since it takes the "fog of war" into consideration.

SOME EXAMPLES

The first situation (game) considered here has the following characteristics. The players are the 1 and 2 deciders and each one of them must choose his strategy simultaneously and independently from the decisions the other. The winnings (payoff) of each individual does not depend only on his personal choice but also on the choice of the other. An example of this type of game is shown at Table 1, which is also an example of a "matrix" representation of the situation.

Here, as in the successive examples, individual 1 is defined as "line player", since he must choose to place himself inside one of the two lines of the winnings' matrix.

Likewise, individual 2 is defined as "column player" for he must choose one of the two columns of the same matrix. Individual 1 can choose between line A and line B. Individual 2 can choose between column A and column B. Each cell of the matrix contains an alterna-



A Pakistani "Shaheen-2" ballistic missile. The nuclear contraposition between India and Pakistan could well be an example of the "Games Theory".

Table 1

GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	20, 15	5, -10
	B	-5, -5	-5, -15

tive combination of the two players' winnings: the first figure of each combination is the payoff of individual 1, the second figure is the payoff of individual 2. It is important that the structure of the matrix of the game winnings be very clear.

Here is a detailed description of the two players' possible payoffs:

- if individual 1 selects line A and individual 2 selects column A, the payoff of individual 1 is 20 and that of individual 2 is 15;
- if individual 1 selects line A and individual 2 selects column B, the payoff of individual 1 is 5 and that of individual 2 is -10, i.e. a loss of 10;
- if individual 1 chooses line B and individual 2 chooses column A, the payoff of individual 1 is -5 (loss) and that of individual 2 is also -5 (loss);
- if individual 1 selects line B and individual 2 chooses column B, the loss of individual 1 is -5 and that of individual 2 is -15.

What strategies will the two players choose? Let us not forget that both must choose in a simultaneous and independent way: a player decides the strategy to be followed without knowing the strategy of the other. What would we do if we were player 1? Our win depends on the choice made by player 2, therefore it is logical to ask ourselves what strategy player 2 will prefer.

If player 2 selects column A, our preferred strategy is line A (20 is a greater payoff than -5).

If player 2 selects column B, our best strategy is to choose line A (5 is a greater win than -5).

As a consequence, the best strat-

egy of player 1 is to choose line A independently of the choice made by player 2: the selection of line A is a dominant strategy for player 1 for it involves the largest payoff, whichever the strategy followed by player 2. What can we say about player 2? Does he have a dominant strategy? In the situation shown by the example, the answer is yes. If player 1 selects line A, the best strategy for 2 is to choose column A (15 is greater than -10). If player 1 selects line B, the best strategy for 2 is column A (-5 is greater than -15). Also player 2 has a dominant strategy: to select column A.

The result of the game is easily foreseeable: individual 1 chooses line A (his dominant strategy) and individual 2 chooses column A (his dominant strategy). The result of the game is (A,A) and the deciders receive respectively a payoff of 20 and 15. It is interesting to note that this game could represent, in a very simplified manner, a situation of contrast and potential conflict between two Nations, one of which (player 1) is remarkably stronger than the other (player 2) but in any case incapable of completely prevailing over it.

Choice B represents the decision for a military attack, decision A is instead the choice of a peaceful behaviour. The matrix synthesizes the results of the combination of the various possible decisions. If both select A (peaceful behaviour) both of them gain, prospering in different but nevertheless positive ways (20 and 15). If the stronger player (individual 1) attacks (selecting B) he does not have enough strength

for winning. Player 2 will conduct a defensive war with partial effectiveness and will suffer a loss of resources (-5 for both), with no gain at all. If the attacker is the weaker one (player B), the outcome is disastrous, since an attempt at an offensive war is much more expensive than a defensive war. Player 2 loses -10 while player 1 could have overall advantages in a possible peace treaty (+5). The worst possible situation is when both act offensively in a global war, where player 2 would suffer very heavy losses (-15) but the overall outcome would be negative also for player 1 (-5). Even from this very simple example, where the simplification of the decisions is very rough, one can understand how the delicate moment of the entire process is the construction of the decision model, in practice of the matrix, both in terms of determination of the possible choices and in terms of an exact configuration/prevision of the final results.

THE "NASH EQUILIBRIUM"

Not all games are as simple as the one expounded in the example above. Let us analyse the following game, with the association of a matrix of winnings in accordance with Table 2.

Do the players have a dominant strategy? In order to answer, we shall proceed with a verification, starting with player 1:

- if player 2 selects column A, the best strategy for player 1 is to select line A (15 is greater than 10);
- if player 2 selects column B, the best strategy for player 1 is to select line B (5 is greater than -5).

Player 1 has no dominant strategy. What about player 2?

If player 1 selects line A, the best strategy for player 2 is to choose column A (15 is greater than 5); if player 1 selects line B, the best strategy for player 2 is to choose column A (-5 is greater than -10).

Player 2 has a dominant strategy: to select column A. This strategy in

fact implies the highest payoff for player 2, whatever the strategy chosen by player 1.

Thus, even if there is no dominant strategy, player 1 could be able to foresee that player 2 has a dominant strategy (i.e. selecting column A). On the basis of this information, the following reasoning can be developed: if player 2 chooses column A, the best strategy for player 1 is to select line A.

As a consequence, player 2 selects column A and player 1, foreseeing the decision of player 2, selects line A. The result of the game is the combination of winnings (A,A) and both players gain 15. This result satisfies both players. In fact changing the decision is unprofitable for both. It is important to note that this is not true for all the other results of the game: had the choices been different, changing choice would have been profitable for at least one of the two players. This property gives to the "A,A" combination the definition of "Nash equilibrium": because for neither player it is convenient to change strategy, considering the choice made by the other player.

This game, in its turn, can represent, in a very simplified manner a situation of contrast and potential conflict between two Nations, one of which (player 1) is well equipped for conducting an offensive war, but would have shortcomings and weak points in case of a defensive limited war. The other Nation (player 2) is however much weaker than the other, especially in case of total war.

Choice B always represents a decision for an offensive behaviour; decision A, instead, is the choice of a renunciatory, defensive and negotiation-oriented conduct. The matrix synthesizes the results of the combination of the various possible decisions. If both player choose A (renouncing the offensive) both gain and prosper (15 and 15). If player 1 attacks (i.e. he selects B) he has enough strength to achieve a remarkable success (10), but lower, at any rate, than the growth he

would experience in peacetime (still 15). If player B attacks, he would exploit the defensive weakness of player 1, achieving some success (5), but lesser than the growth he would have in peacetime (still 15). In case both Countries adopt an offensive strategy aimed at total war, player 1 would be the winner but would suffer losses caused by his defensive weaknesses exploited by the aggressiveness of player 2, and this would lower the benefits of victory to 5. Therefore, the satisfactory solution for both is still "A,A" (peaceful decisions), corresponding to the "Nash equilibrium", but in this case the peaceful conduct is not the dominant strategy for player 1, setting aside anything that the other player could do, but he must rather foresee and rely on a "rational" decision (without self-injuring behaviours) on the part of player 2.

Actually, the nuclear confrontation between two Countries of different strength, like India and Pakistan, can be considered as belonging, in its lowest terms, in the decision matrix of this example.

Are all games characterized by the presence of a "Nash equilibrium"? Also the game of the previous paragraph had a "Nash equilibrium", still in "A,A".

Let us consider Table 3:

Game 3 has two "Nash equilibriums": (A,A) and (B,B).

(A,A) is "Nash Equilibrium" because it is not profitable for player 1 to change his selection of line A if player 2 has selected column A, and for player 2 is not profitable to change his selection of column A if player 1 has selected line A. Also

(B,B) is a "Nash equilibrium" because for player 1 is not profitable to leave line B if player 2 has selected column B, and for player 2 is not profitable to move from column B if player 1 has selected line B. One could say that in reality most probably the result of the game would be (A,A) since 15 is greater than 10, but what would happen if the winnings of "5" were replaced by two losses of "-10", as shown at Table 4? If player 1 were sure that player 2 was going to select column A, there would be no problem. But if he thinks that player 2 could choose column B, the strategy less risky for him would be to select line B, since this would eliminate the possibility of having a loss.

This situation could represent the case where two Nations of equivalent strength are evaluating a programme of nuclear rearmament. If both decide to renounce, both gain because they save the relevant costs. If both decide to implement it, they assume the costs but the force ratio does not change and, at any rate, the period of peace continues. If one of them implements the programme and the other does not, then the Nation which does could find itself in the position of attacking successfully and destroying the other. What should the decider of Nation 1 do?

In other words, the fear of a loss amplifies the tendency towards "suspicion".

A game may have no "Nash equilibrium". Let us consider Table 5: the combination of the payoffs of the two players is the following:

- (A,A) is not a "Nash equilibrium": it is better for player 2 to change strategy;

GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	15, 15	-5, 5
	B	10, -5	5, -10

Table 2

Table 3

GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	15, 15	5, 0
	B	0, 5	10, 10

Table 4

GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	15, 15	-10, 0
	B	0, -10	10, 10

- (A,B) is not a "Nash equilibrium": it is better for player 1 to change strategy;
- (B,B) is not a "Nash equilibrium": it is better for player 2 to change strategy.

In other words, not only there are no dominant strategies, but there is not even a situation when both players could be even only partially satisfied. This means that, in every situation, to change strategy would be profitable for at least one of the two players.

For these types of games it is necessary to expand the concept of "Nash equilibrium" and consider most complex strategies. In this case, what could be the best strategy for a player? Obviously a strategy that confuses the other player, since if the other player knows our choice he can exploit to his own advantage this information. And what is the best way of confusing the other player?

From the theoretical/mathematical point of view, it is to select A or B at random and with the same probability. This strategy is known as "mixed strategy". The game we are considering has an equilibrium

with "mixed strategies".

It is very interesting to note that the components related to chance and deceit of the opponent – concepts very dear to military theorists like von Clausewitz and Sun Tzu – are beginning to enter into this type of studies deriving from economics and mathematics.

THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA

We shall now examine a very famous example which can be assimilated to various contexts, also military: the so-called "Prisoner's

John Forbes Nash.



dilemma". Let us look at Table 6.

If we analyse in detail the properties of this game, we see that it is symmetric (but it must not necessarily be so), that is to say that it is sufficient to observe the moves of only one player. Let us consider player 1: in column A the payoff of player 1 is greater in line A than in line B. In column B, the payoff of player 1 is greater in line A than in line B. Therefore, A is the dominant strategy for player 1.

Despite this, one should not disregard the fact that the payoff of player 1 is greater in (B,B) than in (A,A). Given the game's symmetry, selecting A is the dominant strategy also for player 2, but (B,B) would be preferable to (A,A).

What is our prevision? Having noted the existence of a dominant strategy for both, we must conclude that player 1 prefers to select line A independently of the strategy of player 2; player 2 prefers to place himself in column A independently of the strategy of player 1. The expectation that player 1 will select line A and player 2 column A (these being their dominant strategies) leads to the conclusion that the couple of winnings for this game will inevitably be (A,A). This is the only Nash equilibrium of the game and actually corresponds to a much smaller payoff compared to (B,B).

But (B,B) is not a Nash equilibrium. In fact, it would be advantageous for both players to leave (B,B). The decision of not moving from this situation should only depend on the confidence in the fact that also the other player decides not to move and this is the "paradoxical" feature that makes the prisoner's dilemma very interesting. From the military viewpoint, a "translation" of this situation could be represented by an alliance between two Nations that fight against another. If both Nations of the alliance (players 1 and 2) keep a renunciatory conduct (A,A), they have few losses but very little hope of winning the war. If they attack together (B,B) they have the highest probability of rapidly defeating

the enemy. But if a Nation waits for the other to attack, before following it in the offensive, it would probably win just the same, but with less losses (which will be suffered more by the ally that attacked first) and the attack would be on the whole less effective. The Nash equilibrium envisages both Nations on the defensive. The best result for the alliance as a whole would be obtained if each Nation attacked at the same time, trusting the other to do the same. The scenarios similar to the "Prisoner's dilemma", in the last analysis, are based on the level of a player's confidence in the other (or others). In this sense, one of the most interesting questions on this subject is the following: if the players could discuss the possible outcome of the game before deciding, would this eliminate the inefficiency of the prisoner's dilemma?

In other words, it is rather plausible that the level of mutual confidence increases if there is the possibility of a preliminary communication among players; thus, each player can be sure that the other (or others) is aware of the advantage that each one would enjoy in case of a selection such as (B,B) in the preceding example. At a higher level, this is to say that, although in a situation of military conflict, the diplomatic channels must in any case remain open, in order to exploit the available opportunities only when it is possible to rely on the enemy's rationality and on his awareness of the advantages of a possible "cooperative" and negotiated solution of the conflict.

CONCLUSIONS

The examples of the preceding pages prove, albeit in an approximate and simplified manner for lack of space, that the study of the "Games Theory" can be extremely useful in the interpretation of military decision-making processes and in the elaboration of their doctrinal models and procedures. This discipline, also in its military aspects, is

GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	10, -10	-10, 10
	B	-10, 10	10, -10

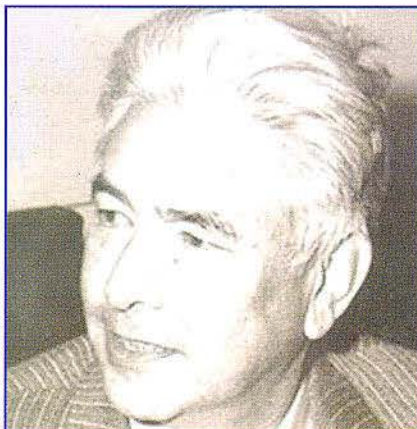
GAME		PLAYER 2	
		A	B
PLAYER 1	A	5, 5	99, 0
	B	0, 99	96, 96

obviously much more complex than can be perceived on these pages. But one can say that the minimum objective immediately achievable is the fact that if for every military decision one created evaluation tables similar to the preceding ones (but more realistic and complex), it would be automatically necessary to study in detail certain critical aspects, such as the determination of the level and quality of information, the scope of the options at one's disposal, the level of mutual confidence or mistrust be-

tween the actors, the relations among the objectives of all parties, the possibility of deceit and surprise, the need of communication between the opponents, the possibility of irrational behaviour and self-injuring choices, etc.

It is true that many of these problems have always been present in the military thought since its beginning, but their scientific systematisation, never successfully made up to now, could be at last within reach of the military scholars of the third millennium, also thanks to the contribution given by the "Games Theory" and its mathematical models. Out of curiosity, it could be interesting to remember that, after dealing with the "Games Theory", John Nash went back to pure mathematics and developed a theorem on differential calculus which would ensure him the most prestigious international acknowledgements, when he was reached by the news that the same demonstration had been reached, independently, by an obscure Italian mathematician from Salento: the still little known Ennio de Giorgi. □

**Lieutenant Colonel,
Army General Staff*



Innovative means and procedures, supported by the most sophisticated scientific and industrial discoveries, come to our aid to effectively fight the treacherous anti-personnel mines and the insidious unexploded ordnance in an effective way

TECHNOLOGICAL

Italy, Europe and NATO are in the front line and give a strong contribution to humanitarian demining



by Mario Tarantino *

Nowadays the best technologies can be used to prevent serious injuries to people. In particular, the methods based on electromagnetic radiations and chemical sensors. The latter enable to detect promptly the smell of explosive devices. But also nuclear physics and even dog units can be quite helpful.

DEMINING

Mine clearance of vast areas has become a priority task for many international organizations, with the United Nations in the forefront, and has set in motion a series of research and development activities aiming at making safer systems to detect ordnance in the field. Conventional demining techniques are no longer effective, because new technologies have been introduced to produce anti-personnel mines. Essentially, the usual methods of identification make use of metal detectors, which are generally based on electromagnetic induction. This method is quite useful to locate old-generation mines, produced by using a high percentage of metallic materials. Recently, the technique introduced to produce these explosive devices allowed a drastic reduction in the number and weight of the necessary metallic parts, which are now insufficient to be located by the usual systems.

Currently, the chemical detection technique is the most used in the location of mines which are mainly composed of plastic. Besides, the potential of this method is already

being exploited by using of appropriately trained dog units. But science and technology place at our disposal a growing field of research which will hopefully enable us to produce a detecting system based on chemical sensors.

The point under discussion is quite interesting because it opens a new chapter in the field of demining techniques. Therefore we will give an extensive outline of the situation, trying to sum up the main features of these procedures in order to get in touch with one of the

most fascinating lines of research currently in progress, which is extremely interdisciplinary, as it involves integrated research teams of physicists, engineers, chemists and biologists.

Some of the world leading research units work in our country. Among them, we think it right to mention, as national research centres par excellence the Universities of Rome "Tor Vergata", Pisa, Brescia, Modena, Florence, Lecce, and some centres of the National Research Council.





Such national efforts are in line with the position of the European Union which, every year, funds many international research programmes involving Italian operational units. Thanks to European Union funding, Italy is also going to start a system for the harmonization of the research on the so-called "electronic nose", which is the best way to define the efforts made by researchers of chemical sensors in order to recreate, in an artificial way, the potentialities offered by nature to the sense of smell.

DEMINING

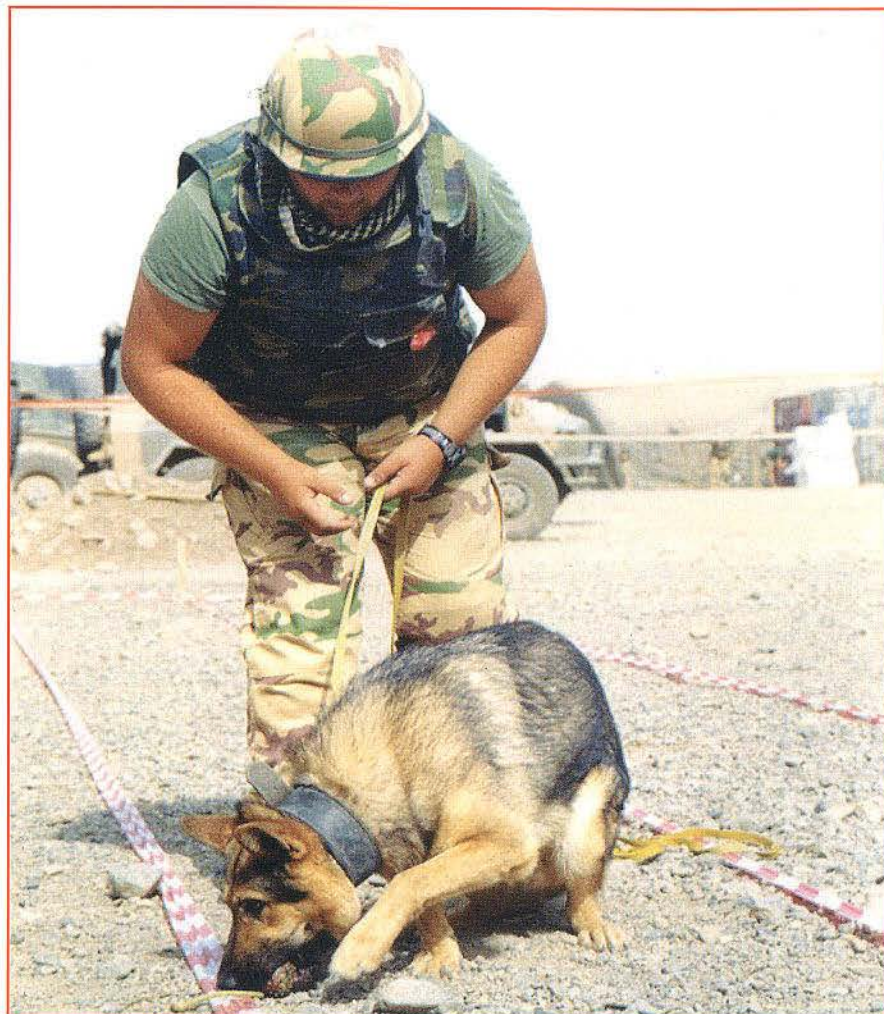
Mine clearing is one of the typical activities of the Engineer Corps, mainly directed towards mined obstacles. Traditionally, it consists in detecting explosive ordnance and breaching mined obstacles. These terms essentially refer to a conventional type of scenario with a continuous and, to some extent, schematic mined obstacle. Breaching, in particular, implies a large use of explosive material, be it normal or self-propelled, without any restriction due to possible secondary damages. Today such a scenario could hardly exist. More realistically, the mined obstacle that can be encountered in modern operational theatres is much more unpredictable, without rules, extremely difficult to locate, spread in urbanized and built-up areas, and made in a much more devious way, as the user avails himself of traps and has recourse to improvisation. Such an obstacle cannot be overcome with conventional methods, but rather with a systematic mine clearance, carried out by highly skilled personnel equipped with materials and means which can also be robotized. During Peace-Support Operations it is or may be necessary to meet one requirement most frequently, i.e. route clearance for the transit of units or humanitarian convoys. Sometimes the clearance of an entire area may be needed, in case of deployment of

Headquarters and Units. Usually the clearance activity is directed against mines, unexploded ordnance and sub-munitions, but it necessarily has to extend also to anti-sabotage activities, which until yesterday were carried out in favour of combat in built-up areas and were carried out to limit the effects of enemy disturbing actions. Actually, the employment of saboteurs, if one wishes to create an atmosphere of "psychological insecurity", is extremely profitable also in Peace-Support Operations, since it engages all the "actors" who operate on the territory. Therefore, anti-sabotage is an extremely delicate activity and must be entrusted only to specially trained personnel, in possession of specific training and outstanding qualities, together with courage and common sense.

OPERATIONAL AND HUMANITARIAN DEMINING

Demining is a difficult operation which is carried out in various phases, from the location of the mined areas, to the identification of the individual mines and, finally, mine-clearing. More specifically we can distinguish between operational and humanitarian demining. The most common goal of a mine-field is to hamper the enemy's passage. Therefore, for military purposes, demining aims at realizing a safe four or five metre corridor, wide enough to let through vehicles and troops, even accepting to take some risks, with a view to an adequate percentage of land clearance.

The most used operational-demining methods are mechanical or explosive systems. They guarantee a 60-70 per cent reliability, which is acceptable in war time. Among mechanical systems there are vehicles, with metal chains in the front, that beat the ground causing the mines to explode (demining vehicle with flails, which can also "mill" the ground), or roller or spade systems mounted on tank chassis. The rollers can be mounted in front of



normal trucks or earthmovers.

Among the explosive devices we have the so-called rocket systems, which, after launching, drag a long stretching explosive rope that causes the explosion on the area near the point of its impact. This action causes the so-called "by sympathy" blasting of the surrounding mines (the British system "Giant Viper").

The means used in the field of the so-called humanitarian demining are generally different in conception, also for environmental impact reasons and because the aims to be pursued are not the same. This type of mine clearance, as mentioned above, aims at bringing the mine-fields back to their former condition. Therefore, in order to make an agricultural land fit for farming again, the demining activity should reach higher standards of efficiency. That is the reason why humanitarian demining is more costly and,

above all, its execution proceeds very slowly. For instance, in Cambodia it took two years to destroy 100,000 mines at a total cost of 14 million dollars, with an estimated 4-7 million mines laid all over the country. Keeping this pace it would take 1000 years to demine the entire country, with an expenditure of 5 billion dollars. Therefore clearly only a remarkable technological leap forward will make the clearance of these regions feasible.

EXPLOSIVE-ORDNANCE DETECTION

The technical methods currently used to detect and locate offensive devices, such as anti-personnel mines, can be classified into three categories: electromagnetic methods, nuclear methods and chemical methods. Their peculiarity is that

MINES

Mines differ from conventional weaponry and ammunition because:

- they are made to explode and, therefore, to produce their effects only when the contact with the "victim" occurs and this is normally postponed. Conventional ammunition, instead, in the majority of cases, explodes on impact
- they are arms which have exceedingly devastating effects and operate indiscriminately, killing both soldiers and civilians. The latter mostly during the long post-war period;
- they are scattered all over the ground and, they are often invisible, either because they are covered by the surrounding vegetation or for their mimetic characteristics, so much so that mined zones cannot be distinguished from the adjacent areas.

These are the reasons why a mined area originates a state of uncertainty, as it is scattered with mines which may be real or false. This increases the psychological effect which grows together with the intrinsic effectiveness of the mined area.

A definition generally accepted by both the international and domestic legislation, considers the mine a device laid above or under the superficial layer of the ground or some other surface, put into operation or preset for exploding for the presence, proximity or contact of a person or a vehicle.

Antitank mines can contain between 1 and 9 kilos of explosive and the detonation is caused by a pressure between 100 and 300 kilos, exerted on a pressure plate with a diameter of 15-25 centimetres.

Anti-personnel mines are generally smaller, as they contain much less explosive (10-250 grams) and detonate under a pressure not inferior to 12 kilos, exerted on a pressure plate or button with a diameter of 2-10 centimetres.

The technology of these devices is simple and cheap, does not require tools or sophisticated means, but, as they say, can be "homemade".

In the world there are more than 200 types of land mines, divided into anti-personnel and anti-tank mines. The latter are easily located by demining units, because they contain a great amount of metal.

Antipersonnel mines, depending on the injuries they inflict, can be divided into two groups, blast mines and fragmentation mines. The former operate with a single upwards explosion and may cause injuries that can lead to the amputation of both legs.

The latter can explode for the pressure exerted in any way on the pressure plate, or, indirectly, by the traction of trip wire, put at a certain height from the ground, along a set course. An Italian example of this type of mines is the "Valmara 69", which, cast at a certain height above the ground (about 100-120 centimetres), thanks to a secondary charge, can shoot about a thousand metallic fragments over a radius of 25 meters. They kill those who are in the immediate vicinity and badly injure all those who are within their range of action. And for a military unit, from a technical point of view, a wounded soldier is a heavier burden than a dead one.

they do not detect the mine as such, rather they tend to detect a distinctive characteristic of the device. The electromagnetic methods detect the interaction between the mine material with the electromagnetic fields; nuclear methods detect the presence of some atomic species; chemical methods are sensitive to the presence of particular molecules. Clearly these methods

may also detect objects which react to them, but which are not mines, and therefore each method could give an ambiguous information, producing a number of false alarms or unsuccessful identifications. A correct strategy for the efficient location of mines is the combined use of several detecting techniques capable of discovering all the distinctive characteristics of the

device, providing the best possible information without causing false alarms.

THE ELECTROMAGNETIC METHODS

The electromagnetic methods are based on the measure of the interaction between electromagnetic fields and the devices present in the ground. In particular, we shall mention magnetometry, electromagnetic induction and infrared radar.

Magnetometry

This method is based on the consideration that the presence of metallic objects in the ground can cause a distortion of the natural magnetic field. It is, therefore, a matter of detecting small changes in the local magnetic field produced by metallic objects, and, as a result, it is only possible to detect mines containing metallic parts. As a matter of fact, it is a metal detector and as such can lead to false alarms. Moreover, we should consider that the anti-personnel mines can contain extremely small numbers of metallic parts, and, therefore, it is not possible to distinguish between them and other objects accidentally in the ground.

Obviously, the variation signal of the environmental magnetic field is proportional to both the type of metal (constant of magnetic permeability) and to its quantity.

Electromagnetic-induction sensors

The problem of detecting the intensity of the magnetic field, can be overcome by using the magnetic field produced by a coil instead of the terrestrial magnetism, as the above mentioned sensors do. In other words, by using alternating current and exploiting the principle of electromagnetic induction, these systems enable the coil to become the source of a magnetic field which is distorted or attenuated by



the interaction with the metallic parts of the mines buried in the ground. These changes can be measured by a magnetic field sensor, such as those we have just described, and so the mine may be detected.

This method has the same drawbacks previously mentioned, i.e. it

detects any type of metal present in the ground, thus leading to a high rate of false alarms. Besides, the magnetic-field strength which is used is quite high, precisely because of the way in which it is created. As a result, the sensitivity is higher and, essentially, smaller metal objects can be detected, at

the risk of increasing false alarms.

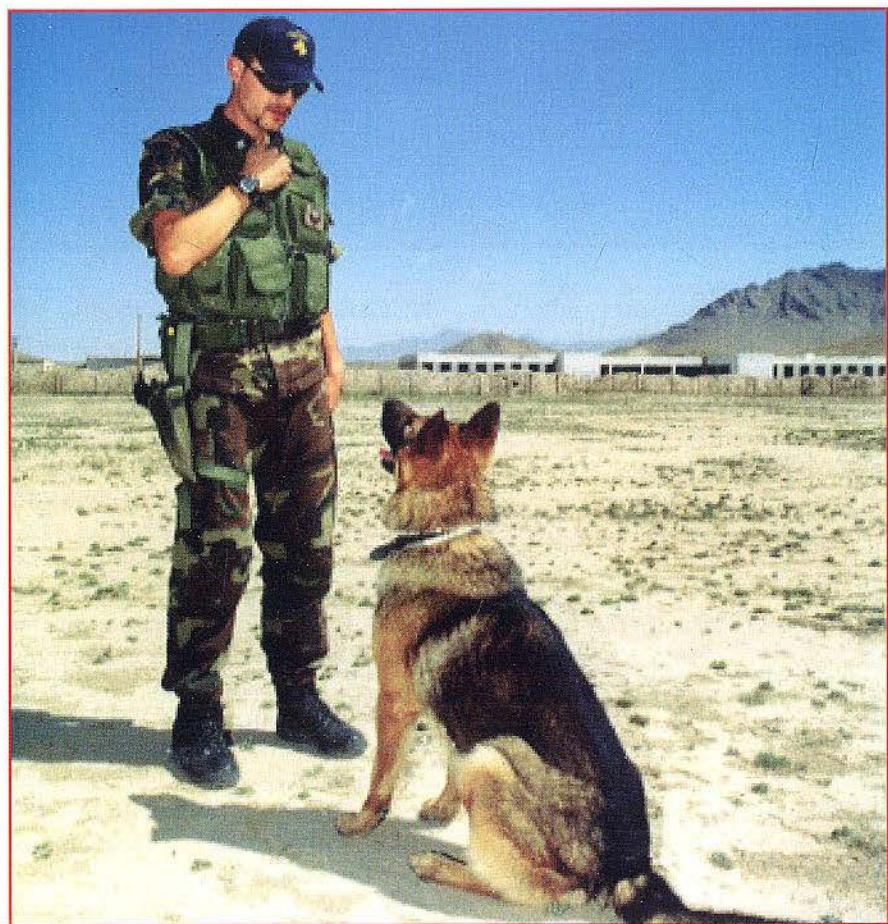
The problem of false alarms is not of minor importance within the activity of humanitarian demining. In fact, the number of mines to be defused is so great, that the quickness of the operation is an essential component of an effective clearing programme.

Ground Probing Radar – GPR

The radar technique is widely employed for probing the structure of the ground. The electromagnetic radiation band between 100 and 1000 megahertz (microwave) can penetrate the ground at a depth of many metres (obviously depending on the ground nature and its denseness); the wave may be reflected by the various discontinuous surfaces of the ground, such as the discontinuity between two types of rocks or, as in our case, between a buried object and the ground which surrounds it. These reflected waves can be spatially defined and, as a consequence, they may indicate the presence, the shape and the location of buried objects.

However, the efficiency of this method is limited by two problems. The first one is that mines are usually laid at a little depth (about 20 centimetres), or almost near the surface and, besides, they may be too small to give an effective signal.

The limited depth of the mines causes the radiation quantity which comes in contact with the object, to be very small, so that it is necessary, for example, to optimise the frequency of the incident radiation, perhaps by using higher frequency radiations, which are less penetrating and can effectively probe only the surface layer of the ground. It should be noted, though, that the electromagnetic waves in these bands are extremely dangerous for the operators' health. Therefore, this should be taken into consideration during the planning of such systems, so that they may allow the efficient detection of the devices without endangering the personnel.



Infrared sensors for demining

The infrared radiation can be used for locating thermal maps. It is well known that bodies emanate electromagnetic radiations, depending on their temperature. As far as ambient temperatures are concerned, the emission frequency takes place in the infra-red. Thus, using detectors which can measure the radiation intensity, it is possible to create real temperature maps. This technique is used in many fields, from environmental surveys to medicine and, in the same way, can also be used to detect the presence of objects in the ground. In practice we use infrared detectors in the bands of 3-5 mm or 9-14 mm.

The ground-penetration capability of this method is rather limited, but it is adequate in the case of mines buried a few centimetres under the surface. So, if the device is made of a material which has a thermal capacity different from that of the surrounding ground, it will react in a different way to external heat sources, as for example to solar light. The best results are clearly obtained in case of metallic mines, as metal warms up more than soil.

The method efficiency varies in relation to a number of factors, such as the composition of the soil, the presence of rocks with a high metallic content, the presence of vegetation and, last but not least, the exposure to sunlight. To give an

THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE DIRIGIBLE IN DEMINING ACTIVITIES

Firstly, it is necessary to have the equipment and procedures which permit to identify, locate and record the mined areas, in order to proceed to their safe and efficient clearance. Secondly, it is very important to have the means and procedures for conducting high-quality inspections of the cleared area. In this respect, it may be useful to employ a means like the airship which can fly at very low speed. A prototype, which was already used during exercise "Mine-seeker" (experimented in Kosovo in 2000), after which it was named, provided interesting results within humanitarian and military demining. This aerostat-borne radar system will enable to cut down on resources, setting them in order of priority, thus saving time and money. "Mine-seeker" will be able to map mined areas quite rapidly and with a high level of safety, monitoring the ground at a speed of 100 meters per second. That is to say thousands of times quicker than any traditional manual search could ever do. The high level of safety will save many human lives, because the system has no need to operate close to the ground, unlike conventional radars.

The problem of images and their accurate analysis

The problem of images and their interpretation is a problem which is also being faced in Kosovo. The solution proposed consists in using a radar system with a synthetic array in ultra wide band. This technology, based on the emission of very short electromagnetic impulses, at high energy and in a wide range of frequencies, being able to identify and locate objects with a sufficient resolution degree, is adequate for the accurate detection of mine fields and is also capable of penetrating, just enough, below the ground surface in order to locate buried objects. This performance cannot be easily attained by the techniques based on conventional radars, as they use narrow band frequencies.

The radar images thus obtained, are properly correlated with other data, and undergo a process of computerized analysis, which permits to locate the mines quite accurately.

In any case, to identify a minefield through the reflected image coming from the ground, or more precisely from the discontinuities between the device and the surrounding ground, is a difficult challenge for the scientists and engineers involved in the development of this technique. They also have to face another prob-

example, some research laboratories in Canada, obtained a detecting efficiency ranging from 20 to 100%.

NUCLEAR TECHNIQUES

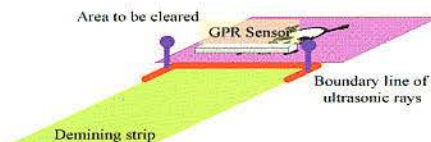
From an atomic point of view, nitrogen is one of the main components of explosive substances. The nitrogen percentage varies in weight from 10% in gunpowder to 18% in nitro-glycerine and in TNT (i.e. trinitrotoluene) and up to 30% or more in explosives such as C3 and C4. Therefore nitrogen can be considered a tracer of explosives and, as a consequence, of devices buried in the ground.

Nuclear physics offers an interesting chance of detecting nitrogen atoms in the ground. It is well known in fact that these atoms have the property of absorbing neutrons, and this characteristic brings

Portable mine detector radar



Cercamine in azione



The Ground Penetrating Radar - GPR

detects the presence of both metallic and non-metallic materials.

The difficulty consists in managing to distinguish the explosive devices from other materials present in the ground.

lem in relation to the radar system because the system conveys a huge number of data which are very difficult to analyse, so much so that the operation can be compared to the classic "looking for a needle in a haystack".

The research activity

After the promising results obtained in Kosovo, where near potentially mined areas it was possible to identify and locate both metal and plastic mines, an analytic technology to interpret the collected data is being developed. Certainly, researchers agree on the fact that this technology is limited by the difference existing between the various types of soil. It is easier to locate mines when operating under "controlled conditions", when one knows where to look, as compared with what happens in "complex soil", where the environment is difficult and there are electromagnetic interferences. It should also be considered that the radar system could sometimes be less sensitive and fail to locate every single mine in a given area. That is why it seems reasonable to use it only in order to detect the presence or absence of mines in a defined area. This piece of information, combined and integrated with the data collected by more conventional means and systems, could enable the teams assigned to manual demining, whose work will always be vital, to concentrate their search on the right area.

Using the radar antenna, the dirigible could be the optimal base to probe the surface involved in the construction of the requested image. Physically, it is necessary for the antenna to move very slowly over the ground at an altitude of about 100 feet. An airplane would be too fast and, moreover, it is difficult to make it fly as low and as slowly as needed. Also helicopters, seemingly right for the purpose, cannot be used in this activity because their rotors create a vortex that could indirectly act upon tripwires or other anti-removal devices connected with the mines underneath, through the whirling movement transmitted to the foliage of the surrounding vegetation. This is particularly dangerous if the helicopter flies too close to the explosive device. Besides, a 100-feet altitude is another factor not adequate for a helicopter carrying out this type of activity in a continuous way. In case of a sudden engine failure, the helicopter, because of the limited altitude, would have no margin of manoeuvre for leaving the area which, in this case, could be very risky for the safety of the crew.

the nitrogen atomic nucleus to a state of energetic excitation, from which it goes to the basic state through the emission of a well determined ray of energy. This technique has been employed for some

time at airports and has had a certain success in detecting explosives in luggage. The needed technological effort consists in reducing the size of the system in order to be able to operate on mined ground,

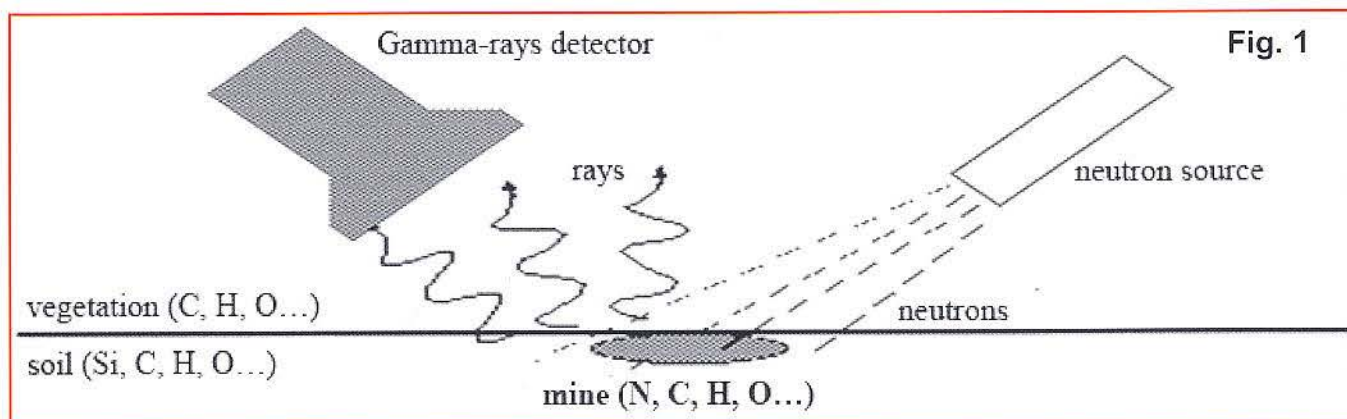
where dimensions and weights must be optimised.

The necessary instruments for this type of probing are shown at Figure 1. The system consists of a source of neutrons, as for example, the 252 isotope of Californium (252Cf); a moderator material needed to "thermalize" its energy (as for example boron), and a ray detector, e.g. a "scintillator". These are all conventional components, usually found in nuclear physics equipment and are widely known.

This method, as all the others already mentioned, is not mine-selective, because it is a general nitrogen detector. Therefore it is highly sensitive to everything which contains it, including soil and vegetation. So, before operating, it is necessary to measure the nitrogen present in the ground, so as to detect the presence of mines through the excess of nitrogen compared to the quantity naturally present in the surrounding environment.

SENSORS AND CHEMICAL DETECTION METHODS

The chemical methods of detection are based on the principle that every chemical compound, in its solid or liquid phase, produces a certain quantity of volatile compounds which, in many cases are detected by the sense of smell. Mines possess a peculiar smell of their own, which may depend on the explosive itself or on the mine's plastic case. Mine detection through smell recognition is cur-



rently carried out using the smell system of dogs which is one of the most powerful, as everybody knows. The drawbacks, easy to guess, are the time needed to train the animals, their limited length of attention and, last but not least, the far from remote possibility of losing the dog in action. A dog's sense of smell is certainly one of the most efficient systems of chemical detection. In the last years, though, the research in the field of chemical sensors has markedly improved the performance of artificial olfactory devices.

CHEMICAL SENSOR MATRIXES

The demand of better and better performing sensors has recently led to consider complex sensory structures, formed by single sensors organized into matrixes.

Sensors, and chemical ones in particular, are devices generally lacking selectivity. This means that the sensor response does not exclusively depend on the chemical species for which it was built, but it may also be influenced by other chemical species in the surroundings, where there might also be other species. One of the main goals of the current research on chemical sensors is to try to obtain instruments based on highly selective mechanisms of interaction between sensor and environment.

The scarce selectivity could also be remedied, for some applications, by using matrix sensors, made up of a certain number of sensors coupled to a mathematical procedure and data analysis.

An important class of application based on the use of sensor matrixes is the one called electronic nose.

These applications aim at using sensor matrixes to detect the "chemical structures" present in the environment below a certain measure. Besides, they make it possible to realize artificial smell systems which not only permit to reproduce the natural smell functionality, but also to widen and refine

MINE-SNIFFING SNAKES AND EELS: FANTASY OR REALITY?

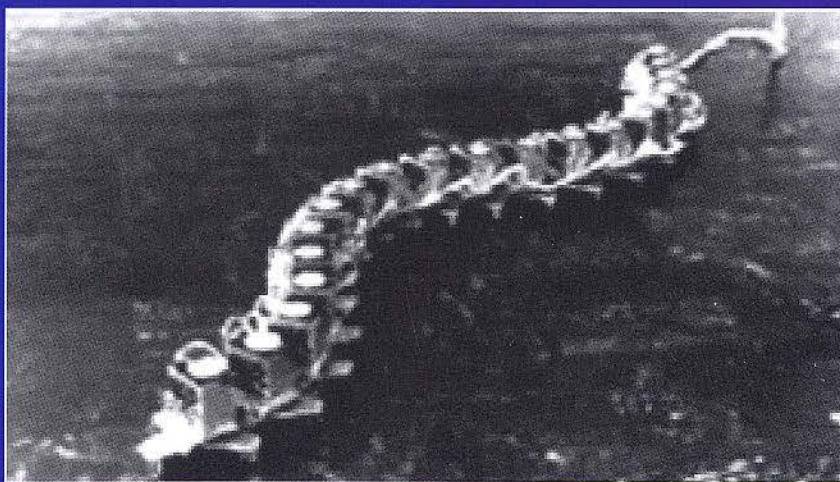
In some territories, uncultivated and with a thick underbrush, mines which were regularly laid at sowing time could be covered by vegetation, to such a point that they cannot be detected with absolute certainty by any instrument. In such an environment, experience suggests the use of a robot-snake, which can operate in different ways. For example, if in addition to the various sensors, including chemical ones, the robot were equipped also with a RF lighting device, it could locate and detect suspect chemical concentrations without physically entering the undergrowth. Otherwise, if the transporting vehicle is expendable, it could carry a counter-charge. Robot-eels, studied to operate in extremely shallow waters, could be adapted for use also in the brushwood and other types of vegetation, so as to carry out the same job in different contexts.

In the field of employment of these systems there are, however, two basic difficulties at technological level, which must be overcome: chemical sensors must be sturdy, solid, small, reliable and transportable aboard the "snake" "eel". Moreover, their design must be subordinated to simplicity and low costs.

Active-rope mechanism

The Tokyo Institute of Technology is introducing the idea of articulated artificial bodies, which had already been elaborated in the mid Eighties.

This research is based on the assumption that those structures, consisting of in-series segment chains could simulate performances similar to

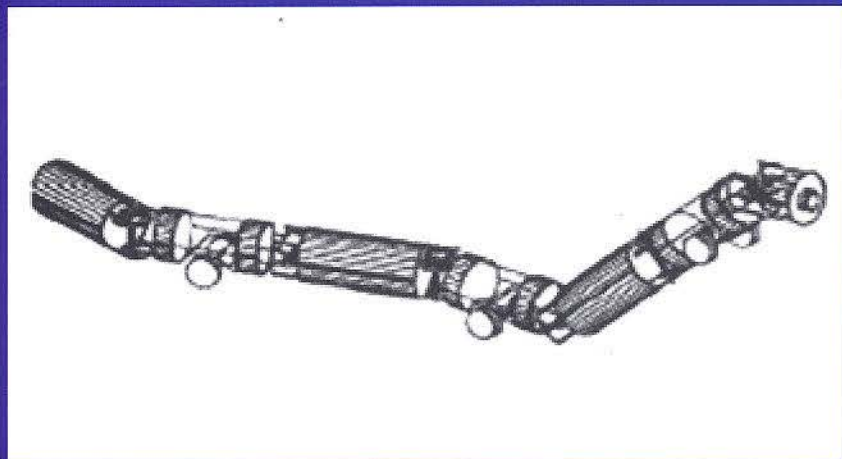


those of snakes with, a technical advantage constituted by their capability of passing through narrow openings and on uneven ground, adhering to the objects situated there, as well as on soft ground, considering the wide surface of their weight distribution. Besides, having a redundant and modular structure, they are intrinsically reliable and easy to maintain as their components are mostly identical. In conclusion, this type of robot does not have transport difficulties as it is conveniently divisible into two single modules.

The "NTUA" snake

The Technical University of Athens (NTUA) has proposed a system fit-

ted with wheels on each of its sections, which can be activated independently. The prototype consists of 7 segments with 6 joints (it is possible to



add others). The joints, although unidirectional, as in the case of the ACM III, can change their orientation and each of them can rotate on a vertical or horizontal axis. Only half of each segment is connected with the wheels, which can be operated independently one from the others, enabling the autonomous orientation, with undoubted advantages for their locomotion.

The locomotion

The robot-snake prototypes previously described need locomotion schemes quite sophisticated in comparison with those of other normal robots. The study of their kinematics is an activity on its own, and it is conducted by researchers who are not directly involved in the construction of the prototypes.

By observing actual snakes, it was noted that they do not use all their locomotion potential, whereas this can be done with technological mechanisms which reflect exactly their biological shape.

The methods which enable snakes to climb up obstacles, as well as their movement techniques in water were also studied. At present, these capabilities have been reproduced in a laboratory (except for climbing) using machines. However, it is right to specify that the construction of a device capable of doing all these movements probably represents an unacceptable expense, in terms of planning, and an important increase in complexity when compared to simple movement.

The technologies of robot snakes and eels have attracted much attention in the last decade, apart from their current employment. Certainly, compared with the first realizations, there has been considerable progress. From the total lack of knowledge and absence of experimental tests in the eighties, in about a decade we moved on to about ten prototypes, with tens of researchers active all over the world, and dozens of files dealing with the subject. Currently, within other activities concerning robotics and the fields associated with it, building robot-snakes and eels requires relatively small efforts. On the other hand, they offer many advantages which are essentially connected with the ability to crawl (or swim) in a number of ways, and to operate in all contexts, in narrow spaces and underneath dangerous areas trapped with trip-wires.

its detecting capability, including classes of molecules which cannot be perceived by natural receptors (e.g. carbon monoxide-CO) (Figure 2).

These systems, though still in the experimental phase, will certainly be on the market in the near future.

DATA FUSION

All the techniques previously illustrated, individually taken, proved to be insufficient to guarantee an efficient localization of explosive devices. Let us remember, once again, that to achieve this goal it is necessary to use quick methods exempt from false detections. So, the best strategy for using the systems at our disposal seems to be the one based on the combined use of several techniques at the same time, so that each of them can contribute with its specific character to a safe and quick identification.

Therefore, we can imagine an equipment which can detect the presence of metals in the ground, through magnetic techniques, identify the excessive presence of nitrogenous molecules in the surrounding area, through nuclear techniques, and detect the typical smell of a mine, through an electronic nose. So, all these techniques could cooperate synergistically, through a procedure called "Data Fusion", appropriate for achieving the desired result.

Data fusion is not per se a scientific discipline (at least at the present time), but can be considered a collection of techniques and algorithms permitting to simulate the human cognitive processes which constantly integrate different pieces of information with the purpose of evaluating a complex environment.

The data to be entered in this system can be provided by sensors or introduced by human operators, or else they might can be taken out a priori from any data base. In the case of mines one can take into consideration a geographical data base

SENSORS AND MICROSYSTEMS IN THE DEMINING ACTIVITY

All living beings, in a more or less evident way, are equipped with sophisticated biological integrated systems (sensors), which they use profitably to interact with the environment.

The loss of efficiency or lack of these essential systems causes a reduction of the survival capabilities and, inductively, a slowdown of the evolution process. These are the reasons of their utmost importance.

The new-generation sensors are solid state devices, applying microelectronic technologies, and they generally enable to "read" the environment, and give answers in the shape of electronic or optical signals, useful for successive processing and for final checking and monitoring actions.

Being highly complex devices, their study and development may be led only at interdisciplinary level, with competences concerning solid-state physics, chemistry, microelectronics, biology, chemical-physics of interfaces and electrochemistry. This may be explained by listing the most important features a sensor must have. It must be selective (in order to respond only to the required chemical species), highly sensitive, with high resolution, not very noisy, compatible with microelectronic technologies, neither contaminating nor contaminable, robust and inexpensive.

In practice all these requirements cannot be met simultaneously, but an acceptable compromise can almost always be reached, at planning level, in relation to the specific tasks that a particular sensor will have to perform.

radio frequency, microwave or infrared radiation fields. Such techniques aim at assembling technologies already available on the market, like generators, detectors and electronic-circuit components.

The situation is different when nuclear techniques and chemical sensors are concerned.

The first ones are based on well-known processes, but they exploit a technology which has been tested only at the level of research laboratories, where utmost precautions are taken, especially in relation to checking and limiting radioactive emissions.

In order to make a portable and non-polluting detecting system, one should first of all make a research on the effects that the irradiation has on the ground. It should not be forgotten, in fact, that the main goal of humanitarian demining is to preserve the territorial integrity and characteristics. Besides its influence on the ground, the safety of

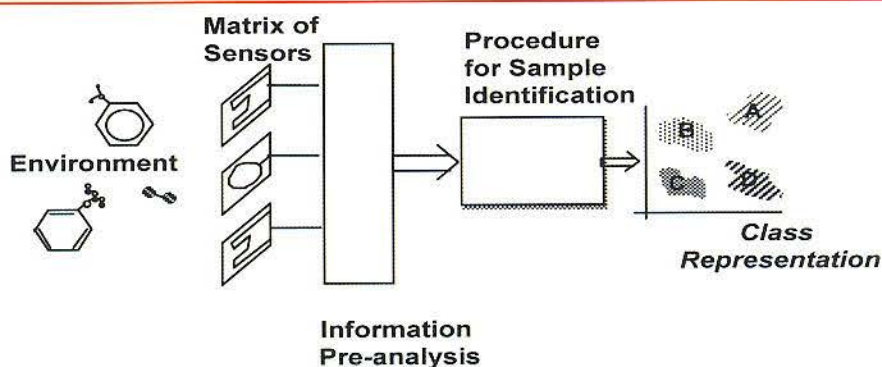


Fig. 2

Schematic representation of an application for the identification of chemical structures: the molecules which form the chemical samples present in the environment interact with the sensors of the matrix and produce, in each sensor, an exit signal. After a phase of pre-analysis of the information, the data are processed through a procedure of sample identification which, as a result, obtains the classification of the chemical samples present in the environment. Samples are represented in an appropriate space of representation, called classes space.

containing information about the nature and configuration of the soil.

At the beginning of the eighties these techniques began to develop precisely in the military sector, in order to manage the battlefields, and afterwards they were employed in other fields, such as, for example, robotics.

CONCLUSIONS

Among the various methods taken into consideration, some represent the adjustment of experimental techniques already widely known and employed in several fields. These methods are mostly based on the application of electromagnetic radiation, in the shape of

the operating personnel must be taken into consideration, as they are in contact with these devices for many hours every day, and are virtually exposed to the risk of contamination and to an accumulation of radioactivity.

The second category, chemical sensors, consists of devices which, among other things, enable us to

detect the explosive devices' "chemical odour". We have seen how these systems are based on animals (mainly dogs), which are already employed quite successfully in operations of detection and location of mines.

As far as electromagnetic methods are concerned, it is already possible to realize operational systems and, if for nuclear techniques the aspect to be considered is essentially the safety of environment and operators, in the case of chemical sensors, instead, research and development still have a long way to go, before an operational system based on them can be realized.

It is all about a challenge that originates from the will of competing with nature, which made and designed chemical sensors so efficient (as a dog's sense of smell) that they can scent the faint odour of a mine.

Research in the field of chemical sensors is an activity which already involves many researchers, both in the academic and the industrial circles. Besides it is clear from what we said previously that, in order to realize a chemical sensor, specific expertise is needed in fields that are seemingly so different from one another, such as physics, electronics, chemistry, biology and mathematics.

The development of the knowledge about sensors is the subject of constant attention, and nowadays humanitarian demining is seen as one of the most interesting fields of application.

Coming to the conclusion of this review, we would like to underline that Italy and Europe have the potential to contribute in a positive way to the solution of this problem, which is of great importance from a social, economic and humanitarian point of view. □

** Lieutenant Colonel,
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SYNTHETIC ARRAY RADAR – SAR

What is a synthetic array radar?

Environment monitoring, natural resources mapping and survey of military systems are based on the possibility of realizing high-resolution images, in very wide areas. Synthetic array radar systems represent a revolutionary version of the conventional Ground Penetrating Radars – GPRs, and give effective answers to this kind of requirements. The SAR system's potentialities originate from the synthesis of the characteristic long-range propagation of radar signals and the capacity of processing the information collected by means of electronic-digital equipment.

How does the SAR system operate?

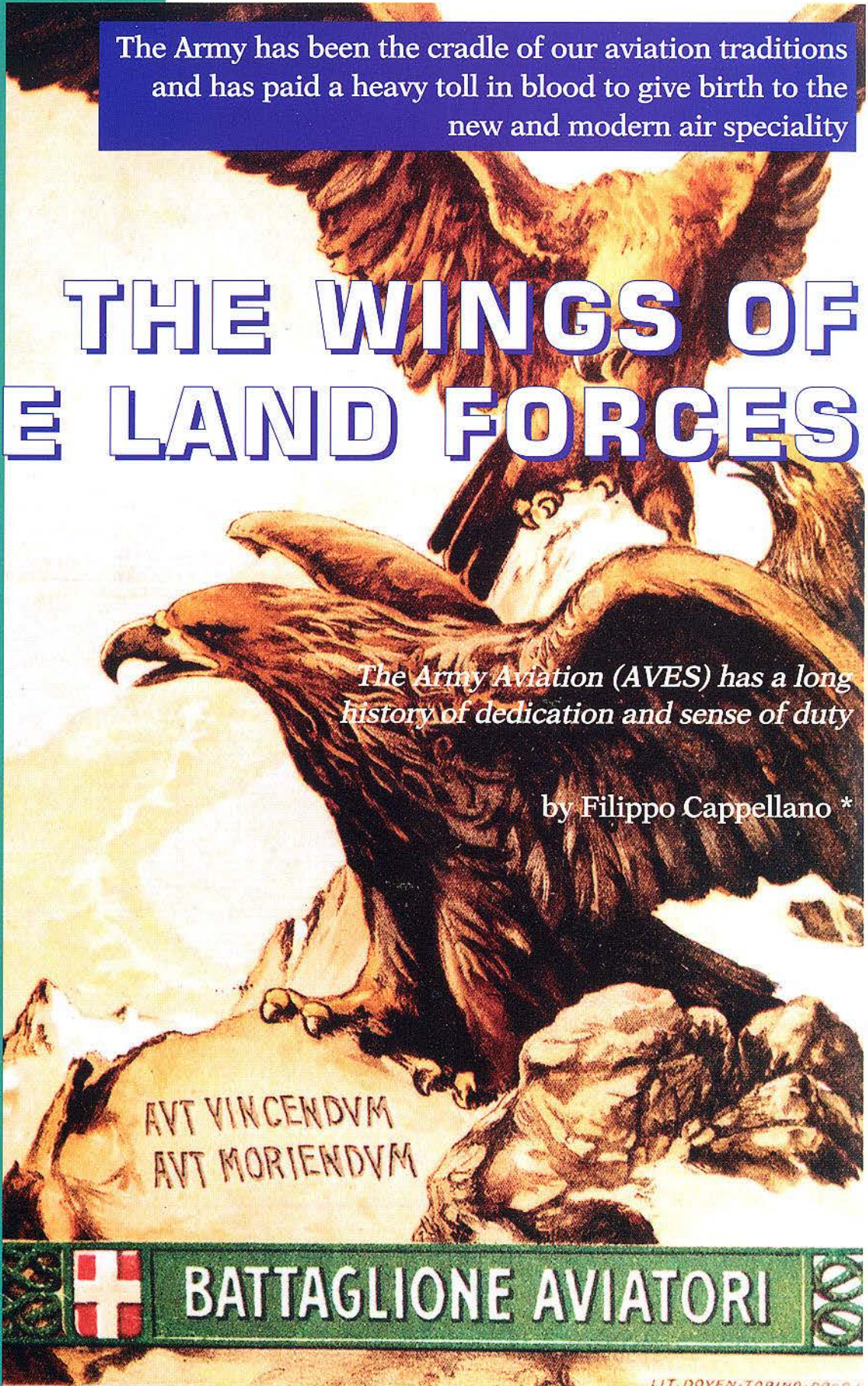
A detailed description of the SAR working theory is complex and goes beyond the purpose of this essay.

However, we shall try to give a basic description of the working procedure.

Let us consider the dirigible or any other aircraft equipped with a SAR able to send a signal perpendicularly to the speed vector. The aircraft so structured produce bidimensional images. One dimension is called range of the along track and is the distance between the radar and the objective. This distance is determined by measuring precisely the time between the transmission of the impulses and the reception of the echoes reflected by the objective. The resolution level of the traced range is determined by the transmitted pulse width – PW. This means that narrow pulses originate a higher resolution of the trace. The other dimension is the azimuth perpendicular to the cross track. As a matter of fact, it is precisely the capacity of the SAR to produce azimuths with a quite high resolution to which differentiates this type of radar from the traditional ones. In order to obtain a high-resolution azimuth one needs an antenna physically wide, able to focus the energy transmitted and the one reflected by the objective at a precise interval. Similarly, the optical systems, such as telescopes, require ample width (mirrors or lenses equivalent to a radar antenna) to obtain high-resolution images. As SAR operates on frequencies inferior to those used by optical systems, also poor resolutions need such big antennas (some hundred meters) that cannot physically be transported by any aerial platform. However such a radar, transported by an aircraft, can collect data during the whole flight and can also process those data as if they were coming from an antenna physically as long as the movement of the aircraft during the flight. This is the reason why we speak of "synthetic array", which offers the great advantage of obtaining a finer resolution compared to what we could have by using a small antenna. The possibility of attaining high azimuthal resolutions can also be explained by examining the survey sequence of the objective from the point of view of the Doppler-effect analysis. The position of the objective along the flight corridor determines the Doppler-frequency of the echoes: the objectives in front of the aircraft produce a positive Doppler signal, and those behind produce a negative signal. So, during a flight in synthetic array, the numerous echoes become as many Doppler frequencies which, opportunely correlated, contribute to the definition of the azimuthal position of the objective.

In conclusion, making a short synthesis of the characteristics of SAR, we could say that:

- it is a radar mode which exploits the aircraft movement to get the Doppler information coming from the objective, i.e. the ground and the systems therein;
- this procedure cannot be used to control moving systems, as they have rotational movements;
- the frequency change caused by the forward movement of the radar, in relation to the ground, is used for the angular resolution needed to obtain the SAR image;
- during the survey, a point in the ground is mapped and the echoes received within a certain period of time are recorded. These echoes, received simultaneously from different points and from diverse azimuthal angles, are separated on the basis of the Doppler histories (phases) caused by the corresponding different range rate;
- in practice, the Doppler history for each range can be thought of as a 2D image of the distribution of energy of the reflecting points on the ground (map).



The Army has been the cradle of our aviation traditions
and has paid a heavy toll in blood to give birth to the
new and modern air speciality

THE WINGS OF THE LAND FORCES

*The Army Aviation (AVES) has a long
history of dedication and sense of duty*

by Filippo Cappellano *

AVT VINCENDVM
AVT MORIENDVM



BATTAGLIONE AVIATORI

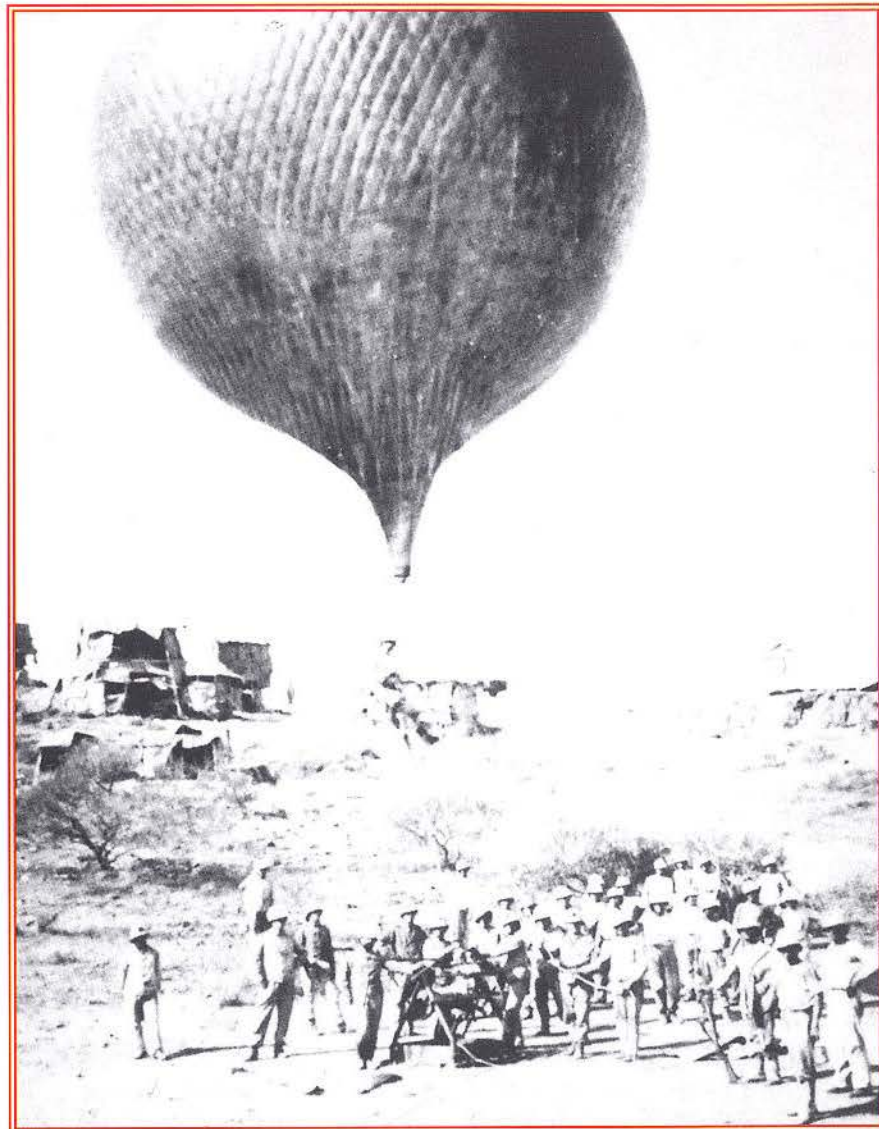
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The Army Aviation, with its numerous tasks in support of land operations, has a long history and great traditions.

After being part of Cavalry for a short time, in 2004 it became again an autonomous Branch. It consists of nine flying and support Regiments, plus some minor autonomous units and a specific School.

Equipped with liaison airplanes and transport, reconnaissance and attack helicopters, AVES has one of the largest air fleets of the Armed Forces and of the national Armed Corps.

The Army Aviation is one of the most recent Branches of the Army, traces its historical heritage back to the first ascents of military aerostats and the first combat flights in the world, made in Libya in 1911-1912 by Army pilots on Army aircraft. These flights can be identified with that part of the aviation history which in 1923 led to the birth of the Air Force as the third Service. The continuity of the flying tradition is represented by the Army Air Observers who, in the thirties and forties, operated on the reconnaissance aircraft of the Italian Royal Air Force, until the constitution of the Army Light Aviation (ALE) in 1951. At the beginning it was equipped with light planes which, in 1956, were joined by helicopters. After WWII, ALE underwent continuous technical improvements and a comprehensive organizational boost. Today it is called "Army Aviation" and is one of the spearheads of the Service,



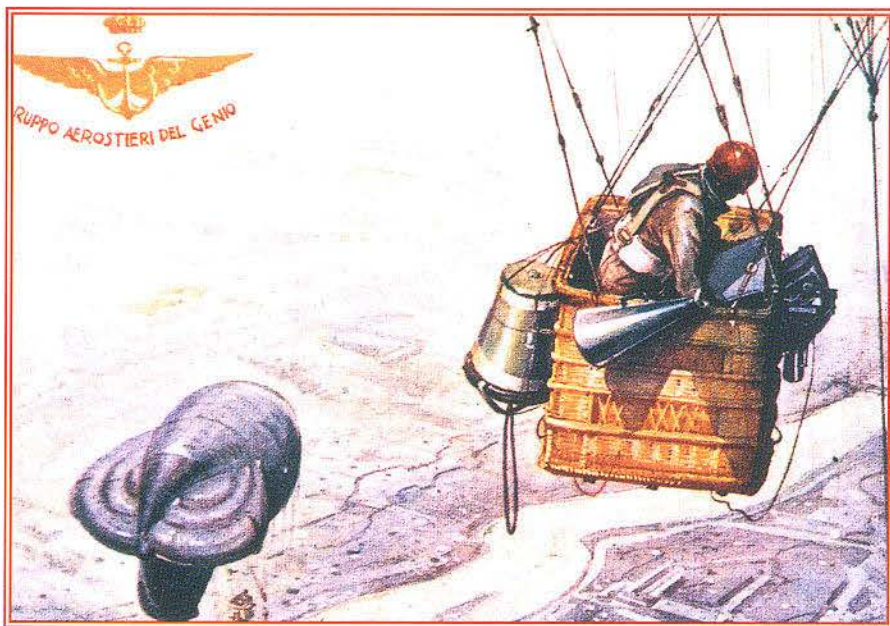
engaged in peace operations abroad, training activities and public utility missions.

An observation balloon employed at Saati (East Africa, 1888).

THE AEROSTATS

The aeronaut Branch stemmed from the Engineer Corps and has been the cradle of the Italian flying traditions. The first ascent on a military aerostat in Italy dates back to November 20, 1884 when Alessandro Pecori Giraldi, a Lieutenant in the 3rd Engineer Regiment, boarded a French-made spherical balloon. Thus he was the first pilot of free-flying balloons of the Royal Italian Army (1). After his reports,

the War Ministry issued a circular for the constitution of an "Aeronautical Service" at the Rome detachment of the 3rd Engineer Regiment. On January 1, 1885, an Aerostat Section was constituted at the same detachment, commanded by Pecori Giraldi, who is therefore to be considered the founder and first Commander of the Italian military aeronauts. The section was equipped with two 55 cubic-metre spherical balloons, called "Africo" and "Torricelli". On June 28, 1886



one of these balloons made a braked ascent to 380 metres, having on board – besides the pilot – the Ministers of War, Navy and Finance. The first law on aeronautical matters was that of June 23, 1887 which instituted, within the 3rd Engineer Regiment, an “Engineer Specialist Company” which, besides being charged with supplying electric lighting and photography, had to deal with anything connected with aviation, which at the time was represented by free and captive aerostats. So, on November 1, 1887 the Section became a Specialist Company and, at the end of the same year, was mobilized for the expedition in Eritrea. The aerostatic equipment landed in Africa in January 1885 and was employed near the Saati redoubt. The Company’s three balloons, “Volta”, “Lana” and “Serrati” made several ascents for the surveillance of the Abyssinian lines. In 1893, Captain Maurizio Mauro Moris (2) replaced Captain Pecori Giraldi as Commander of the Specialist Company. The new Commander was authorized to build at his own expenses, using the aeronauts’ skilled labour, a balloon suitable for free ascents, which became the first balloon entirely built by Italians, the “Durand de la Penne”. Meanwhile, on November 6, 1894, a Royal Decree es-

tablished the second specialist company which, together with the first one and with a “train” company, constituted in Rome an “Engineer Specialist Brigade”. In 1897 Italy could pride itself of having made the first aerial survey, the planimetric map of a section of the course of the Tiber. This deed was to earn the world’s praise in 1910, at the Brussels International Congress. In 1896 the Specialist Brigade participated in field manoeuvres with a aerostatic pool and a field radiotelegraphic section; in that period many interesting aerostatic, radiotelegraphic and photogrammetric exercises were carried out employing captive balloons. On September 1, 1909 the Specialist Brigade became fully autonomous and took the denomination of “Engineer Autonomous Specialist Brigade”. Exactly 12 months later, structure and name of the Brigade changed again. It became the “Engineer Specialist Battalion”, organized as follows: Staff, 4 Specialist Manoeuvre Companies, 1 Specialist Worker Company, 1 photographic section, 1 radiotelegraphic section and 1 “train” section. On October 28, 1910 an Aviation Section was added. The Royal Decree of March 10, 1910 provided that the Engineer Specialist Battalion would be formed by the following

four Units: I Unit-troops and services (aerostat and photoelectric pools; field photography, radiotelegraphic military communications); II Unit-military aviation (management of aerodromes, flying-school, employment of military airplanes); III Unit-military airships (management of aeronautical yards, hydrogen producing plants); IV Unit-factory for aeronautical experiments and constructions (manufacture and repair of aeronautical materials, construction of buildings for aeronautical use).

THE AIRSHIPS

The first experiments with Italian-made military airships dated back to October 1908, when the “N.1” airship was flown by Lt Gaetano Arturo Crocco and Lt Ottavio Ricaldoni, from the Engineer Specialist Brigade, near the aeronautical yard of Vigna di Valle. The birth of this experimental laboratory must be credited to Captain Moris, who had tasked the two protagonists of the first experimental flight with starting the studies for the construction of an airship of entirely Italian conception. Previously, in July 1908, Count Almerigo da Schio had flown the “Italia” airship, built at his own expenses, in the presence of Queen Margherita. The N-1 was followed by the N-1 bis, also conceived by Crocco and Ricaldoni, which on October 31, 1909 succeeded in making a record 470km non-stop flight along the Vigna di Valle – Naples – Rome itinerary, remaining airborne for as many as 14 hours. The N-1 bis was later employed for training Officers, for whom a special flying school for airships had been established at Vigna di Valle. The first course was attended by 8 Officers from the Army and 4 from the Navy. In September 1910 a new airship, the N-2, made its first flight, reaching an altitude of 1500 metres. In 1911 a plan for the improvement of the Italian airship fleet was developed which envis-

Facing page.

A postcard of the Aeronaut Group of the Royal Army's Engineer Corps.

Right.

The licence of "Aviator Pilot" issued to Navy Lieutenant Mario Calderara.

aged the construction of eight "Rocco-Ricaldoni" new models and one "Forlanini" (3). The former were divided into a small-volume version, called P1, P2 and P3, and one M-type medium-volume version. Two of these were to be used for the requirements of the Italian Royal Navy.

THE AIRPLANES

Major Moris also gave a fundamental impulse to the first experiences conducted with airplanes. In fact, on his invitation, between 1908 and 1909 a French navigation pioneer, Leon Delagrangé, arrived in Rome followed by the creator himself of the new technical invention, i.e. Wilbur Wright. Both performed in some shows, moving the audience to great enthusiasm. Furthermore, Moris made a contract with Wright for purchasing an airplane and for instructing two Italian trainees: Navy Sub-lieutenant Mario Calderara and Engineer Lieutenant Umberto Savoia, who thus became the first officers to obtain an airplane flying licence. Still in 1908 a plane conceived and produced in Italy, designed by engineer Aristide Faccioli and built by Turin's SPA, made its first flight. After watching the performance of one of Faccioli's aircraft, Gabriele D'Annunzio extolled that flight in the conference "The Dominion of the Sky", held in February 1910 at Turin's "Vittorio Emanuele" Theatre (4). A Faccioli-SPA biplane was the first Italian aircraft exported abroad, precisely to Russia. After these pioneering experiments, in 1910 the War Ministry decided to establish an aviation school at Centocelle, near Rome. The first plane of the new school was Wright's



number 4, built by Lt Savoia, followed by an Henry Farman bought in France. In the following months the Specialist Brigade built three more Farmans and received a private plane owned by Cavalry Lt Ugolino Vivaldi Pasqua. And it was in fact the latter who, on August 11, set the record of five actual flight hours in a single day. However, after two crashes which had cost the life of Pasqua himself and that of Lt Giuseppe Saglietti, who piloted a Sommer biplane, the War Ministry ordered to suspend the flights and opened an inquiry on the tragic events. At any rate, the Centocelle School by the end of 1910 received an official acknowledgement as a Military School of Aviation and was equipped with eight airplanes, between Farmans and Bleriot. But the following year, owing to the field's shortcomings, the school was closed and replaced by those established at the Aviano and Malpensa airfields. The first accelerated training course for observer Officers was held in July 1911 at Aviano. In Italy, as in the other European Countries, given the radically revolutionary nature of the new means of transport, the aeronautical activity was born, and initially developed, in the civilian environment and was practiced because of

the spontaneous enthusiasm of young sportsmen, and encouraged and supported by the contributions of patrons, including members of the Royal Family. This explains why the number of civilian flying schools was higher than that of similar military institutions. Many military pilots obtained their licences at foreign schools, especially French ones. By the end of 1912, sixty-nine pilots obtained their licence at Italian military schools, fifty-one at civilian schools and seventy-eight abroad (76 in France) (5).

Meanwhile, in July 1910 Parliament had issued a law in favour of the budding Italian Aviation, appropriating 10 million lire for the construction of airships, airplanes and the relevant plants for manufacture and maintenance, as well as for the special allowances of the flying personnel.

THE RECONNAISSANCE AVIATION

Two important events that occurred in 1911 were decisive for the military employment of aircraft: the manoeuvres in Monferrato and the war in Libya. During the exercises held in the Piedmontese re-



Left.
Aeronauts from the Specialist Battalion in action.

Facing page.
A postcard of the "Volunteer Aviators" Flotilla in Cyrenaica.

gion, the two parties (blue and red) kept spying each other employing their tiny reconnaissance aviations, each equipped with five planes, an aerostatic field section and two airships which were assigned on a case-by-case basis. The aerial means had explorative tasks and the services rendered to the headquarters concerned were quite satisfactory, although the bad weather conditions hindered the flights. The experiment provided very interesting matter of study, particularly with regard to the logistic aspect of the functioning of flying units and airships. During those manoeuvres the King of Italy made his first flight on a P-2 airship.

On September 28, 1911 the Aviation Unit of the Engineer Specialist Battalion received the order to mo-

bilize an airplane formation to be attached to the special Corps which was going to occupy the Turkish possessions in Libya. The Commander of the Aviation Unit, Lt Col. Vittorio Cordero di Montezemolo, assigned the new aerial fleet the following Officers: Capt Carlo Piazza (6), Capt Riccardo Moizo, Lt Leopoldo de Rada, Sub-Lt Ugo De Rossi, 2nd Lt Giulio Gavotti. The flight unit consisted of nine airplanes: two Bleriot, three Nieuport, two Fernalds and two Etrichs. On October 15 the flotilla landed in Tripoli and a month later was followed by a second detachment of three planes which took up quarters near Benghazi. The pilots had no shortage of problems, owing to the scepticism that surrounded the aviators at the beginning of their

operational cycle in Africa. The higher Commands had doubts about exposing to fire those frail and unreliable planes, which until then had been employed almost exclusively in sports events and experimental flights. Only the will and abnegation of the Officers and of the other personnel of the air wing permitted to go through the trial stage with success, giving also to the Commands of the Libyan Expeditionary Corps the deserved confidence in the new and revolutionary military machine. Very soon orders were dispatched to prepare new flying units in Italy to be sent to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica as reinforcements to the air component, which had already shown its effectiveness in contrasting the shifty formations of Arab guerrillas. The reinforcements, whose denomination was "3rd and 4th aviation autonomous platoons" constituted the "Flotilla of Civilian Voluntary Aviators", created on the initiative of Turin's "La Stampa Sportiva" magazine and of Deputy Carlo Montù, then President of the "Aeroclub d'Italia", who assumed its command with the rank of Captain. The flotilla of volunteers arrived in the war zone after a brief training period at the Specialist Battalion, in order to offset the momentary shortages in military personnel of the flying units, and was repatriated in March 1912, replaced by regular squadrons. The first war flight in history took place on October 23, 1911: the protagonist was the flight Commander, Capt Piazza, who had the dual task of pilot and observer, since the aircraft was a single-seater. Thus the first air reconnaissance missions commenced with positive results, amazing and impressing the enemy

who saw the sky crossed by machines totally unknown to them.

THE EMPLOYMENT IN WAR

On October 25, during a flight over some enemy encampments, Capt Moizo was hit by rifle fire; three rounds pierced the wings of his plane without causing serious damage. This must be considered the first fire test passed by the pilot of an airplane while, some days later, artillery fire was ranged for the first time through signals sent by a plane. On November 11 Capt Piazza, acknowledging the usefulness of recording with photos the reconnaissance made by sight, placed on his plane a camera pointing downwards: thus photo air-reconnaissance was born, albeit with amateurish means. The next step was the idea of dropping bombs from the airplanes in order to scatter the bands of insurgents and strike enemy oases and camps. The following consideration, if the Turks were also going to employ airplanes in combat, was the recourse to fight between flying aircraft, devising the appropriate defence and proposing the adoption of distinctive national markings. In this regard Capt Piazza suggested that *our pilots themselves will take care of both attack and defence from the enemy planes, manoeuvring in such a way as to leave them behind (since we have the fastest planes now existing) or hit them with fire from the pistols which are part of their equipment*. For the bombing, special Cipelli-type hand grenades were used: they weighed 2 kilos and the pilot threw them after removing the safety catch; later, modified Haasen-model Danish hand grenades were used until an air bomb was devised by Lieutenant Bontempelli, an artillery Officer. The first night flights in the war zone took place in the spring of 1912 and on August 15, 1912 the first pilot lost his life in combat: Cavalry 2nd Lieutenant Piero Manzini crashed into the sea and

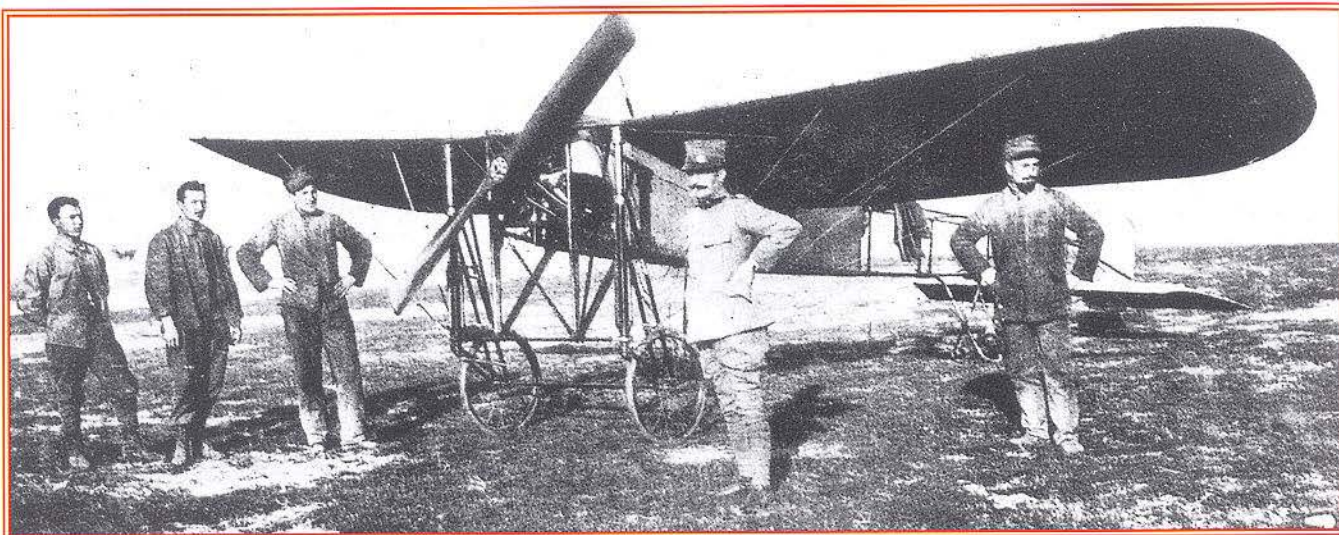


drowned, owing to a wrong manoeuvre during a mission of photographic reconnaissance. On September 10, 1912 Capt Moizo was the first pilot captured by the enemy. Another historically important event was the experiment of a radio-connection between an airplane in flight and a warship at anchor in the port of Tobruk, witnessed by scientist Guglielmo Marconi. Furthermore, during the 1911-1912 Libyan campaign, it was acknowledged that the task of air reconnaissance should be entrusted to a person other than the pilot, who was already heavily engaged in guiding and controlling the aircraft. The first aviator that performed the specific and exclusive task of "observer from the airplane" was Infantry Lt Ercole Capuzzo, Commander of the Tobruk flying unit.

The Commander of the expeditionary Corps, Gen. Carlo Caneva, on December 8, 1911, thus expressed his appreciation for the work done in Libya by the aviators, in a congratulatory telegram to the Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Alberto Pellio: *To our brave companions-in-arms who, with a faith equal to their courage, have crossed the sky – first in the world – under the storm of enemy fire, to those well-deserving explorers who, braving the dangers of a not-yet-safe instrument, have been capable of gather-*

ing so many precious elements for the conduct of the operations, must go now, as a high praise, the echo of my own satisfaction together with that of all the troops who, from their trenches, cried out their admiration for their superb flights. The deeds of our pilots were recognized by the foreign press. On August 12, 1912, "The Times" published that *"The practical results of the airplanes' flights were invaluable. In fact the Italian generals were regularly informed about the movements and size of the enemy forces. The territory between the coast and the mountains was explored with great care, and many sketches were made (...) Certain maps and photographs taken by the Italian aviators during the battles are sufficient proof of their marvellous skill.*

In constituting the expeditionary corps to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica it was envisaged that also aerostats and airships would be sent. On November 5, 1911 the first aerostat pool mobilized for the Italian-Turkish war landed in Tripoli. It consisted of two slender Draken balloons followed by other fleets. The ascensional activity directed by Capt Giovan Battista Pastine started on November 10, when the first balloon was inflated and lifted to an altitude of about 500 metres to observe the enemy positions at Ain Zara. As a result of this survey the Draken,



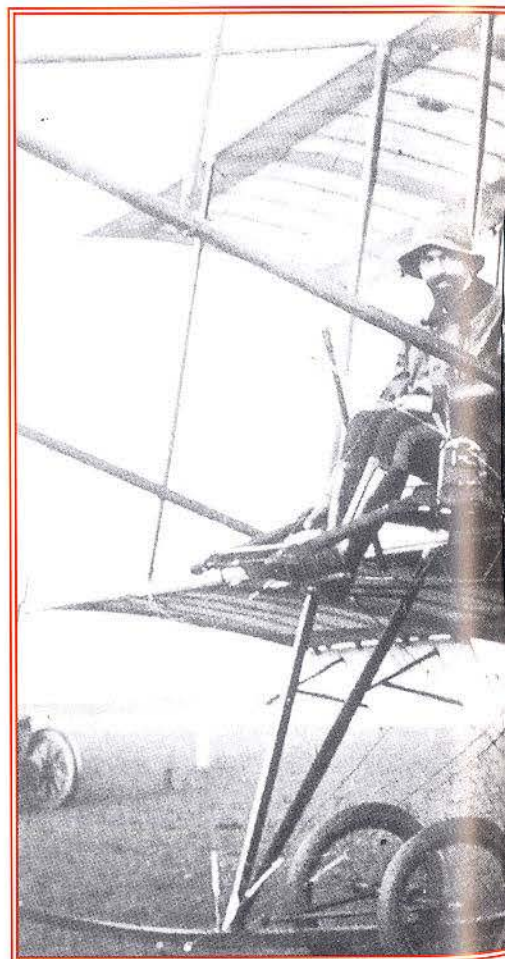
signalling with flags, ranged the fire of the guns of the battleship "Carlo Alberto" on concentrations of Turkish-Arab troops. On December 1, the second Draken was installed on board the brig "Caval Marino", which had been suitably dismantled and assigned to the ranging of naval fire and exploration of coastal areas. In January 1912 a Draken, mounted on a wagon specially equipped for easy movement, made several explorative ascents, taking also photos of Tripoli's defensive works. The Order of the Day issued by Gen Caneva on December 8, 1911 so commented the deeds of the aeronauts. *The effectiveness of the artillery has well and often found a precious help in the observation of fire conducted and transmitted by the Draken Balloons sent up from the ground or from special floats. Thus I associate here the fearless and intelligent aeronauts in the great and very warm praise that I bestow on the Commanders, Officers and all the Artillerymen of land and sea, without distinction of specialization and employment.*

After a series of mishaps caused by bad weather conditions, which forced to repatriate the P-1, damaged by a storm, the airships sent to Libya were ready to start their operational activity at the beginning of March 1912. On the 5th, the P-2 and P-3 participated together in their first war mission, whose ob-

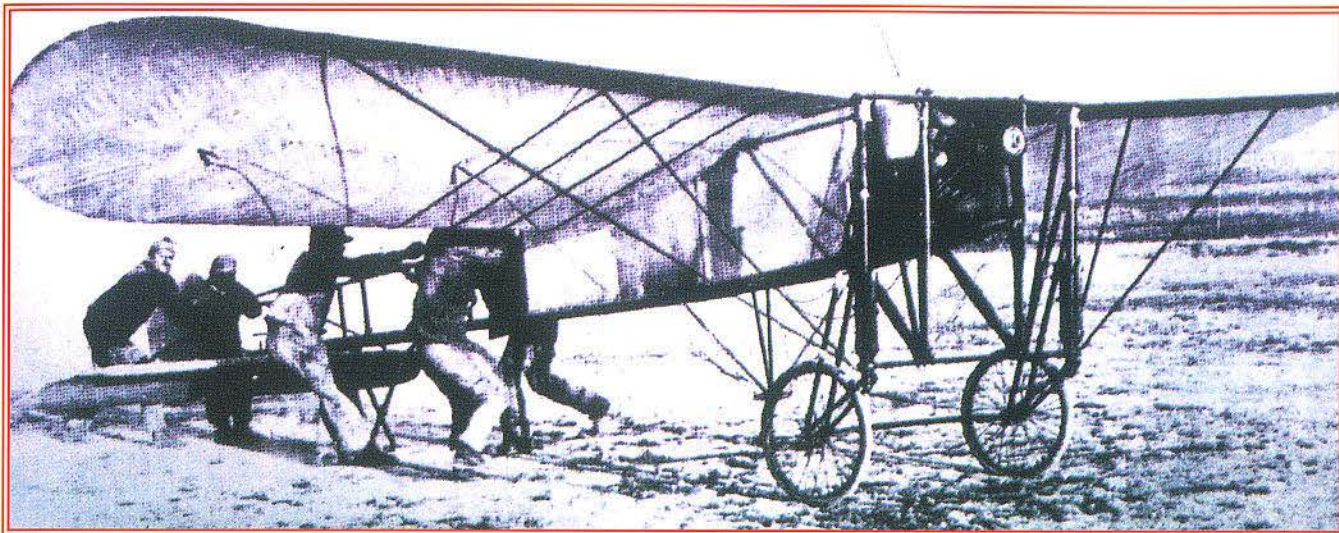
jective was the oasis of Zanzur. On the 12th, during a mission against Zavia, an airship was damaged by rifle fire coming from Bedouin camps. The air photographic, bombing and liaison missions, with launching of messages, continued intensely until Turkey surrendered in October 1912. The P-2 was shot down in action, but managed to make an emergency landing behind the friendly lines and, having repaired its damages, soon returned to the front. During their operational activity in Libya, the two dirigibles made 100 ascents, launching 330 bombs and taking more than 300 photos. Also the P-1 was employed for a short time in Cyrenaica and became famous for a night bombing mission from an altitude of 1000 metres. The dirigibles and, to a lesser extent, the captive balloons and airplanes helped in updating the maps made with a Goerz apparatus from altitudes varying from 500 to 1000 metres. Together with the strictly military employment, in 1912 several interesting experiments were carried out in Libya about detecting submarine mines and launching bombs on moving floating targets from airships, as well as experiments on antiaircraft rifle-fire against full-scale models of airplanes hauled by dirigibles.

The Libyan campaign had indicated, albeit not completely and exhaustively, the capabilities of the

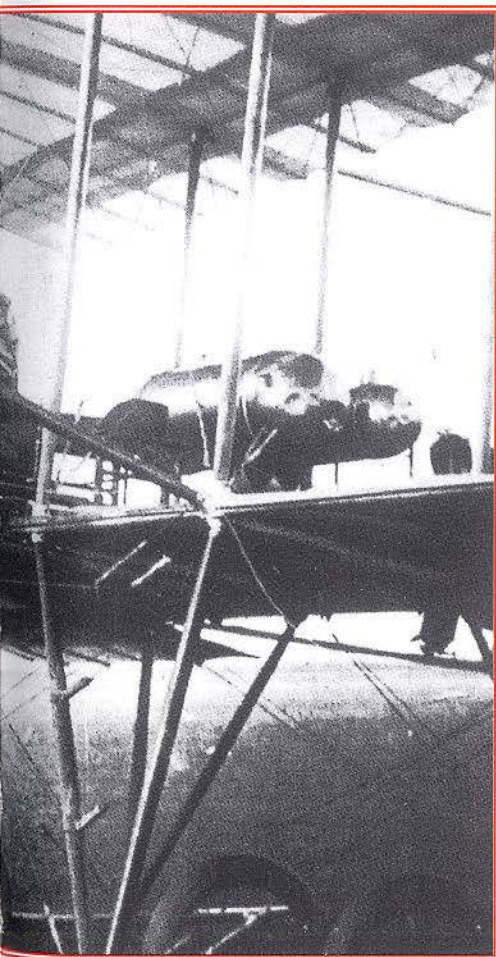
Above and right.
One of the first Bleriot airplanes employed by the Italian Army.



An Italian pioneer pilot on board a French-made "Farman" aircraft.



aerial means in war operations in support to the land forces. The activities of flyers, airship crews and



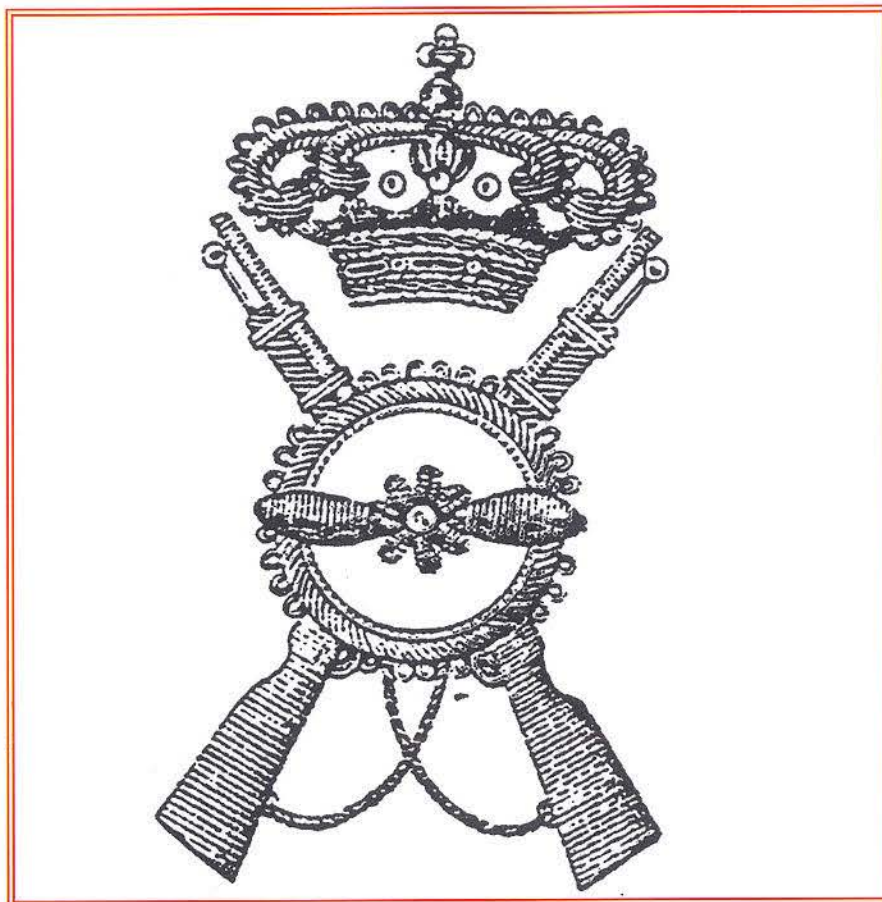
aeronauts had changed many ideas and refuted some preconceptions; the High Commands began to accept the actual value of the aircraft as a means of exploration and

bombardment. After the Libyan war, until the outbreak of WWI, the Engineer Specialist Battalion underwent several organizational transformations and denominations, with many changes in the unit's subordination. In June 1912, during the war against Turkey, an Aviator Battalion was set up with the exclusive task of operating airplanes, and was attached to the Specialist Battalion. Towards the end of 1912, the War Ministry tasked the Aviator Battalion with the study of a new organization for military aviation in Italy. The results of this important work were reported by Artillery Major Giulio Douhet, who was to become one of the most important experts in air strategy and was at the time the Battalion's acting Commander. The scant financial resources available to the War Ministry blocked the practical implementation of the plan for the development of Aviation as outlined by Douhet, who envisaged to increase the number of squadrons from 12 to 25.

A law issued in June 1912 established the institution of an "Aeronautical Service" at the War Ministry's General Directorate for Artillery and Engineers. Its main body was the "Inspecting Office of Aeronautical Services", in charge of the "Engineer Specialist Battalion" in Rome, the "Aviator Battalion" in Turin, the "Aeronautical Construction Plant" in Rome and an "Exper-

imental Building Yard" at Vigna di Valle. With a circular issued by the War Ministry in August 1913, the Inspecting Office was transformed in "Air Force Inspectorate".

In April 1913 the preliminaries of the first Italian military competition of aviation were held at Mirafiori aerodrome, near Turin, with the purpose of selecting new engines and aircraft for the reequipment of the fleet of the Army air service. In June 1913, Turin again witnessed the first impressive Italian air parade, with the participation of eight squadrons of four planes each. The precision of the flights and the perfect organization of the air parade aroused a great admiration, and the entire national press gave a particular prominence to the event. In October Major Piazza landed near the Mont Cenis Pass (2000m altitude), setting the new high-altitude landing world record. During the period between the end of the Libyan campaign and the beginning of the First World War many experiments were carried out in order to achieve the highest possible performance, compatibly with the technical capabilities of those airplanes. Thus in March 1913 there were trials on radio transmission between a land station and an airplane in flight, while in February 1913, at La Spezia, there was the first experimental launching of a torpedo from a flying plane. Other experi-



Left.
Badge of an Infantry Officer on duty with the Aviator Battalion.

Below.
The observation balloons were widely employed in the Libyan war to direct fire and observe the enemy.

Right.
Officers of the Engineer Specialist Battalion.

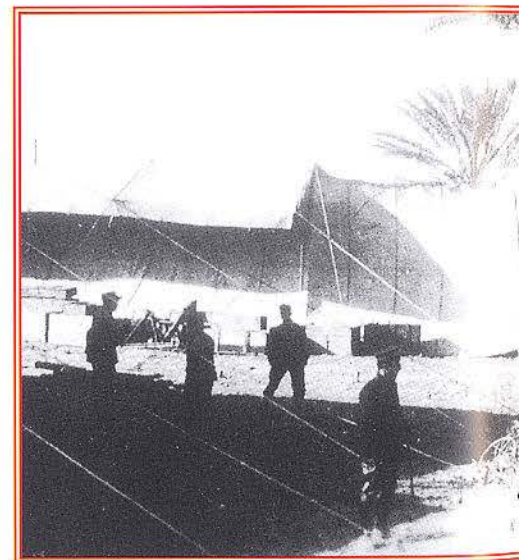
The Office of Aeronautical Services was established on May 23, 1915, just on the eve of Italy's entry into the war, as part of the Supreme Command. It was divided into an aerostats and dirigibles branch, commanded by

ments concerned the installation on board of a machine gun and the possibility of firing also through the propeller, the improvement and rationalization of the installation of a camera and the launching of high-calibre bombs (100 kilos).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE AVIATION

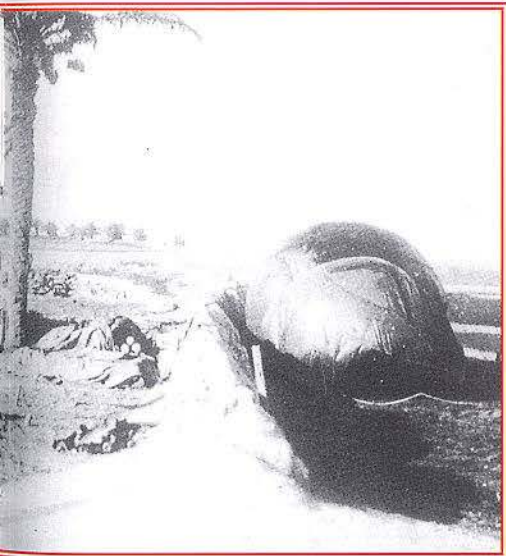
On the eve of the world conflict, the reorganization of the aviation remained one of the most urgent and important problems, and in February 1914 the Advisory Commission for air navigation, assembled under the chairmanship of General Roberto Brusati, proposed to constitute an autonomous Corps and to appropriate a sum of 30 million lire for the aircraft industry. After many doubts and long parliamentary discussions, the project was approved by the Council of Ministers with a Decree-Law of January 7, 1915. The Military Aero-

nautical Corps thus established, in a priority order among Branches and Corps, was placed immediately after the Engineer Corps, of which until then the Aeronautical Service had been a branch. With the new organization, the Specialist Battalion, the Aviators Battalion, the Plant for Aeronautical Experiences and Constructions and the Inspectorate for Aeronautics were dissolved. Meanwhile, in October 1914, the regulations on "Service in War" envisaged for the first time the air service as a combat service, establishing that *the exploration service is mainly entrusted to cavalry, cyclists and means of air navigation (...) Dirigibles and airplanes are essentially employed for strategic explorations and, in exceptional cases, also for tactical explorations. The exploration with aircraft, besides being wide-ranging, is also rapid and comprehensive and, in favourable conditions, can quickly give the Commander a general idea of the situation.*



Eng.Colonel Giuseppe Motta, and an aviation branch, commanded by Arty Colonel Vittorio Buffa di Per-rero.

On the opening of hostilities against Austria-Hungary our aeronautical forces consisted of two groups: the Royal Army Aviation and Royal Navy Aviation. Each had its own and distinct functions and was subordinated to the respective Ministry. The one subordinate to the War Ministry included the following assets: 13 aerostat units (6 field sections, 4 fortress sections, and 3 motorized sections), 3 dirigibles, 12 airplane



squadrons (58 aircraft), 3 seaplanes, 72 mobilized pilots and 30 reserves, 3 flying schools and one air-observation school, about one hundred mechanics and forty fitters. The organization was as follows: aerostat service, with its hydrogen-producing services; field photographic service, operated by the Aeronauts Battalion; dirigible services, operated by the Airships Battalion; aviation service, carried out by the Aviation Schools Battalion and the Aviator Squadron Battalion. The Aeronauts Battalion, the Dirigibles Battalion and the Aeronautical Construction

Plant were subordinate to an Aeronautical Command (Dirigibles and Aerostats); the Aviator Squadrons Battalion, with three Squadron Commands, the Aviator School Battalion with two School Sections and the Technical Directorate of Military Aviation were subordinated to an "Aeronautics Command (Aviators)". The two abovementioned Commands were supervised by an Aeronautical General Directorate, which was a component of the Ministry of War and was also responsible for the Central Aeronautical Institute, which had essentially technical/scientific character and functions, and carried out studies and experiments in view of new constructions and for the technical preparation of Officers, both engineers and pilots. The Royal Navy Aviation, which was born in 1909, by the end of May 1915 mobilized 2 dirigibles, 15 seaplanes, 11 pilots and 130 men for various services.

It would take too long to relate all the war events that involved the Army Aviation in the war of 1915-1918; here we shall limit ourselves to a short statistical description. The Royal Army's and Royal Navy's air assets, at the moment of the armistice signed on November 4,

1918 consisted of 1041 aircraft, including those deployed in France, Albania and Macedonia. This group of airplanes was divided into reconnaissance, bombardment and fighter planes, respectively 506, 135 and 400 machines. Furthermore, there were 514 reconnaissance and 128 fighter seaplanes. In 1918 there were 20 airships in operation, while the aerostat sections were 53. The air squadrons in operation at the end of the conflict were 58, plus 6 sections in the Army and 46 in the Navy. During the war about 5300 pilots were trained and 400 American pilots were instructed at Italian schools. In addition, there were 500 observers, 1000 machine-gunners and 5000 specialists. The flying schools had increased from 4 in 1915 to 31 at the end of 1918. The Army employed about thirty different models of airplanes and the Navy about twenty. The dirigibles made 265 raids over enemy territory. The aeronauts made 3128 ascents, for a total of almost 18,000 hours. The Italian aircraft industry, between 1915 and 1918, built almost 12,000 airplanes and over 24,000 engines. The Italian aircraft reported by Army and Navy as lost due to enemy fire or in air duels were 165, plus 11 dirigibles. The personnel fallen in air battles were

GRADUATORIA UFFICIALE DELLE VITTORIE AEREE OMOLOGATE AI PILOTI ITALIANI DELL'AERONAUTICA TERRESTRE.

Dal 24 maggio 1915 al 4 novembre 1918

L'elenco comprende solamente le vittorie per le quali si raggiunsero tutte le prescritte prove di accertamento e che ebbero l'omologazione ufficiale, applicata sempre con concetti rigorosi. Sono quindi escluse dalla presente graduatoria quelle vittorie, anche attendibili, per le quali non fu possibile ottenere la completa prova documentata.

1 Maggiore	BARACCA Francesco	34 vitt.	Caduto 18- 6-'18
2 Tenente	SCARONI Silvio	26 »	»
3 Ten. Col.	PICCIO Pier Ruggero	24 »	»
4 Tenente	BARACCHINI Flavio	21 »	»
5 Capitano	RUFFO DI CALABRIA Fulco	20 »	»
6 Tenente	RANZA Ferruccio	17 »	»
6 Sergente	CERUTTI Marziale	17 »	»
7 Tenente	OLIVARI Luigi	12 »	Caduto 13-10-'17
8 Tenente	ANCILLOTTO Giovanni	11 »	»
8 Sergente	REALI Antonio	11 »	»
9 Tenente	NOVELLI Gastone	8 »	»
9 Tenente	AVET Flaminio	8 »	»
9 Tenente	LOMBARDI Carlo	8 »	»
9 Sottotenente	LEONARDI Alvaro	8 »	»
9 Sottotenente	CABRUNA Ernesto	8 »	»
9 Sergente	NICELLI Giovanni	8 »	Caduto 5- 5-'18
10 Capitano	RIVA Antonio	7 »	»
10 Tenente	FUCINI Mario	7 »	»
10 Tenente	ELEUTERI Leopoldo	7 »	»
10 Serg. Magg.	FORNAGIARI Guglielmo	7 »	»
10 Sergente	RENELLA Cosimo	7 »	»
11 Capitano	COSTANTINI Bortolo	6 »	»
11 Tenente	OLIVI Luigi	6 »	Caduto 17- 7-'17
11 Tenente	PARVIS Giuliano	6 »	»
11 Sergente	IMOLESI Attilio	6 »	»
11 Sergente	STOPPANI Mario	6 »	»
11 Sergente	NARDINI Guido	6 »	»
11 Sergente	BOCCHESE Aldo	6 »	»
11 Sergente	TICCONI Romolo	6 »	»
11 Sergente	MAGISTRINI Cesare	6 »	»
11 Sergente	RIZZOTTO Cosimo	6 »	»
12 Capitano	LEGA Giulio	5 »	»
12 Tenente	SABELLI Giovanni	5 »	Caduto 25-10-'17
12 Tenente	BUZIO Alessandro	5 »	»
12 Tenente	MASIERO Guido	5 »	»
12 Tenente	BEDENDO Sebastiano	5 »	»
12 Tenente	MECOZZI Amedeo	5 »	»
12 Tenente	MICHETTI Giorgio	5 »	»
12 Sottotenente	ALLASIA Michele	5 »	Caduto 20- 7-'18
12 Sottotenente	AMANTEA Antonio	5 »	»
12 Sottotenente	RESCH Alessandro	5 »	»

Seguono altri 200 militari aviatori che hanno abbattuto da 4 a uno apparecchio.

Il numero totale degli apparecchi nemici abbattuti e draken distrutti da piloti italiani — dell'aviazione terrestre — sul cielo del nostro teatro di guerra, dal 24 maggio 1915 al 4 novembre 1918, è stato di 643.

Le nostre perdite, nello stesso periodo di tempo, per opera del nemico hanno sommato a 128 apparecchi.

Zona di Guerra 1° febbraio 1919

IL COMANDANTE GENERALE DI AERONAUTICA
BONGIOVANNI

98, 123 were killed by antiaircraft fire, 412 in air crashes in the war zone and 304 in accidents in the territorial area. The awards and decorations conferred to the military of the Aeronautical Corps during the war were: 54 Crosses of the Military Order of Savoy (Commanders, Officers and Knights), 24 Gold Medals for Military Valour, 1683 Silver Medals, 1249 Bronze Medals, 329 Crosses for Military Valour, 161 solemn citations and 77 promotions for War Merit. The

Flags of the Military Aeronautical Corps and that of the Navy Aviation were decorated with a Silver Medal, while the 6th Airplane Group was awarded a Bronze Medal.

CONCLUSIONS

In the wake of such a past, so luminous and rich in historical traditions, today the Army Aviation carries out, in a more marked way, its tasks in support

Left.

List of the recognized air victories obtained by the land-aviation pilots during the First World War.

Below.

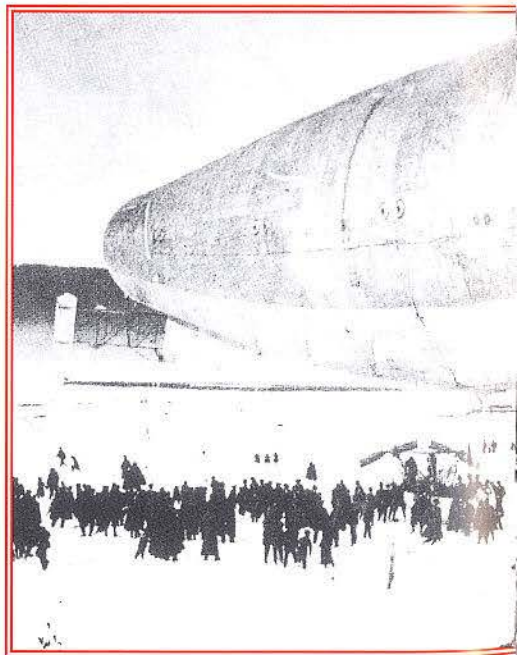
A dirigible built in 1912 at Vigna di Valle.

Right.

A postcard of the Dirigible Battalion of the Royal Italian Army Engineer Corps.

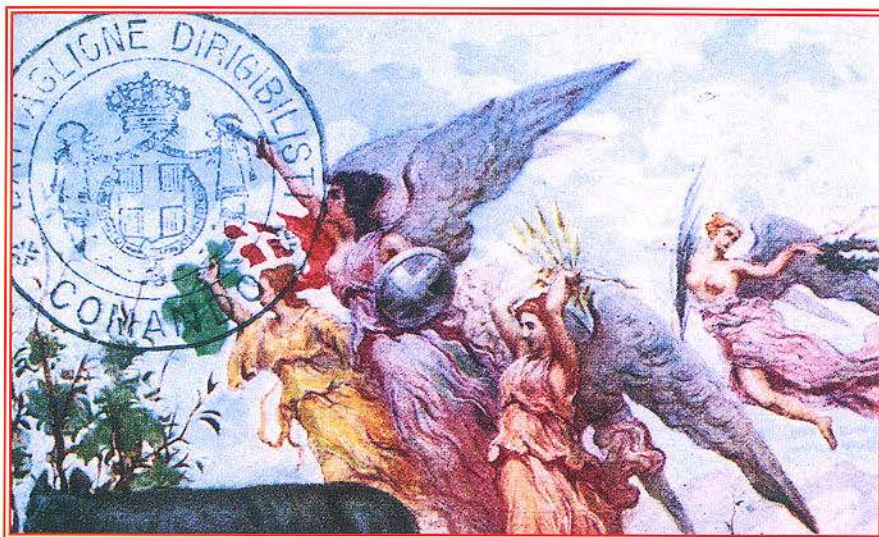
An air duel over the Alps during the First World War.

of land operations and air-mobility of the troops. In 2004 it became again an autonomous Branch, after a short period with the Cavalry, and is now one of the most modern components of our Service, with as many as nine flying and logistic support Regiments, besides several autonomous minor units. The Army



Aviation, equipped with liaison airplanes and transport helicopters, commands one of the most numerous fleets among those of the Forces and Armed Corps of the State.

**Lieutenant Colonel,
History Office,
Army General Staff*



NOTES

(1) In the civilian sector, the first ascent on a balloon conceived and built in Italy went back to February 1784 and was made by Paolo Andreani.

(2) Mauro Mori was born in Paris

1918 he was promoted Major General for war merit and was awarded the Officer's Cross of the Military Order of Savoy. Gen. Mori joined the Reserve in 1929, with the rank of Lieutenant General.

(3) Before becoming famous for his construction of dirigibles, Enri-

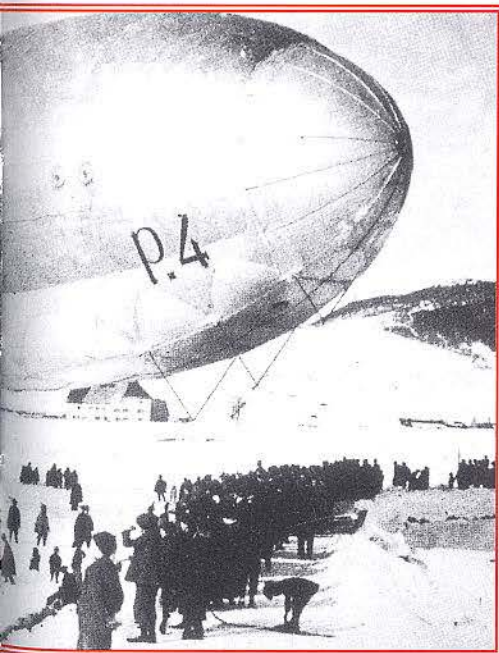
Brescia in the presence of the King of Italy.

(5) The foundation of the "Società Aeronautica Italiana" went back to March 1904.

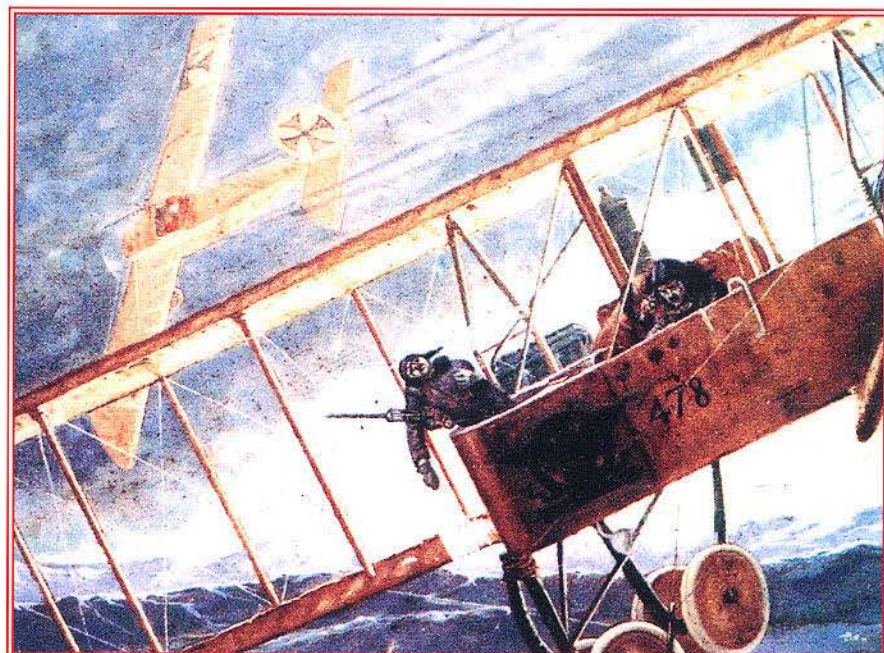
Its promoters were a group of Officers from the Specialist Brigade and some important scientists and aristocrats. In 1907 the Aviators' Club was founded in Rome and, in 1908 the "Società Italiana d'Aviazione" was set up in Milan.

In 1909 also the Italian Touring Club started taking an interest in air navigation, soon followed by the Automobile Club of Italy. The Aero Club of Italy was born in November 1911 and assembled all the powers of the other associations concerning flying licences, aeronautical propaganda and the constitution of voluntary aeronaut and aviator corps in support of national defence.

(6) Carlo Piazza was born in Busto Arsizio in 1871 and died in Milan in 1917 of a disease contracted in the



in 1860 and was commissioned Second Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps in 1880. From 1890 to 1915 commanded the Specialist Brigade. In 1911 was selectively promoted to Colonel and in 1915 was a Brigadier General. In war, Gen. Mori commanded the Engineer units of the 1st Corps and, later, those of the 6th, 5th, 9th and 8th Army. In November

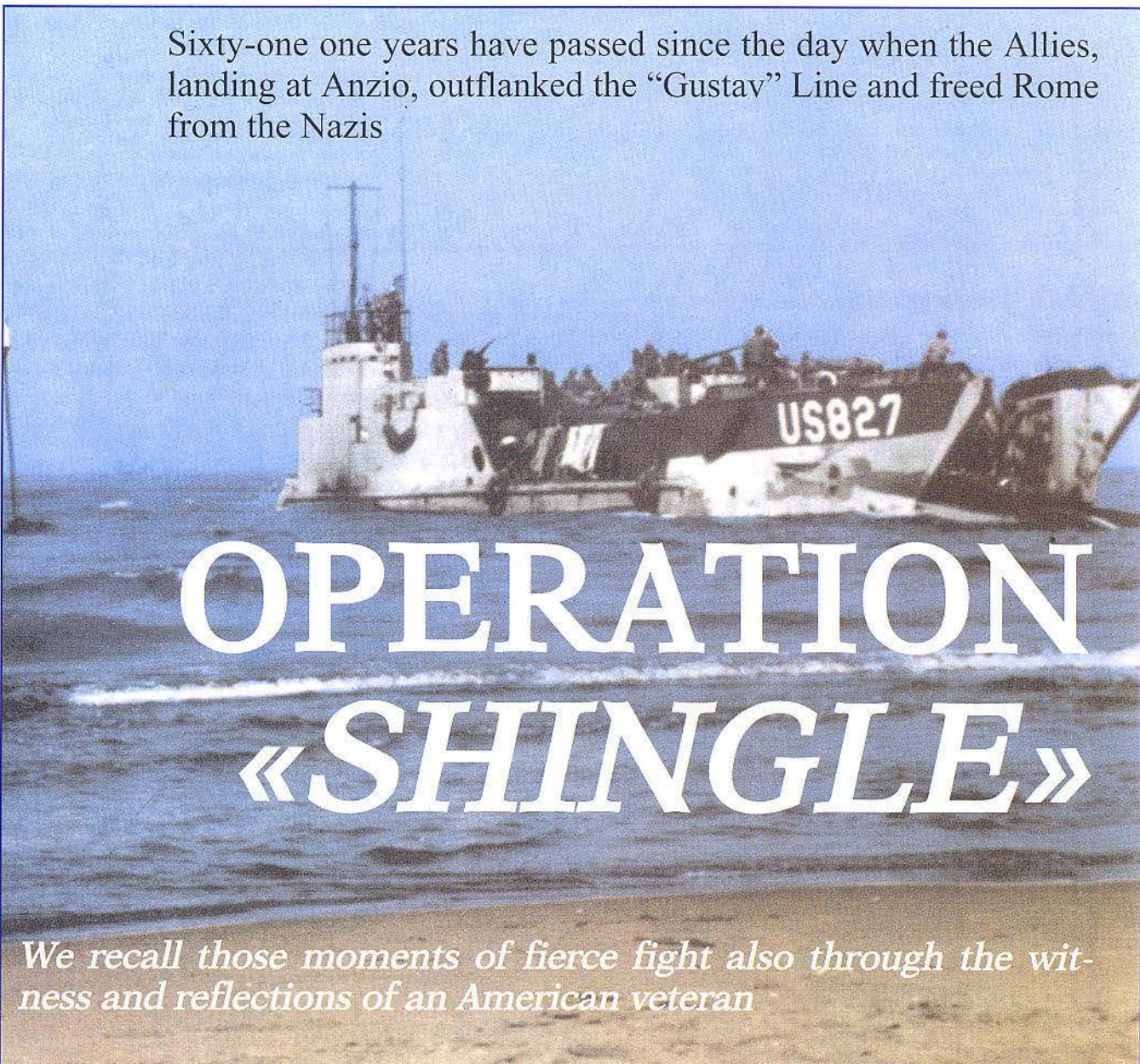


co Forlanini, a former Lieutenant in the Engineer Corps, had succeeded in making the first helicopter to rise in the air by means of a steam engine conceived and built by himself.

(4) D'Annunzio, "The Poet", had flown for the first time in 1909, on a Curtiss-type airplane, during the International Air Race, held in

war. An Artillery 2nd Lieutenant in 1888, he was a pioneer of aviation. During the Libyan campaign, he carried out 38 flying missions, earned the Knight's Cross of the Military Order of Savoy and was promoted Major for War Merit. In the war against Austria-Hungary he earned two Silver Medals for Military Valour.

Sixty-one one years have passed since the day when the Allies, landing at Anzio, outflanked the “Gustav” Line and freed Rome from the Nazis

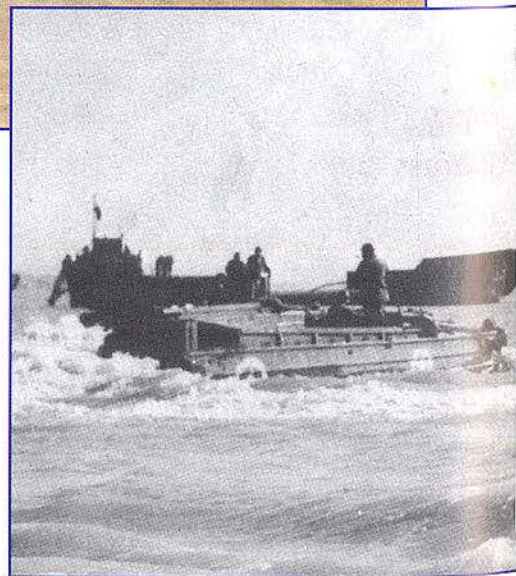


OPERATION «SHINGLE»

We recall those moments of fierce fight also through the witness and reflections of an American veteran

by Claudio Morino *

When British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was informed that the troops landed between Anzio and Nettuno on January 20, 1944 had been locked in a pocket and were fighting to avoid being thrown back into the sea, he understood that his plans for a rapid conquest of Central-Eastern Europe through the Italian peninsula were falling through. Thus, the American plan for a large landing on the French coast gained ground, and Stalin could perceive the possibility of heading quickly for the heart of Europe, exploiting the different perspectives of the Allies.





name "Shingle". The plan envisaged the employment of two divisions plus some armoured units; the force would reach the Laticum hills and wait for the arrival of the Fifth Army, which was blocked at Cassino. Thus the purpose of the landing was to cut German supplies to the Gustav Line hinged on Cassino, and, at the same time, lay the foundations for a huge pocket where all German Divisions north of Rome would be entrapped.

THE PREPARATION

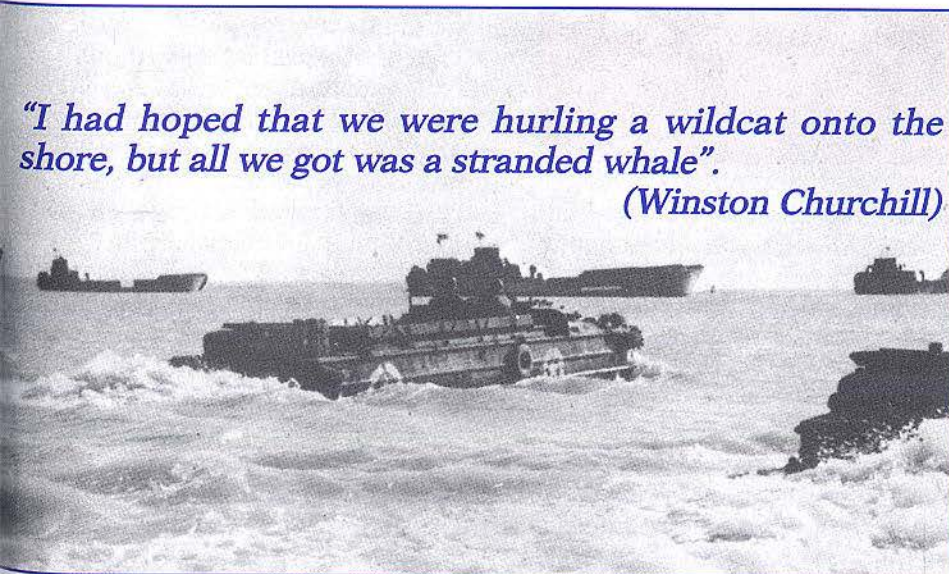
General Mark Wayne Clark, Commander of the Fifth Army, entrusted the operation to the Corps of General John Lucas, who had under his orders the 3rd US Infantry Division (Gen. Lucian Tr-

The plan about the landing on the Anzio and Nettuno littoral was worked out in a historical moment, when Great Britain and the United States were discussing the priority to be attributed to the already open Mediterranean-Italian front, vis-à-vis the Western-French one, still in a project phase. This was the reason for many missed opportunities, battles not won and for the loss of a lot of materials, equipment and, above all, men. The landing, fixed for January 22, 1944 was given the code



"I had hoped that we were hurling a wildcat onto the shore, but all we got was a stranded whale".

(Winston Churchill)



uscott), the 1st British Infantry Division (Gen. William Penney), the 751st US tank battalion, the 46th British "Royal Tank" battalion, the 504th and 509th US Paratrooper Regiments, the 2nd British Commandos Brigade (43rd and 9th Commandos), the 615th Ranger Force (3 battalions), the 36th Engineer battalion, the 83rd Chemical Battalion, plus Division-level artillery units and supports.

General Lucas, on the basis of the orders and recommendations of his direct superior and the allied Intelligence Services (which expected a very strong German reaction in the very first days after the land-

ing), kept huge forces in reserve. In particular, Clark ordered Lucas to consolidate immediately after reaching the first objectives, in order to push back possible enemy attacks. Actually, these worries were justified by what we call today "lessons learned", which the Allies had been taught by the problems they had encountered in the previous landing at Salerno. Furthermore, a prudent conduct was also suggested by the last report of the allied Intelligence Services on the enemy troops deployed in the Rome area. This document anticipated that, against the beachhead, the Germans would immediately send numerous units, including armour, stationed in Northern Italy and coming mostly from the Gustav Line.

As a matter of fact, the information contained in this and preceding reports lacked the necessary completeness, due to their hasty compilation. For instance, the Al-



THE LANDING

Albeit incomplete, the reports – and a careful analysis of the ground – should have suggested more appropriate tactics, different from those that were adopted.

In substance, two Divisions were not realistically enough to ensure

ing a free hand to the IV Corps which was going to land more to the north. But the "Gustav" proved to be a particularly hard bastion, and the Allies had to go through a difficult stalemate, characterized by a high degree of wear and tear, both physical and psychological.

Besides having the by-then solid control of the air space, the Allies, before landing, succeeded in paralysing the enemy reconnaissance in the Anzio-Nettuno area with effective air raids which allowed the naval convoy sailed from Naples and Salerno to approach undisturbed the Pontine coast and arrive near the shore in the night between 21 and 22 January 1944. At the moment of the landing at Anzio, the Germans had no significant units in the area since they were all engaged on the front, more to the south.

Thus the Allies landed without meeting practically any resistance. The only effective opposition to their action was carried out by some elements of the 29th *Panzer-grenadiere*n Division. Thus the surprise effect was fully achieved.

THE BATTLE

The 3rd US Division landed on a beach called "X-Ray" between the city of Nettuno and Torre Astura, a State-property area.

The Ranger Force and the 509th Paratrooper Regiment landed near

THE FIRST SPECIAL SERVICE FORCE

Employed in Italy for a long time, this unit, which belonged to the Special Forces, consisted of U.S. and Canadian personnel, particularly trained for hand-to-hand fighting, for using explosives and infiltration techniques, also by airdrops. It took part in many night operations, earning the nickname of "Devil's Brigade".

It was first employed for the conquest of the Aleutian Islands, in Northern Pacific, and then transferred to the Italian front with the 5th Army, just in time for the attack against the "Gustav" line. On February 1, 1944, it participated in the landing at Anzio, taking up position on the south of the beachhead.

It was one of the first units entering Rome on June 4, 1944 and was later redeployed in southern France.

lies had not noticed the movement of at least two German Divisions from the Rome area towards southern Latium.

These shortcomings were actually the result of the culpable underestimation made by the allied Commanders, who were certain that their unquestioned superiority in equipment and personnel could make up for any possible difficulty.

the achievement of the intended goals. They could have probably been sufficient to reach Rome if, before landing, they could have been sure that there were no German troops in the area fixed for the operation.

The Allies started to engage the Gustav line some days before the landing, exactly on January 12, with the purpose of attracting the German reserves to the area, leav-



Above and left.

An Allied unit landing on the beach of Anzio.

the port of Anzio, while the British troops went ashore, with no opposition, on the beach of today's Lavinio, north of Anzio. In a very few hours about 36,000 men were landed, together with 3,200 vehicles and an enormous amount of supplies. The allied losses on D-day (the landing day) were light: 13 killed, 97 wounded, 44 captured or missing. An LCI (Landing Craft Infantry) was sunk. 227 Germans were taken prisoners. But the initial favourable situation was not exploited, owing to the persisting worry about a possible rapid intervention of strong German reserves. Thus, the orders of the IV Corps were not changed and, in the days immediately after the landing, the allied troops were busy with the consolidation of the partial objectives and limited themselves to sporadic actions towards the interior.

While waiting for reinforcements (2) the Anglo-American units tried some offensive forays towards Cisterna and Campoleone, which were going to be used as springboards for the jump on to the Alban Hills.

The Germans were holding strong positions almost impossible to take. The attacks of the 3rd US Division and the 1st British Division were unable to break the defensive lines facing the two cities.

Actually the Germans, who initially were numerically inferior, succeeded in a very short time in reducing this unbalance of forces thanks to the inflow of reinforcements and were able to neutralize every attempt by the Allies to penetrate in depth. In particular, the German defensive deployment managed to avoid the allied breakthrough by splitting up into a number of fire centres realized through the fortification of every house and every village, with the employment of armour, antitank weapons, self-propelled guns and infantry, all supported by artillery. On February 1, General Alexander and General Clark agreed on the fact that the enemy preparations were foreboding a strong German counterattack. Thus it was necessary to take a defensive attitude, so Lucas issued his orders in this sense.

The allied units entrenched themselves, waiting for the German attack. In the small conquered area, the Allies, at the end of February, could count on no less than 4 reinforced Divisions, for a total of more than 70,000 men, 508 guns, about 350 tanks and over 30,000 tons of materials. Despite this great deployment of forces it was already too late to carry out offensive operations.

On the contrary, at the beginning of February, the enemy was firmly convinced of the possibility of achieving a good result, driving the allied forces back into the sea. The

Commander of the Fourteenth German Army, General Hans Georg von Mackensen, after receiving the available reinforcements, prepared the counterattack against the beachhead.

THE GERMAN REACTION

The German offensive took place in three phases. The first (3-4 February) and only successful one, resulted in the elimination of the British salient on the road to Albano and the re-conquest of Aprilia. The second (16-20 February) envisaged an advance aimed at breaking the allied lines along the Albano-Anzio road and the third (February 28-March 2) consisted of an attack against the allied defensive lines along the "Mussolini" canal.

But General Lucas' mandate was about to expire. In everybody's opinion he had not only damaged the offensive with his excessive hesitation, but now his VI Corps risked being driven back into the sea. General Truscott, replaced by General O' Daniel as Commander of the 3rd Division, was appointed Deputy Commander of the VI Corps, awaiting to replace Lucas.

The situation on the field became confused, with a sequence of attacks and immediate counterattacks. The Allies were obviously in a state of crisis and were fighting for the very survival of the beachhead. A retreat was now impossible. Meanwhile the Germans, even if they were also at the end of their strength, were continuing with the successful tactics of infiltrating at night, protected from air raids and artillery observers. It was only thanks to the support of the 1st Armoured Division that the attacks were at first reduced and then stopped. But, owing to the heavy losses, it became necessary to halt the attack and withdraw, in order to reorganize the forces. The Allies held fast and with support from the artillery forced the enemy to retreat. One morning the German



tanks repeatedly tried to break through along the road to Albano, but did not succeed. For the Allies the worst was over. On February 19 it became clear that the battle for the possession of the Anzio-Nettuno beachhead had been won by the Allies. The XIV German Corps was close to exhaustion and certainly could not keep an offensive thrust similar to that carried out during the last three days. Von Mackensen had not succeeded in driving the Allies into the sea and this was perhaps the only victory they could claim in the fights on the Anzio-Nettuno beachhead.

THE LIBERATION OF ROME

Awaiting the resumption of the Anglo-American offensive against the Gustav Line, both opponents started a patrolling activity in order to control the enemy. This situation ended when the Fifth Army along the coast, and the II Corps and the French Expeditionary Corps in the interior, succeeded in overcoming the tough German resistance on the Gustav Line, between May 11 and 12. On May 18, after the conquest by the Polish Corps of Cassino and the stronghold constituted by the ruins of its towering abbey, the Allies were able to enter the Liri valley and head for Rome along the ancient Appia and Casilina consular roads. On May 24 the II Corps took Terracina and joined the VI Corps, which had been locked up for four months on the Anzio

beachhead. Therefore it was the bulk of the Fifth Army that "freed" the VI Corps, and not the other way around as originally planned.

The VI Corps began its offensive on May 23, and on June 4, 1944 the American troops entered Rome, ending at last a long odyssey started on January 24 with the constitution of the beachhead on the Pontine littoral.

TAKING STOCK

The report of the History Office of the US Army (3) on the landing at Anzio ends with words of praise for a great allied victory. This appreciation, if addressed to the tenacious action of the VI Corps is certainly well deserved. Otherwise, it was not justified, considering that the original objective was not achieved. In practice, it is a recognition of the heroism of those who remedied a situation which had been endangered by wrong evaluations. Only after four months, thanks to the allied units arriving from the shattered Gustav Line, the VI Corps was able to join these forces, as was originally planned, and reach the less important of the pre-established objectives. Moreover, the interruption of the German supply lines, which could have hastened the fall of the Gustav Line, was never achieved.

General Lucas, who had been replaced in his command a month earlier, did not have the satisfaction of seeing the victory won in the

spring by his men. His replacement, after the effective defence carried out in February, was the result of the harsh criticism addressed from many quarters to this General who, according to his superiors, with his prudent movements had shown what General Henry Maitland Wilson had called the "Salerno complex". On the other hand, it should be observed that also after Lucas' replacement the situation remained unchanged for three more months.

The containment of the violent German attacks was rightly considered a great victory of the US VI Corps, but it was not sufficient, since the goals of the landing at Anzio were not achieved.

To think of landing a Division at Anzio (they actually became two) in order to head for the Hills *because once the Casilina and Appia were blocked, General Albert Kesselring would not dare to keep his positions at Cassino* (4) was too optimistic and probably due to the euphoria of the moment, which led to underestimate the potential and capabilities of the Germans, although they had already shown on many occasions that they could react with great swiftness and energy to every move of the Allies.

The events demonstrated that not even four strongly reinforced Divisions were able to approach the objectives or at least to reach the small towns of Cisterna and Campoleone.

The plan of the Allies was not adequate to the forces available. The manoeuvre scheme was too bold and did not consider that in order to seriously threaten the Germans and, by landing at Anzio (i.e. more than 100km behind the enemy lines), to compel them to withdraw, the forces employed were in any case insufficient. It was not considered that, for the Germans, the communication line along the coast (the Appia) was not indispensable, and to block the Casilina at Valmontone (in the hinterland) a much larger force would be necessary. Also it was not foreseen that

by subtracting a portion of the landing Corps from the XV Army Group (5), the forces on the Cassino front would be dangerously weakened and that was where the Allies had been unable to crush the enemy resistance. In substance, there were two blocks very far from each other, each block lacking suf-

Facing page.
A phase of the landing.

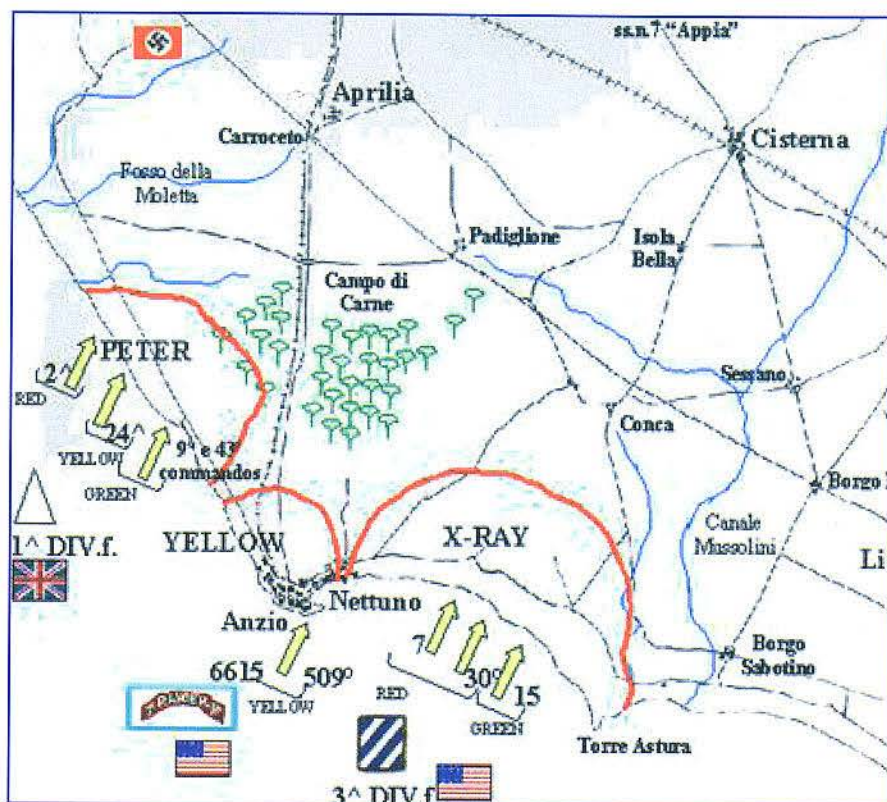
Right.
The line reached on January 22, 1944 (D-Day).

Below.
General John Lucas, Commander of the VI Corps



ficient forces to decide the battle. Thus the Allies were playing in the enemy's hands, since the Germans had maintained the capability of manoeuvring by internal lines and of rapidly supplying both fronts.

Nevertheless, the Allies' inertia in the advance towards Rome was, and still is, imputed by many to General Lucas. He was in fact singled out as the one and only responsible for the stalemate (albeit it would be more correct to speak of a German defensive victory). In particular he was accused of not having taken the initiative right away, of not having "dared" to venture towards Rome or the Alban Hills on the very first days after the landing, since the Germans did not have significant forces in the area.



THE ALLIED POSITIONS

Churchill was an untiring and convinced supporter of a policy of intervention in the "soft belly of Europe" and had strongly insisted on an operation in Italy in order to strengthen the slow climbing up the peninsula, silencing at the same time Stalin's pressing requests to open a "second front". But the British Prime Minister had been farsighted in perceiving that if the Allies did not prevent the Red Army from occupying Eastern Europe, the area would fall from the Nazi to the Communist orbit (as actually happened). For this well-grounded reason he prepared to intervene in Europe with the objective of choosing the shortest way to Berlin, occupying as many States as possible and, above all, cutting the road to the Soviet army.

The Americans were not always in agreement with Churchill, having selected a softer and more compliant line towards the Kremlin. Hence the contrasts between London and Washington. The former was mindful of the vital importance of the Mediterranean theatre, while

the latter was a dogged supporter of landing in France.

The landing at Anzio was conceived following the British insistence, on condition that, at the end of the operation, top priority would be given to the landing in Normandy.

It was therefore necessary to hurry, although – owing to the urgency – the amphibious operation was deprived of the necessary intelligence, an essential prerequisite of any military operation. As a matter of fact, some agents were dispatched to the area, in order to get information on the enemy, only a few days before the landing. Their reports arrived when the forces to be landed had already been decided and only a small number of new measures could be taken. Among other things, the report wrongly assumed a strong enemy reaction already in the first days of the operation. This aspect, besides raising doubts on the advantages of the operation, in any case should have entailed a reconsideration of the forces to be employed. Obviously they were no longer sufficient to guarantee the success, not even for

A VETERAN'S TESTIMONY



My war adventure, which was to end at Anzio, began at Fort Benning Officers' School, in Georgia. During this phase I volunteered for a special course which envisaged parachuting, alpinism and skiing. Due to a personal passion, I was mostly interested in mountain training. I was lucky and, while with the rank of Lieutenant I was a topography instructor, was transferred to Fort Harrison, near Helena, MT, where I attended a course at the First Special Service Force, a special unit formed by American and Canadian volunteers.

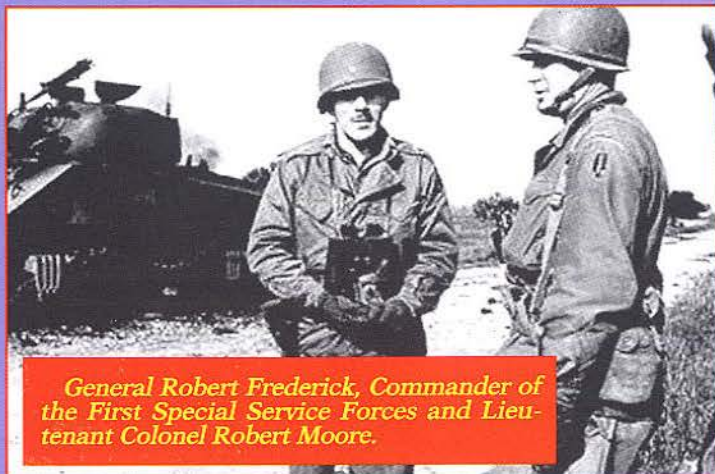
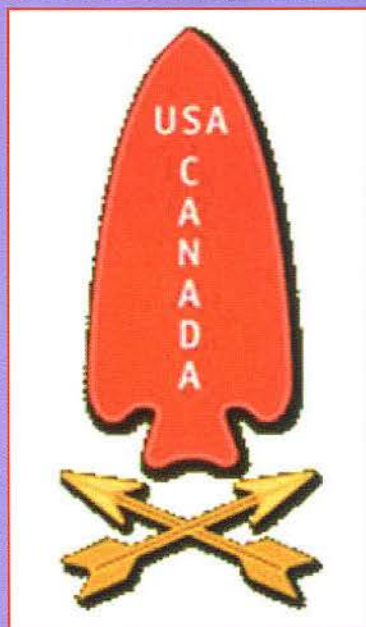
I took part in the landing as a member of the 1st Special Force, 1st Battalion, 1st Regiment, and was taken prisoner by the Germans during a reconnaissance operation. This happened in March 1944, my unit held the southern end of the allied beachhead and was responsible for the territory between Torre Astura and the road connecting Nettuno and Cisterna di Latina (whose name at the time was Cisterna di Littoria). I was captured during one of the frequent night patrolling activities while, in a position to the rear-right of the patrol, I was trying to figure out the origin of some sounds I had just heard.

The four German soldiers who seized me looked very smart. In particular I was impressed by their perfect knowledge of the ground and the passages through the minefields. Oddly enough, they did not blindfold

me and I could see the town of Latina (Littoria at the time), something that later on turned out to be very useful to our artillery. I was interrogated in a small two-story house, a kind of Command Post, by a Captain Ulrich. He spoke English rather well, but soon lost his patience since I continued to tell him only my name, rank and serial number. His superiors probably needed information very badly, because he looked nervous and kept shouting. He hit me violently on the throat with a stick and this made me unable to speak for some weeks. Luckily, soon after this, the British artillery started firing and everybody ran to the shelters, leaving me guarded by a single soldier. He was visibly scared by the explosions and I took advantage of his distraction to hit him and escape, but not before tearing off one of the maps hanging on the wall. I remained a long time hidden in the shrub while the enemy tried to recapture me. After a day of wait I could move at last and I met another former prisoner. The

second day I was wounded in a leg by a

splinter. This prevented me from continuing in my attempt to go back to the friendly lines, together with my adventure companion, whom I never saw again. Remained on my own, I spent the night in a barn and the third day I ran into a friendly patrol led by Sergeant Erickson. Immediately after the mortars started firing and I was carried to our lines at Anzio, where I was embarked on a ship and went to Naples, where I stayed for two weeks at the US Military Hospital.



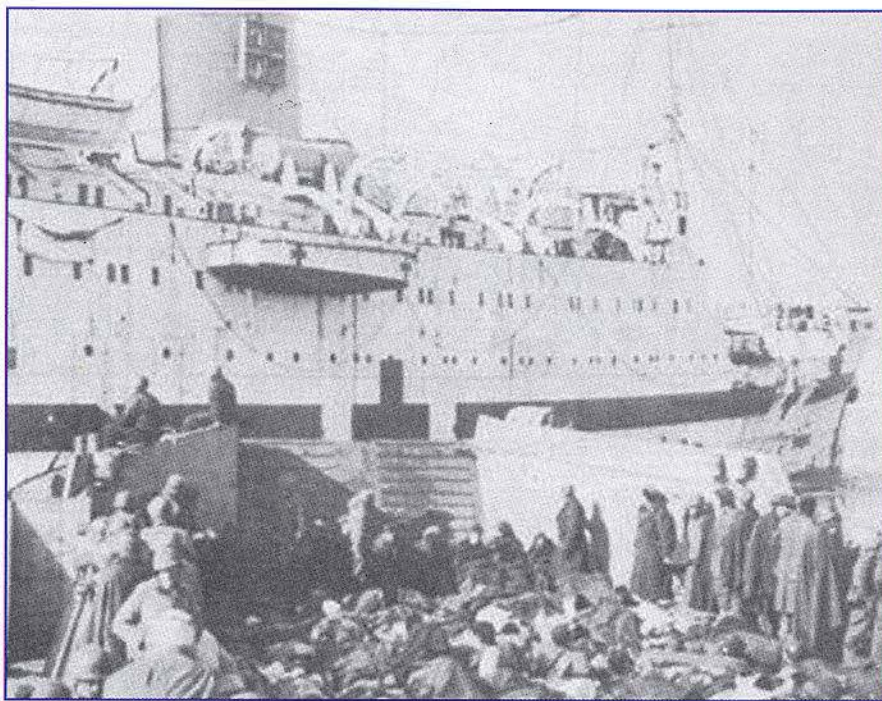
General Robert Frederick, Commander of the First Special Service Forces and Lieutenant Colonel Robert Moore.

Captain Mark Radcliffe

just the landing phase. Even if, luckily, the landing turned out to be successful, Lucas could not have at his disposal enough residual forces to reach the Alban Hills. On the contrary, with an obvious overestimation of the VI Corps' capabilities, the two Divisions envisaged by the initial plan were considered sufficient for the expansion of the beachhead, even if they had to face an enemy concentration which was believed superior.

In view of these expectations, at Anzio it would have been better to have a daring and resolute Commander, capable of completing the landing in any case and evaluating rapidly the conditions necessary for a penetration into the Alban Hills.

Lucas was chosen by Clark, who certainly knew his character and



Above.
Wounded soldiers being evacuated and transferred on the "St David" hospital ship.



Left.
A destroyed allied tank near Aprilia.

was probably sure that he was not going to take too many initiatives (Clark later maintained that Lucas was the only general available at the time) or possibly he wanted a capable but methodical Commander, who was not going to run the risk of landing and penetrating with scarce forces, as had been the case at Salerno, where the contingent risked being driven back into the sea. With these premises, and above all with the written words he had received, Lucas did what was in his power considering his difficult situation and the scanty forces at his disposal. Clark himself had urged him not to repeat the mistakes made at Salerno, where the insufficient forces landed had seri-

ously risked being thrown back into the sea, had the guns of the ships at anchor not intervened.

THE SALERNO COMPLEX

The "Salerno Complex" and Lucas' character could not certainly produce the "wildcat" for which Winston Churchill had been waiting so much. On learning that the VI Corps was unable to break through and in fact risked to be defeated, he understood that his idea of the Mediterranean as the main theatre of operations was in danger and did not hesitate to blame Lucas, replacing him with General Harold Rupert Alexander (British

Commander above Clark).

The latter, who had only had a few days for preparing the landing (whose date was fixed only on December 28) was not sure of the success of the operation and in his diary recorded his worries. In particular, it clearly emerges that Alexander wanted an unconventional and aggressive action, while Clark urged not to make the same mistakes as at Salerno and to be very cautious. On the other hand, Clark himself was very confident that his Fifth Army would break through the Gustav line at Cassino and quickly reach the troops landed at Anzio.

Nevertheless the Germans, albeit taken by surprise, reacted very promptly and succeeded in encircling the Anzio bridgehead and keeping the Gustav line.

Lucas, who had been wanted by Clark, was replaced because he was considered responsible for not hav-



Left.
A German "Tiger" tank near the beachhead.

Below.
General John Lucas and his direct superior, General Mark Clark.

Facing page.
The Campo di Carne railway bridge, limit of the deepest German penetration.

Allied troops in the streets of Anzio.

Evacuation of wounded soldiers at the port of Anzio

lines and by the vulnerability of the port of Anzio be able to withstand

ing exploited the scarce German resistance in the first days of the landing by moving (with just two Divisions) towards the Alban Hills.

Actually very little responsibility can be attributed to him. Like his superiors, he could not imagine that the German resistance in the first two days was going to be so weak. Thus he preferred, in the light of the events at Salerno, the intelligence reports and, above all, the directives and orders from his direct superiors, to consolidate a defensive position, instead of uselessly exposing himself to the counterattacks he feared would take place during his advance towards the Alban Hills and Rome. When the situation became clear, it was already too late. In short, considering the situation, the landing could not achieve all the goals expected by the Allies. As a matter of fact, not only was the VI Corps blocked a few kilometres from the beach but from January to April the allied forces in the Gustav Line sector unsuccessfully tried three times to break through the enemy defences (6). It is true that the landing at Anzio had drawn huge German forces (about eight Divisions) which had been taken away from other sectors, but it is also true that the landing Corps gathered a force of approximately seven Divisions (7) plus several units not included in those Major Units. Any consideration on the employment of these



Divisions at Anzio or in the battle of Cassino is out of place, but certainly the very development of the operations challenges the soundness of the initial strategic plan. The offensive of May 1944 belied the theory according to which the VI Corps should have unblocked the stalemate of the front at Cassino. On the contrary, it was precisely the breach in the "Gustav" that broke the balance that had been created at Anzio-Nettuno (8).

SOME CONJECTURES

Let us imagine for a moment a rapid advance of the IV Corps and the attainment of the Alban Hills, with the effectives of about three Divisions strongly supported by air forces and artillery. Would this very long deployment, characterized by easily vulnerable communication

the inevitable enemy counterattack? In substance, the Germans would certainly have concentrated their forces in what they considered the weakest point of the VI Corps deployment, probably causing an improbable break, with dramatic consequences, far more serious than those produced by the "Salerno complex".

In the light of this reflection, Lucas' figure probably takes on a different profile. Probably he realized the incongruity of the plan but – the only blame attributable to him – was not strong enough to object. He actually accepted it without protest and this obedient behaviour cost him and his men very dearly.

CONCLUSIONS

With the landing at Anzio the IV Corps, besides succeeding in block-

ing the German counteroffensive, engaged about eight enemy Divisions during a phase of the war when Germany was beginning to have serious difficulties in terms of human resources and materials. But from another perspective (probably more objective and realistic) this operation can also be considered a German victory, because the VI Corps, which was supposed to force the German troops on the "Gustav" to a hasty withdrawal, was put on the defensive from the very first days. There was no shortage of politico-strategic consequences. Churchill saw the decline of his strategic plans aimed at playing down the need of a second front in Europe (operation "Overlord" in Normandy) which, on the contrary gained even more strength until its concrete realization, to the detriment of the Italian front which became secondary, causing a grievous prolongation of the war until the last days of the III Reich. □

*Major,
A/A Artillery
Tng & Exp Centre

NOTES

(1) The 29th and the 90th.

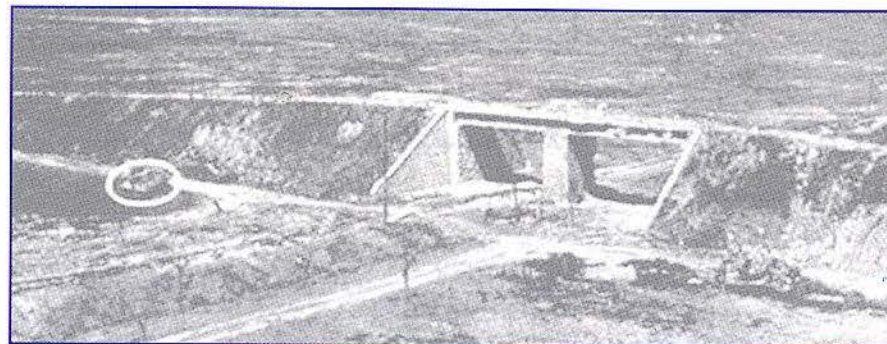
(2) The landing was completed by January 23 at 1600 hrs; the 45th US Infantry Division and the US 1st Armoured Division arrived on the 27th.

(3) "Anzio Beachhead", Historical Division, Department of the Army.

(4) Directives issued by Gen. Alexander to the 5th Army. In his orders, Gen. Clark requested the VI Corps to "advance on the Alban Hills". (S. Morrison, "History of US Naval Operations in WW II").

(5) The US 45th and 1st Armoured Division. The other two Division (British) were coming from other sectors.

(6) The landing at Anzio calls to mind one of the manoeuvres most dear to Napoleon: the one from the rear of the enemy (albeit in this case it was preceded by an amphibious operation). But Napoleon maintained that an encircling manoeuvre, conceptually very simple, is actually very complex and delicate since for it to succeed one must consider very



carefully direction, forces and security. Thus Napoleon preferred to encircle the enemy army with the bulk of his forces, leaving the minor forces in front. At Anzio the Allies did exactly the opposite. The final outcome, according to Napoleon, depended on the possibility of cutting the enemy's communication lines. In this regard, also von Clausewitz wrote: *what profit can the attack obtain from the possibility of encircling the enemy if from such an attack cannot derive any particular benefit? In strategy an encircling attack cannot be considered a factor of victory if its effects on*

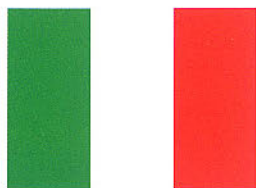
the lines of communication are not taken into account.

(7) Four Divisions by the end of January (US 3rd, 45th, and 1st Armoured and the 1st British Infantry Division); five in February (the British 56th, replaced in March by the 5th); six in March (US 34th); seven Divisions for the May offensive (US 36th).

(8) In May the strategic situation of the Allied manoeuvre plan had radically changed and it was necessary to have the 5th US Army to make a breakthrough in order to "help" the operations at Anzio-Nettuno.



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO



Il Trattato sulle Armi Convenzionali, di Giorgio Scarchilli ed Emanuele Massara (pag. 2).

La Convenzione è uno strumento legislativo flessibile, capace di concatenare le norme sul controllo degli armamenti ai principi etici del diritto umanitario internazionale. Le inutili sofferenze causate dall'utilizzo improprio delle armi sono il fulcro su cui ruotano le limitazioni e il divieto di impiego sanciti dai Protocolli. Purtroppo, dopo poco più di quattro lustri dall'entrata in vigore, gli esiti conseguiti sono scoraggianti.

Nuove analisi e prospettive irachene, di Andrea Margelletti (pag. 14).

Per favorire la stabilizzazione del Paese, la comunità internazionale dovrebbe continuare il processo politico in corso, proseguendo nello sviluppo della sicurezza e ultimando la ricostruzione sociale e materiale. Gli aspetti sui quali maggiormente puntare potrebbero essere tre: il coinvolgimento delle tribù; un ruolo più attivo e primario dell'Unione Europea; una Costituzione federale in grado di garantire allo stesso modo tutte le componenti sociali, privilegiando il ruolo e la visibilità che democraticamente spetta loro.

Politica industriale, di Bruno Tabacchi (pag. 34).

L'attuale fase di congiuntura, che peraltro interessa pure i Paesi dell'Unione Europea, si riflette in vari settori. Difesa compresa. Importanti risultano quindi le politiche dei governi, miranti al recupero, alla stabilità e allo sviluppo dell'economia. Attualmente l'Italia, così come l'Unione Europea e i suoi Stati membri, sono impegnati a individuare soluzioni e rimedi per agevolare il ritorno di un ciclo economico favorevole. Per il nostro Paese, gli ultimi dati relativi all'andamento del prodotto interno lordo segnalano la necessità di individuare interventi specifici. Però solamente attraverso un'assunzione di responsabi-

lità da parte di tutti, dalle classi dirigenti alla società civile, l'andamento congiunturale potrà essere invertito. Quello che non serve, tuttavia, per uscire da questo momento particolare, è la sfiducia che sfocia nell'immobilismo.

L'Uzbekistan infuoca l'Asia Centrale, di Osvaldo Baldacci (pag. 44).

L'Uzbekistan insieme a Kazakistan, Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan e Tagikistan, è una delle nazioni post sovietiche della regione. Nel Paese centro-asiatico, che ha notevoli risorse naturali ed è ancora alla ricerca di democrazia, persistono povertà e crisi economica, unitamente a collasso delle infrastrutture e del sistema produttivo. Scarsamente organizzata è l'opposizione, priva com'è di personalità di spicco e poco radicata su un territorio sensibile al diffondersi dell'integralismo islamico e luogo di confronto tra superpotenze. Il cammino verso la democrazia, l'apertura a un Islam non violento e alla libertà religiosa, passando attraverso l'affermazione dei diritti umani, resta quindi l'unica strada percorribile. Naturalmente coinvolgendo tutte le realtà, dai gruppi etnici ai rappresentanti dei clan, dai coltivatori di cotone ai burocrati, dai rappresentanti religiosi ai movimenti politici laici. Questo va però accompagnato da uno sviluppo economico tangibile e dal sostegno, concreto ed evidente, della comunità internazionale.

La riorganizzazione dell'Esercito tedesco, di Hans Otto Budde (pag. 58).

I nuovi scenari politico-strategici hanno avuto grande influenza sulla *Bundeswehr*. E, infatti, in itinere un processo di razionalizzazione che porterà le forze terrestri ad assumere un ruolo più incisivo nella prevenzione e gestione delle crisi e nella lotta al terrorismo internazionale.

Di queste e di altre problematiche ci parla il Capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito tedesco, Tenente Generale Hans Otto Budde.

Informare, comunicare, promuovere, di Daniela Bracco (pag. 68).

L'Esercito, portatore di una condizione atipica, deve sfruttare al meglio gli strumenti mediatici per acquisire consenso e rilanciare i valori di unità e solidarietà nazionale.

La «Teoria dei Giochi» utile ausilio professionale, di Giovanni Semeraro (pag. 76).

Per secoli gli studiosi hanno cercato di trasformare l'arte militare in una scienza esatta e di inquadrare le decisioni strategiche in una struttura di funzioni matematiche. A tal fine, la «Teoria dei Giochi» costituisce un nuovo approccio mutuato dal mondo economico. In tale teoria, senza alcun significato ludico, si fa riferimento a una situazione in cui le decisioni di più soggetti sono interdipendenti: quando uno prende una decisione deve anche valutare le mosse altrui. Più in particolare, il vantaggio di ciascuna scelta non dipende solo dalla propria decisione, ma anche da altri soggetti. Come comunemente accade nei conflitti militari, dove le scelte sono simultanee e indipendenti.

Sminamento tecnologico, di Mario Tarantino (pag. 84).

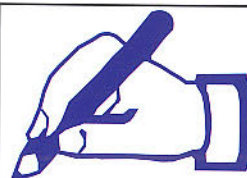
Il meglio della tecnica può oggi essere usato per prevenire danni gravi alle persone. In particolare: le metodologie basate sulle radiazioni elettromagnetiche e i sensori chimici. Questi ultimi consentono la pronta rivelazione dell'odore emesso dagli ordigni esplosivi. Ma possono essere di grande aiuto anche la fisica nucleare e, persino, le unità cinofile.

Le Ali delle forze di terra, di Filippo Cappellano (pag. 96).

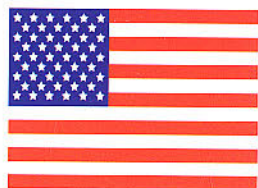
L'Aviazione dell'Esercito, che ha numerosi compiti di supporto alle operazioni terrestri, ha una lunga storia e grandi tradizioni. Dopo essere stata inserita per breve tempo nell'Arma di Cavalleria, dal 2004 è tornata a essere una specialità autonoma. È costituita da nove reggimenti di volo e di sostegno logistico, oltre a reparti minori autonomi e a una specifica Scuola. Equipaggiata con aerei di collegamento ed elicotteri da trasporto, ricognizione e attacco, l'AVES dispone di una delle più consistenti flotte aeree delle Forze Armate e dei Corpi Armati dello Stato.

Operazione «Shingle», di Claudio Morino (pag. 108).

Appena il Primo Ministro britannico Winston Churchill fu informato che le truppe sbarcate, il 22 gennaio 1944, tra Anzio e Nettuno erano state chiuse in una sacca e combattevano per non essere rigettate a mare, comprese che i suoi piani di rapida conquista dell'Europa centro-orientale,



passando per la penisola italiana, stavano naufragando. Si affermava, così, il progetto americano di un grande sbarco sulle coste francesi. Per Stalin si profilava la possibilità, sfruttando le diverse ottiche alleate, di puntare velocemente al cuore dell'Europa.



The Treaty on Conventional Arms, by Giorgio Scarchilli and Emanuele Massara (p. 2).
The Convention is a flexible instrument, which can link together the norms on armaments control and the ethical principles of the international humanitarian law. The unnecessary sufferings caused by the improper use of arms are the cornerstone of the limitations and prohibition of employment sanctioned by the Protocols. Unfortunately, after more than two decades from the enforcement of the Treaty, the results are discouraging.

New Analyses and Prospects in Iraq, by Andrea Margelletti (p. 14).
In order to foster the Country's stabilization, the international community should continue the political process under way, pursuing its development and security and completing the social and material reconstruction. The attention should mainly focused on three aspects: involvement of the tribes, a more active and primary role of the European Union and a

federal Constitution that can equally guarantee all components of society, emphasizing the role and visibility to which they are democratically entitled

Industrial Policy, by Bruno Tabacchi (p. 34).

The present unfavourable economic situation, which is prevailing also in the Countries of the European Union, affects several sectors, including Defence. Therefore the Government policies, aimed at rescuing, stabilizing and developing the economy, are particularly important. Italy, together with the EU and its member States, is engaged in finding solutions and remedies apt to facilitate the return of a favourable economic cycle. As regards our Country, the latest data on the trend of the GDP signal the need to find specific measures, but only through the assumption of responsibilities by all, from the leading class to society as a whole, it will be possible to reverse the negative trend. What is certainly not needed in this particular moment is lack of confidence, which easily turns into inactivity.

Uzbekistan Inflames Central Asia, by Osvaldo Baldacci (p. 44).

Uzbekistan, together with Kasakhstan, Kirghizistan, Turkmenistan and Tadzhikistan, is one of the region's post-Soviet Nations. This Central Asian Country, rich in natural resources and still in search of democracy, is troubled by poverty and economic problems, made worse by the collapse of infrastructure and productive system. The opposition is poorly organized, lacks eminent personalities and is scarcely rooted in a territory that is sensitive to the spreading of Islamic fundamentalism being, at the same time, a place of confrontation between superpowers. The progress towards democracy, the overture to a less violent Islam, religious freedom and the affirmation of human rights are therefore the only practicable way. Obviously, all realities must be involved, from the ethnic groups to the representatives of the clans, from cotton growers to government officials, from religious representatives to lay political movements. All this, though, must be accompanied by a tangible economic development, and be concretely and clearly supported by the international community.

The Reorganization of the German Army, by Hans Otto Budde (p. 58).
The new politico-strategic scenarios

have greatly influenced the Bundeswehr. As a matter of fact, through the rationalization process under way, the land forces will assume a more incisive role in the prevention and management of crises and in the fight against international terrorism. These and other problems are examined by the Chief of Staff of the German Army, Lieutenant General Hand Otto Budde.

To Inform, Communicate and Promote, by Daniela Bracco (p. 68).

The Army, bearer of an atypical condition, must exploit at best the instruments provided by the media, in order to acquire a favourable consensus and relaunch the values of unity and national solidarity.

The «Games Theory», a Useful Professional Aid, by Giovanni Semeraro (p. 76).

Students have strived for centuries to transform the art of war into an exact science and to frame strategic decisions within a structure of mathematical functions. To this end, the «Game Theory» is a new approach borrowed from the economic world.

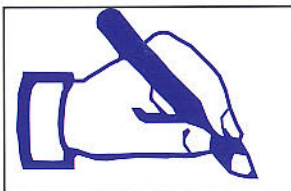
This theory, with no «playing» meaning, refers to a situation where the decisions of several subjects are interdependent: when one takes a decision, he must also evaluate the moves of the others.

In particular, the advantage of a choice does not depend only on one's own decision but also on other subjects. This, in fact, generally happens in military conflicts, where choices are simultaneous and independent.

Technological Demining, by Mario Tarantino (p. 84).

Today the best technical finds can be used for preventing serious damages to persons. The methods based on electromagnetic radiations and chemical sensors are of particular importance. The sensors permit a rapid detection of the smell emitted by explosive devices. Also nuclear physics and even canine units can be of great help.

The Wings of the Land Forces, by Filippo Cappellano (p. 96).
The Army Aviation (AVES) has numerous tasks in support of land operations.

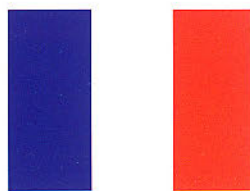


SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO

It has a long history and great traditions. For a short period of time it was included in the Cavalry, but since 2004 has been again an autonomous Speciality. It consists of nine regiments, with their flight and logistic support units, plus some minor formations and a special School. With its liaison airplanes and its transport, reconnaissance and attack helicopters, AVES commands one of the most numerous air fleets of the Armed Forces and the Armed Corps of the State.

Operation «Shingle», by Claudio Morino (p. 108).

When British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was informed that the troops landed between Anzio and Nettuno on January 20, 1944 had been locked in a pocket and were fighting to avoid being thrown back into the sea, he understood that his plans for a rapid conquest of Central-Eastern Europe, through the Italian peninsula, were falling through. Thus, the American plan for a large landing on the French coast gained ground, and Stalin could perceive the possibility of heading quickly for the heart of Europe, exploiting the different perspectives of the Allies.



Le Traité sur les Armes conventionnelles,

**par Giorgio Scarchilli
et Emanuele Massara (p. 2).**

La Convention est un instrument législatif flexible associant les normes sur le contrôle des armements et les principes éthiques énoncés par le droit humanitaire international.

C'est justement à la lumière des souffrances inutiles provoquées par l'usage impropre des armes que les Protocoles prévoient des contraintes et des interdictions qui en limitent l'usage. Malheureusement, quatre lustres après son entrée en vigueur,

les résultats sont fort décourageants.

Nouvelles perspectives en Iraq, par Andrea Margelletti (p. 14).

Pour favoriser le processus de stabilisation du pays, la communauté internationale devrait poursuivre le processus politique entrepris, tout en maintenant son engagement en vue du rétablissement de la sécurité et de la reconstruction sociale et matérielle. Pour ce faire, trois aspects s'avèrent importants: la participation accrue des tribus; l'attribution d'un rôle fondamental et plus actif à l'Union européenne; une Constitution fédérale visant à offrir les mêmes garanties à toute la population, en privilégiant le rôle et la visibilité que la démocratisation attribuera à ses composantes sociales.

Politique industrielle, par Bruno Tabacci (p. 34).

Le secteur de la Défense ressent lui aussi le contrecoup de la conjoncture qui caractérise actuellement les pays de l'Union européenne. Aussi les politiques des gouvernements visant à la reprise, à la stabilité et au développement de l'économie s'avèrent-elles très importantes à cet effet. Actuellement l'Italie, ainsi que l'Union européenne et tous ses Etats membres, s'emploie à trouver des solutions et des remèdes susceptibles de favoriser la reprise d'un cycle économique favorable. En ce qui concerne l'Italie, les chiffres sur la marche du produit interne brut mettent en évidence le besoin de définir des actions spécifiques. Or la conjoncture défavorable ne saurait s'inverser sans la responsabilisation de l'ensemble de la population, tant des classes dirigeantes que de la société civile. Pour surmonter cette situation difficile il faudra éviter toute méfiance portant à l'immobilisme.

L'Ouzbékistan enflamme l'Asie centrale, par Osvaldo Baldacci (p. 44).

L'Ouzbékistan est, avec le Kazakhstan, le Kirghizistan, le Turkménistan et le Tadjikistan, l'une des nations post-soviétiques de l'Asie centrale. Le pays, riche en ressources naturelles, est encore à la recherche de la démocratie et traverse une crise économique caractérisée par la pauvreté et la détérioration des infrastructures et du système de production. Sur le plan politique, l'opposition est insuffisamment organisée, faute d'une figure politique brillante, et peu enracinée dans un territoire où l'intégrisme islamique et les affrontements entre superpuissances semblent

facilement prendre pied. Le processus de démocratisation et l'acceptation d'un islam non violent ainsi que de la liberté religieuse, à travers l'affermissement des droits de l'homme, représentent le seul chemin possible que devra emprunter, cela va sans dire, l'ensemble de la population, des groupes ethniques et des représentants des clans, aux cultivateurs de coton et aux bureaucrates, en passant par les représentants religieux et les mouvements politiques laïques. Ce processus devant être accompagné d'un développement économique tangible et de l'appui concret de la communauté internationale.

La réorganisation de l'Armée allemande,

par Hans Otto Budde (p. 58).

Les nouveaux théâtres politico-stratégiques ne sont pas allés sans influencer la réorganisation de la Bundeswehr. Aussi, un processus a-t-il été entamé en vue de la rationalisation des forces terrestres, lesquelles joueront un rôle accru dans le cadre de la prévention et de la gestion des crises ainsi que dans la lutte contre le terrorisme international.

C'est là l'un des nombreux thèmes abordés par le Général de division Hans Otto Budde, Chef de l'Etat major allemand.

Informar, communiquer, promouvoir,

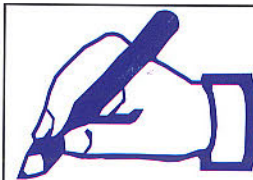
par Daniela Bracco (p. 68).

Porteuse d'une condition atypique, l'Armée doit exploiter au mieux les ressources médiatiques en vue d'obtenir le consensus et de relancer les valeurs liées à l'unité et à la solidarité nationales.

La Théorie des jeux: une aide professionnelle fort utile, par Giovanni Semeraro (p. 76).

Les chercheurs se sont efforcés des siècles durant de transformer l'art militaire en une science exacte et d'encadrer les décisions stratégiques dans une structure de fonctions mathématiques. A cet égard, la «Théorie des jeux» représente une nouvelle approche empruntée à la sphère économique.

Cette théorie, dépourvue de toute signification ludique, se rapporte à une situation caractérisée par l'interdépendance des décisions prises par plusieurs sujets: lorsqu'un sujet prend une décision, il doit



tenir compte et évaluer l'action d'autres sujets impliqués. En particulier, l'avantage présenté par une décision n'est pas lié seulement à celui qui décide, mais il dépend également d'autres facteurs extérieurs. Tel est le cas, généralement, des conflits militaires, où les décisions sont simultanées et interdépendantes.

Déminage technologique, par Mario Tarantino (p. 84).

La technique offre aujourd'hui ce qu'il y a de mieux pour ce qui est des moyens visant à prévenir les atteintes graves aux personnes. Parmi ceux-ci, il convient de signaler, en particulier, les méthodologies basées sur les radiations électromagnétiques et les senseurs chimiques. Ces derniers permettent en effet la détection de l'odeur se dégageant des explosifs. La physique nucléaire et même les unités cynophiles s'avérant tout aussi utiles à ces effets.

Les Ailes des Forces terrestres, par Filippo Cappellano (p. 98).

La Force aérienne de l'Armée, qui fournit un appui précieux aux opérations terrestres, tire son orgueil d'une longue histoire et de grandes traditions. Après avoir fait partie, pendant une courte période, de l'Armée de la Cavalerie, elle redevient, en 2004, une spécialité autonome. Elle compte actuellement 9 régiments aériens et d'appui logistique, outre des unités mineures autonomes et une Ecole spécialisée. Equipée d'avions de liaison et d'hélicoptères de transport, de reconnaissance et d'assaut, l'AVES dispose de l'une des flottes aériennes les plus importantes des Forces armées et des Corps armés de l'Etat.

Operation «Shingle», par Claudio Morino (p. 108).

Lorsqu'il apprit que les troupes qui débarquèrent le 22 janvier 1944 entre Anzio et Nettuno avaient été encerclées et luttaient pour tenir la place et ne pas être repoussées dans la mer, le Premier Ministre Winston Churchill comprit aussitôt que son ambitieux projet visant à la conquête de l'Europe centrale et orientale à travers la péninsule italienne avait échoué.

C'est ainsi que s'affermir le projet américain prévoyant un débarquement en masse sur les côtes françaises. Quant à Staline, il entrevit la possibilité de viser le cœur de

l'Europe, tirant le meilleur profit des différentes approches des Alliés.



Das Abkommen ueber die konventionellen Waffen, von Giorgio Scarchilli und Emanuele Massara (S. 2).

Die Vereinbarung ist ein flexibles Gesetzzinstrument in der Lage, die Kontrollmassnahmen der Bewaffnung mit den ethischen Prinzipien der internationalen Menschenrechte zu verknuepfen. Das unnoetige, von der unangebrachten Waffenbenutzung verursachte Leid ist der Hauptgrund der Verbote der Protokolle. Trotzdem sind aber nach kaum vier Jahrfrunften Gueltigkeit dieser Anordnungen die Ergebnisse enttaeuschend.

Neue Analysen und Perspektiven fuer den Irak, von Andrea Margelletti (S. 14).

Um die Stabilisierung des Landes zu foerdern, sollte die Internationale Gemeinschaft die bestehende politische Entwicklung und eine zunehmende Sicherheit, sowie die soziale und materielle Rekonstruktion unterstuetzen. Man sollte sich im wesentlichen auf drei Punkte konzentrieren: die Einbeziehung der Staemme; eine aktive Hauptrolle der EU; die Schaffung einer foederalistischen Verfassung in der Lage, alle sozialen Einrichtungen, unter Beruecksichtigung der ihr zukommenden demokratischen Rolle, zu garantieren

Industrielle politik, von Bruno Tabacchi (S. 34).

Die aktuelle Konjunkturphase, die u.a. auch die EU-Laender angeht, spiegelt sich in verschiedenen Sektoren, auch in dem der Verteidigung, wieder. Bedeutend sind demzufolge die Politiken der Regierungen im Bezug auf der Wiedererlangung der Wirtschaft, seiner Staebilitaet und Entwicklung. Momentan ist Italien, sowie die anderen EU-Mitgliedsstaaten,

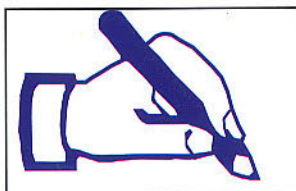
damit beschaeftigt, neue Loesungen und Heilmittel zu finden, um einen neuen Wirtschaftsaufschwung ermöglichen zu koennen. Die neuesten Daten des Bruttoeinkommens ergeben für Italien die Notwendigkeit, besondere Strategien zu entwickeln. Dieses laesst sich jedoch einzig und allein durch das Verantwortungsbewusstsein aller erlangen, bei den Staatsbeauftragten angefangen, und nur so koennte das Konjunkturergebnis geaendert werden. Dieser besondere Zustand fordert ein starkes Zutrauen oder wuerde, im gegenteiligen Fall, zu Immobilitaet fuehren.

Usbekistan entflammt Zentralasien, von Osvaldo Baldacci (S. 44).

Usbekistan gehoert zusammen mit Kasachstan, Kirgisistan, Turkmenien und Tagikistan zu den postsowjetischen Nationen. Das zentralasiatische Land verfügt ueber betraechtliche Naturressourcen. Ungeachtet der Armut und der wirtschaftlichen Schwaeche, einer fehlenden Infrastruktur und Wirtschaftssproduktion, fragt das Land nach Demokratie. Die wenig organisierte Opposition, mit wenig bedeutenden Persoehnlichkeiten, ist auch kaum verbreitet in einem sensiblen Gebiet des islamischen Integralismus, das zudem Interessengebiet der Supermaechte ist. Der alleinige Weg zur Demokratie fuehrte ueber einen friedlichen Islam, ueber die religioese Oeffnung und die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte. Zu beruecksichtigen sind hierbei auch die unterschiedlichen Sozialstaende und Voelkergruppen, vom Baumwollhersteller zum Buerokraten, von den religioesen Vertretern zu den laizistisch-politischen Bewegungen. Dieser demokratische Prozeß muß jedoch von einer realen Wirtschaftsentwicklung und einer konkreten internationalen Unterstuetzung gefoerdert werden.

Die Reorganisation des Deutschen Heeres, von Hans Otto Budde (S. 58).

Das neue politisch-strategische Szenarium hat einen grossen Einfluss auf die Bundeswehr gehabt. Hier gilt es einen Weg zu verfolgen, der es den Landenstreitkraeften erlaubt, eine praezisere Rolle in der Vorbeugung und Bewaeltigung der Krisen und in dem Kampf gegen den Terrorismus einzunehmen. Ueber diese und andere Probleme spricht der Oberbefehlshaber der Deutschen Bundeswehr Generalleutnant Hans Otto Budde.



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Informieren, kommunizieren, fördern,
von Daniela Bracco (S. 68).

Das Heer muss die unterschiedlichsten und ungewöhnlichsten Aufgaben wahrnehmen und insofern auch alle Möglichkeiten zur Verfügung haben, um einen allgemeinen Konsens zu erlangen und Werte wie Solidarität und Nationalzusammenhalt zum Ausdruck zu bringen.

Die «Spiele-Theorie» als nützliche professionelle Hilfe, von Giovanni Semeraro (S. 76).

Jahrhunderte lang haben Forscher versucht, die Militärkunst in eine präzise Wissenschaft umzuwandeln und die strategischen Entscheidungen in ein System von mathematischen Funktionen einzuordnen. Zu diesem Zweck bildet die «Spiele-Theorie» eine der Wirtschaftswelt entlehnte neue Annäherung. In dieser Theorie nimmt man ohne jegliche spielerische Bedeutung, Bezug auf eine Situation, in der die Entscheidungen mehrerer Individuen voneinander abhängen: wenn jemand einen Entschluss fasst, muss er die Bewegungen anderer mitberücksichtigen. Genauer betrachtet hängt der Vorteil jeder einzelnen Auswahl nicht nur von der eigenen Entscheidung ab, sondern auch von anderen Personen. So wie es üblicherweise im Fall von militärischen Konflikten geschieht, wo die Auswahlprozesse gleichzeitig und unabhängig voneinander stattfinden

Technologische Entminung,
von Mario Tarantino (S. 84).

Heute können die besten technischen Instrumente eingesetzt werden, um schweren Personenschäden vorzubeugen. Im besonderen sind das jene Methoden, die auf elektromagnetischen Strahlungen und chemischen Sensoren basieren. Letztere ermöglichen das sofortige Aufspüren der Geruchsstoffe, die von Sprengkörpern ausströmen. Auch die Nuklearphysik und sogar Hundestaffeln können sehr hilfreich sein.

Die Flügel der Landstreitkräfte,
von Filippo Cappellano (S. 96).

Die Luftwaffe, welche vielfältige Aufgaben zur Unterstützung der Operationen zu Lande erfüllt, hat eine lange Geschichte und bedeutende Traditionen. Nachdem sie für kurze Zeit der Kavallerie zugeordnet gewesen war, wurde sie 2004

wieder eine autonome Spezialeinheit. Sie besteht aus neun Flug- und logistischen Unterstützungs-Regimenten, darüber hinaus verfügt sie über kleinere selbständige Abteilungen und über eine spezielle Schule. Die AVES ist ausgestattet mit Verbindungsflugzeugen und mit Transport-Aufklärungs- und Angriffs-Hubschraubern und besitzt eine der größten Luftflotten der Streitkräfte und der staatlichen Armee.

Operation «Shingle»,
von Claudio Morino (S. 108).

Sobald der britische Premierminister Winston Churchill darüber informiert worden war, dass die am 22. Januar 1944 zwischen Anzio und Nettuno gelandeten Truppen in einer Bucht eingekesselt waren und darum kämpften, nicht ins Meer zurück getrieben zu werden, begriff er, dass seine Pläne zur schnellen Eroberung Mittel- und Osteuropas über die italienische Halbinsel zum Scheitern verurteilt waren. So setzte sich das amerikanische Projekt durch, nach dem die französische Küste vom Meer aus erobert werden sollte. Für Stalin zeichnete sich die Möglichkeit ab, die verschiedenen Standpunkte der Alliierten auszunutzen und schnell ins Herz Europas zu zielen.



El Tratado sobre las Armas convencionales,
Giorgio Scarchilli
y Emanuele Massara (pág. 2).

La Convención es una herramienta legislativa flexible, que asocia las normas sobre el control de los armamentos a los principios éticos del derecho humanitario internacional.

Los límites y las prohibiciones en cuanto a la utilización de armas fueron sancionados por los Protocolos a raíz del sufrimiento inútil ocasionado por el empleo impropio de dichas armas.

Lamentablemente, cuatro lustros después de la entrada en vigor de la Convención, los resultados conseguidos siguen siendo desalentadores.

Nuevos análisis y perspectivas en Iraq,
Andrea Margelletti (pág. 14).

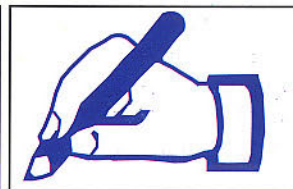
Para facilitar la estabilización del país, la comunidad internacional debería proseguir el proceso político en curso, continuando a fomentar el proceso de seguridad y finalizando la reconstrucción social y material; las actuaciones de mayor interés a estos efectos podrían resumirse de la siguiente manera: involucración de las tribus; fortalecimiento del papel de la Unión europea; definición de una Constitución federal encaminada a ofrecer las mismas garantías a todos los componentes sociales, asegurando a los mismos el papel y la visibilidad que democráticamente les correspondan.

Política industrial,
Bruno Tabacci (pág. 34).

La coyuntura que están experimentando actualmente los países de la Unión europea, se repercute en varios sectores, y entre ellos la Defensa. Resultan importantes, por lo tanto, las políticas de los gobiernos encaminadas a la reactivación, estabilidad y desarrollo de la economía. Hoy día, Italia, así como la Unión europea y sus Estados miembros, se está esforzando en encontrar soluciones y remedios para facilitar la reactivación de un ciclo económico favorable. En lo que respecta Italia, los últimos datos relativos a la marcha del producto interno bruto arrojan la necesidad de definir actuaciones específicas. Sin embargo, sólo a través de la responsabilización de todos, tanto de las clases dirigentes como de la sociedad civil, se podrá invertir la marcha de la coyuntura. Lo que no sirve para salir de esta situación difícil es la desconfianza que lleva al inmovilismo.

Uzbekistán abraza Asia central,
Osvaldo Baldacci (pág. 44).

Uzbekistán es, junto con Kazajistán, Kirguizistán, Turkmenistán y Tadjikistán, una de las naciones pos-soviéticas de Asia central. El país, rico en recursos naturales, todavía se encuentra en una situación de pobreza y de crisis económica caracterizada por el desmoronamiento de las infraestructuras y del sistema productivo. En lo que respecta la política, la oposición



resulta escasamente organizada al no contar con una figura destacada y estar poco arraigada en un territorio donde se asienta fácilmente el integrismo islámico y se enfrentan las superpotencias. El proceso hacia la democracia y la apertura a un nuevo islamismo no violento y a la libertad religiosa, a través de la afirmación de los derechos humanos, representan el único camino a recorrer. Y ello, involucrando a toda la población, desde los grupos étnicos y los representantes de los clanes, a los cultivadores de algodón y los burócratas, pasando por los representantes religiosos y los movimientos políticos laicos. Este proceso tiene que acompañarse de un desarrollo económico tangible y del apoyo concreto de la comunidad internacional.

La reorganización del Ejército alemán,

Hans Otto Budde (pág. 58).

De cara a los nuevos escenarios políticos y estratégicos, el Bundeswehr emprendió un proceso de racionalización según el cual las fuerzas terrestres desempeñarán un papel más incisivo en la prevención y gestión de las crisis y en la lucha contra el terrorismo internacional. De este y otros temas nos habla el Teniente General Hans Otto Budde, Jefe de Estado mayor del Ejército alemán.

Informar, comunicar, promover, Daniela Bracco (pág. 68).

El ejército, caracterizado por representar una condición atípica, tiene que aprovechar de la mejor manera los recursos mediáticos para conseguir consenso y relanzar los valores de unidad y solidaridad nacional.

La «Teoría de los Juegos»: un auxilio profesional útil,

Giovanni Semeraro (pág. 76).

Los estudiosos llevaron siglos tratando de transformar el arte militar en una ciencia exacta y de enmarcar las decisiones estratégicas en una estructura de funciones matemáticas. A este respecto, la «Teoría de los Juegos» constituye un nuevo enfoque inspirado en la esfera económica. Dicha teoría, que nada tiene que ver con el sentido lúdico de la palabra juego, se refiere a una situación caracterizada por la interdependencia de las decisiones tomadas por distintos sujetos: al

tomar una decisión, no se puede prescindir de tomar en cuenta las actuaciones de los demás sujetos implicados. En particular, la ventaja de cada decisión no depende sólo del que la tomó sino también de otros sujetos.

Como ocurre a menudo en los conflictos militares donde las decisiones son simultáneas e interdependientes.

Desminado tecnológico, Mario Tarantino (pág. 84).

Hoy día, la técnica brinda lo mejor en cuanto a medios para precaver daños graves a las personas: las metodologías basadas en las radiaciones electromagnéticas y los sensores químicos. Estos permiten la detección inmediata del olor que se desprende de los dispositivos explosivos. Pero también resultan de igual utilidad la física nuclear e, inclusive, las unidades cinológicas.

Las Alas de las Fuerzas terrestres, Filippo Cappellano (pág. 96).

La Aviación del Ejército, encargada de numerosas tareas de apoyo a las operaciones terrestres, tiene historia y tradiciones antiguas. En 2004, tras formar parte de la Caballería durante un breve periodo, se volvió de nuevo una especialidad autónoma. Cuenta actualmente con nueve regimientos de aviación y de apoyo logístico, además de unidades menores autónomas y su propia Escuela especializada. Equipada con aviones de enlace y helicópteros de transporte, reconocimiento y ataque, el AVES dispone de una de las mayores flotas de las Fuerzas armadas y de los Cuerpos armados del Estado.

Operacion «Shingle», Claudio Morino (pág. 108).

En cuanto se enteró que las tropas desembarcadas el 22 de enero de 1944 entre Anzio y Nettuno habían sido acorraladas y luchaban para mantener su posición, el Primer Ministro británico Winston Churchill se dio cuenta que estaban naufragando sus planes de conquistar rápidamente Europa central y oriental, pasando por la península italiana. Así fue como se consolidó el proyecto norteamericano que preveía un desembarco masivo en las costas francesas. Stalin, por su parte, vislumbraba la posibilidad de conquistar el corazón de Europa aprovechando los distintos enfoques de los aliados.



O Tratado de Armas Convencionais, de Giorgio Scarchilli e Emanuele Massara (pág. 2).

A Convenção é um instrumento legislativo flexível, capaz de encadear as normas sobre o controle dos armamentos aos princípios éticos do direito humanitário internacional.

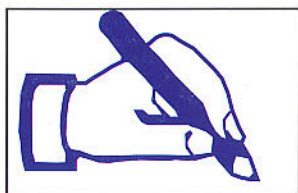
Os inúteis sofrimentos causados pela utilização imprópria das armas são o fulcro sobre o qual giram as limitações e a proibição de emprego decretado pelos Protocolos. Infelizmente, após pouco mais de quatro lustres da entrada em vigor, os êxitos conseguidos são desencorajantes.

Novas análises e perspectivas iraquenas, de Andrea Margelletti (pág. 14).

Para favorecer a estabilização do País, a comunidade internacional deveria continuar o processo político em curso, prosseguindo no desenvolvimento da segurança e concluindo a reconstrução social e material. Os aspectos aos quais principalmente se deve apontar poderiam ser três: o envolvimento das tribos; um papel mais activo e primário da União Europeia; uma Constituição federal capaz de garantir do mesmo modo todas as componentes sociais, privilegiando o papel e a visibilidade que democraticamente lhes compete.

Política industrial, de Bruno Tabacci (pág. 34).

A actual fase de conjuntura, que para além do mais interessa também os Países da União Europeia, reflecte-se em vários sectores, incluindo a Defesa. Importantes resultam, portanto, as políticas dos governos, miradas à recuperação, à estabilidade e ao desenvolvimento da economia. Actualmente a Itália, assim como a União Europeia e os seus Estados membros, estão empenhados em in-



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO

dividir soluções e remédios para facilitar o retorno de um ciclo económico favorável. Para o nosso País, os últimos dados relativos ao andamento do produto interno bruto assinalam a necessidade de individuar intervenções específicas. Mas só através de uma assunção de responsabilidade da parte de todos, desde as classes dirigentes à sociedade civil, é que o andamento de conjuntura poderá ser invertido. O que não é necessário, todavia, para sair deste momento especial, é a desconfiança que desemboca no imobilismo.

O Uzbequistão enfoca a Ásia Central, de Osvaldo Baldacci (pág. 44).

O Uzbequistão ao lado do Kazaquistão, do Kirguizistão, do Turquemenistão e do Tagiquistão, é uma das nações post-soviéticas da região. No país centro-asiático, que tem notáveis recursos naturais e ainda está à procura da democracia, persistem a pobreza e crise económica, juntamente ao colapso das infra-estruturas e do sistema produtivo. Escassamente organizada está a oposição, sendo privada de personalidades de relevo e pouco radicada num território sensível ao difundir do integralismo islâmico e lugar de confronto entre super-potências. O caminho para a democracia, a abertura a um Islão não violento e à liberdade religiosa, passando através da afirmação dos direitos humanos, resta ser, portanto, a única estrada possível de percorrer. Naturalmente envolvendo todas as realidades, desde os grupos étnicos aos representantes dos clãs, desde os cultivadores de algodão aos burocratas, desde os representantes religiosos aos movimentos políticos laicos. Tudo isto vem, porém, acompanhado por um desenvolvimento económico seguro e pelo suporte, concreto e evidente, da comunidade internacional.

A reorganização do Exército alemão, de Hans Otto Budde (pág. 58).

Os novos cenários político-estratégicos tiveram grande influência sobre a Bundeswehr. Está, de facto, em caminho, um processo de racionalização que levará as forças terrestres a assumir um papel mais incisivo na prevenção e gestão das crises e na luta ao terrorismo internacional. Destas e de outras problemáticas nos fala o Chefe do Estado Maior do Exército alemão, o Tenente General Hans Otto Budde.

Informar, comunicar, promover, de Daniela Bracco (pág. 68).

O Exército, portador de uma condição atípica, deve usufruir, pelo melhor, dos instrumentos mediáticos para adquirir consenso e voltar a lançar os valores de unidade e solidariedade nacional.

A «Teoria dos Jogos», útil auxílio profissional, de Giovanni Semeraro (pág. 76).

Durante séculos os estudiosos procuraram transformar a arte militar numa ciência exacta e enquadrar as decisões estratégicas numa estrutura de funções matemáticas. A tal fim, a «Teoria dos Jogos» constitui uma nova aproximação permutada pelo mundo económico. Em tal teoria, sem qualquer significado lúdico, faz-se referência a uma situação na qual as decisões de vários sujeitos são interdependentes: quando um toma uma decisão, deve também avaliar os movimentos dos outros. Mais precisamente, a vantagem de cada escolha não depende apenas da própria decisão, mas também da de outros indivíduos. Como frequentemente acontece nos conflitos militares, onde as escolhas são simultâneas e independentes.

Desminamento tecnológico, de Mario Tarantino (pág. 84).

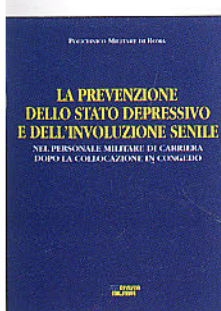
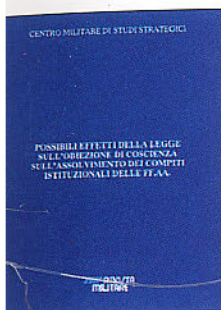
O melhor da técnica pode ser hoje usado para prevenir danos graves às pessoas. Em especial: as metodologias baseadas nas radiações electromagnéticas e os sensores químicos. Estes últimos consentem a imediata revelação do cheiro emanado pelos engenhos explosivos. Podem também ser de muita ajuda a física nuclear e, até mesmo, as unidades cinófilas.

As Asas das forças terrestres, de Filippo Cappellano (pág. 96).

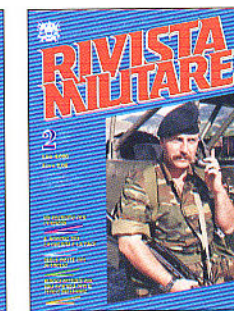
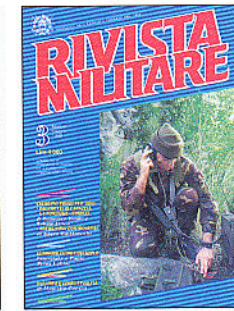
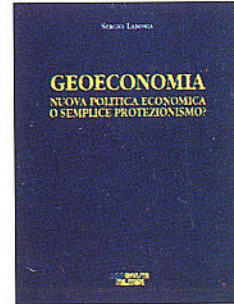
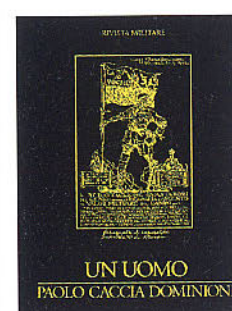
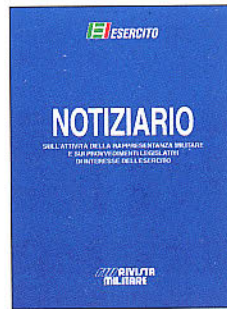
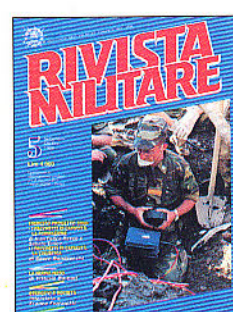
A Aviação do Exército, que tem numerosas tarefas de suporte às operações terrestres, tem uma longa história e grandes tradições. Após ter sido inserida por breve tempo na Arma de Cavalaria, desde 2004 que tornou a ser uma especialidade autónoma. É constituída por nove regimentos de voo e suporte logístico, para além das repartições menores autónomas e a uma específica Escola. Equipada com aviões de ligação e helicópteros de transporte, reconhecimento e ataque, a AVES dispõe de uma das mais consistentes frotas aéreas das Forças Armadas e dos Corpos Armados do Estado.

Operações «Shingle», de Claudio Morino (pág. 108).

Logo que o Primeiro Ministro britânico Winston Churchill foi informado que as tropas desembarcadas a 22 de Janeiro de 1944 entre Anzio e Nettuno tinham caído numa armadilha e combatiam para não serem deitadas ao mar, compreendeu que os seus planos de rápida conquista da Europa centro-oriental, passando pela Península Italiana, estavam a naufragar. Afirmava-se, assim, o projecto americano de um grande desembarque nas costas francesas. Para Staline delineava-se a possibilidade, disfrutando das diversas ópticas aliadas, de apontar rapidamente ao coração da Europa.



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A GREAT MULTINATIONAL COMMITMENT

**A Universal
Democracy**

**The War
Against Terrorism**

**At the Centre of Africa
on the Threshold of Hell**

**Great Mother
Prussia**

ENGLISH EDITION



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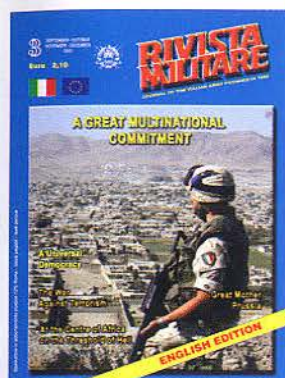
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The Italian Army continues its operations abroad for peace and freedom. In Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans, our soldiers are a sure reference and an example of professionalism and self-sacrifice.

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ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE ARMY

Officers, Noncommissioned Officers, Volunteers, Carabinieri and Civilian Personnel serving with the Army, today, after two years, I am leaving the office of Army Chief of Staff and, at the same time, I retire from active service, at the end of approximately 46 years of military life.

On this occasion, I wish first of all to address my deferential regards to the President of the Republic, who is the synthesis and symbol of the Nation's unity and the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces.

I pay a devoted homage to the War Flag of the Army, to the Banners of the Branches, Corps, Regiments and training Institutes and I address a deep-felt thought to those who lost their life in the performance of their duty, in the Country's service and for the good of the national and international community.

My grateful farewell goes to the Veterans' Associations, for their activity in keeping alive the best military traditions and the highest military values; I am certain that they will find new forms of support for the military personnel and, in more general terms, in the service of the national community.

Finally, I thank the Councils of Military Representation, for their loyal and concrete contribution, and the Auxiliary Corps of the Armed Forces for their precious support to our Units in the manifold activities carried out both at home and abroad.

These two years have been very intense, and I lived through unique human and professional experiences, working side by side with exceptionally skilled collaborators, holding the responsibility and honour of leading the organization I love and to which I devoted my physical and intellectual energy: an exacting period, extremely interesting and full of the many satisfactions you all gave me.

The Army's Organizations and Units have met with the greatest precision and efficiency the very numerous and complex commitments entrusted to us by our Country. Together we have proceeded with the process of transformation and professionalization of our

Service, receiving unanimous attestations of appreciation for a job well done.

The Army professional activity has lived through an extremely concrete page, aimed at reaching the short- and medium-term objectives of primary importance, in view of the transformation under way. I wish to mention, among the various projects, those regarding the knowledge of languages, the improvement of the housing facilities for volunteers, the revaluation of the "combat" function, the special forces, command and control, high-level sports and Veterans' Associations.

Our Units distinguished themselves, in Italy and abroad, under the diligent and skilled leadership of their Commanders at all levels, some of whom have assumed very important international tasks and responsibilities. In the next few days, the direction of three of the four most important missions abroad - KFOR in Kosovo, ALTHEA in Bosnia and ISAF in Afghanistan - will be taken by personnel of our Army: a further demonstration of the high qualitative level expressed by the Service.

These are results appreciated by the Italian people and by the international community and make me proud. They have been made possible by our most precious resource: man! Man, who has been capable of evolving, keeping pace with technology, accepting and leading the transformation and safeguarding the ethical values of his predecessors, which are essential for those who, like us, can be called to use force in the defence of the Country and the maintenance of Peace.

I started my life as an Officer in the Army at the beginning of the sixties, in an organization that was the product of those times, created to meet the needs of a period not easy but full of great expectations. Now I leave a dynamic Service, with problems to solve but also endowed with extraordinary capabilities, which will be the winner in any kind of challenge. It is therefore with feelings of great satisfaction and pride that, in a day very significant for me, I now address you, men and women of the Army. The successes, the appreciation, the growing consideration, the reputation laboriously earned on the field, both in the various Operational Theatres and on the national territory, are the fruits of your work, of your determination, of your passion. Together we have gone through happy moments and lived times of great pain and sorrow but, in the first case, we never boasted and, in the second, we reacted with unity and vigour. It has been a unique privilege to be your Commander and to have you at my side in the thousand daily battles that were indispensable in order to make our Army better, more prepared and more efficient. I am deeply grateful to you for all this and I shall always be!

My sincere thanks go to your families, who follow us with trepidation and affection, sharing our worries and our expectations.

I address a thankful thought to the cities that host our Units, for their affection and collaboration.

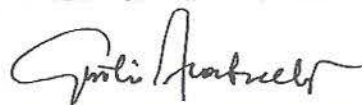
To my successor, Lieutenant General Filiberto Cecchi, to whom I am bound by sincere relations of esteem and friendship, I wish the same joys and satisfactions experienced by me. I am sure that the Army, under his leadership, will continue to grow and improve, performing as best as possible the tasks that our Country will want to entrust it.

To all of you, men and women of the Army, I wish the best of luck.

Long live the Army and the Armed Forces! Long live Italy!

Rome, July 23, 2005

Lieutenant General Giulio Fraticelli
ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF



ORDER OF THE DAY TO THE ARMY

Officers, Noncommissioned Officers, Volunteers, Students at Schools and Training Institutes, Carabinieri and Civilian Personnel serving with the Army! I assume today the office of Army Chief of Staff. I am proud and honoured for this privilege and fully aware of my new responsibilities.

First of all, I wish to address my deferential regards to the President of the Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and highest symbol of the Nation's unity.

I pay homage to the War Flag of the Army, to the Banners of the Units, Institutes and Organizations, and I turn a heartfelt and grateful thought to the Fallen and wounded in the performance of their duty, admirable examples of honour, devotion and allegiance to the Country.

To the Veterans' Associations, irreplaceable link between the Soldiers of yesterday and today, precious custodians of our highest military traditions, goes my sincere appreciation for what they have been doing and - I am sure - will continue to do for the good of the Army.

To the Councils of Military Representation, which carry out a delicate and very useful task, to the Auxiliary Corps of the Armed Forces, more and more integrated within our Units in Italy and abroad, I wish that they will be able to continue to work in the wake of a loyal and fruitful cooperation.

My heartfelt thanks go to my predecessor, Lieutenant General Giulio Fraticelli, for his enthusiasm and professionalism in leading the Army at a moment of great commitments and deep transformations, a period which witnessed, among other things, the transition from conscription to voluntarism. I express him my fraternal wish for a future full of success and satisfaction.

Finally, my grateful and affectionate thought goes to the men and women of the Army who, at home and abroad, both in their activities and in the delicate and risky operations carried out for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, contribute to the establishment of the values and principles on which our Service and our Country are founded. My appreciation and gratitude also go to the tens of thousands of servicemen and civilians of the Army who, unceasingly, modestly and far from the spotlights, offer their precious work in support of the operational units.

We are living through an age marked by great complexity and dynamism, in front of us we have a difficult road that will be arduous sometimes and will not allow us any break. New and hard tasks are already appearing on the horizon, while the reorganization process, which will carry the Army to higher levels of efficiency, readiness and national and international credibility, is proceeding at full speed. Nevertheless we must, and can, look at the future with confidence, owing to our 144 years of history and 346 years of glorious traditions and, above all, to the sense of duty, professionalism and determination of the men and women of our Army.

I encourage the Commanders of all ranks and levels to work with serenity and courage, aware that they are carrying out a function of unequalled importance, and also with the modesty and sensitivity that distinguish those charged with the leadership and employment of other men. You, with your behaviour, are the creditable and true authors of the success of our Army. In me you will always find a staunch and resolute supporter.

It will be a great privilege and a great honour for me to lead you in meeting the challenges of the future. You and I will do it together, in the name of continuity, but also in the sign of openness, modernity and innovation.

Officers, Noncommissioned Officers, Carabinieri and Civilian Personnel serving with the Army, with these sentiments I wish you and your families the best of luck and great satisfactions in your work.

Long live the Italian Army and the Armed Forces! Long live Italy!

Rome, July 23, 2005



Lieutenant General Filiberto Cecchi
ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF

A handwritten signature in black ink, which reads "Filiberto Cecchi". The signature is stylized, with a large, flowing "F" and a cursive "Cecchi".

The point of arrival of a deep-felt
and widespread need

A UNIVERSAL DEMOCRACY

by Giuseppe Romeo *

What stands out in the scenarios of the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as in Sub-Saharan Africa, is the absence of a precise perception of the sense of legality in the world. A perception that cannot be restricted within a national set of laws, but must characterize the world relations in quest of stability.

A value that is realized through the consensus expressed by respecting the common regulations, by sharing rights and opportunities. A universal Democracy that should be the patrimony of diversity.





Above.
"Columbus Day" in New York.



Left.
A New York street.

THE PICTURE

What stands out today in the scenarios of the Middle East and Central Asia, after the horrors of Madrid and Beslan, is the absence of an exact perception in the world of the sense of legality. A perception of legality that cannot be restricted within a set of national laws but which, owing to the multilateral character of world relations



and the strong internationalization process of political, social and economic relations, becomes a universal value.

In this play of political and juridical balances every aspect of human life is no more immune from the destiny of others. In the last years, in fact, the force of right and the right of force have presented themselves as counter-developments of the same dimension, where man, going over the diversities, tries to affirm an order that overcomes the uncertainty of the future.

Nevertheless, today it becomes difficult to imagine an

ineluctable way towards democracy as universal value vis-à-vis a historical process that, in the proliferation of political communities, compels every individual and every institutional entity to deal with the rest of the world.

The "peripheryzation" of the economic and social policies

redefines the humanized space, thus creating systems of cultural proximity that bind cultures which, owing to shared religious, cultural or ethnic linguistic values, are similar in their diversity. For this reason, the sense of legality becomes a necessary perception of the limits of one's liberty in order



The United Nations Building.



Above.
Damascus Mosque.

Right.
Folk-costumes in the Red Square.

to guarantee the liberty of the other, the defence of a culture from the domination of another culture.

THE SENSE OF IDENTITY

Now, in a system where one observes a compression of the nation-State and tries to re-establish a shared international order through supranational formulas, the idea that the sense of national identity has become weaker is not only the outcome of economic globalization. It represents the limit of an apparent internationalization which shifts the terms of the legality of right from the individuality of the national regulations to the individuality of the market. This produces a disorientation within the weak-

er communities, to the detriment of a common will to realize a truly united society. For example, this is where the anti-modernistic reaction of Islam places itself, interposing between universality and individualism.

On the other hand, in an interdependent international system closely linked by web information, the significance of the political communities in quest of their own values, which should help them to find a position within the international reality, represents a way to oppose the economic homologation of globalization and an attempt to retrieve the cultural credit that distinguishes them from the others. Thus, as we don't properly want to agree to Huntington's proposal





about the “clash of civilizations”, predictable per se and antinomic in its theses, it is quite clear, in any case, that the tensions that stem from coexistence refer to incomprehension for lack of communication. A ground of competitive confrontation, where the cultural peculiarities overlap and become conflictive at the moment when a national interest – or the interest of a community – becomes dominant vis-à-vis cooperation. Therefore the problem is to be able to find a new political formula that re-orientes consensus towards a universality of principles from which to draw inspiration, avoiding homologation and emphasizing the diversities in a whole of shared rights and models of governance to be taken as example. On the other hand, in an era that represents the result of the end of the dominant cultures, of collectivist planned totalitarianism and deregulated liberalism, it becomes reductive and dangerous to identify only the market and its laws as the instrument for reconciling cultures. The logics of the market, in fact, are individualistic logics, founded on competitiveness and not on solidarity. For this reason, to assign the task of ferrying the international community towards a universal society only to the globalization process is not the best instrument, unless one decides to homologate all cultures vis-à-vis a prevailing one. An integrated society that does not comprehend the diversities and the differentiations, actually falls into the trap of interethnic conflicts, which are obviously an effect and not a cause of globalization.

Left.

London: the famous Big Ben.



Above.
Tower Bridge.



Left.
London: the City.

In short, what does not guarantee a future to the process of globalization of the markets, as an ideal instrument for reaching political world order based on equilibrium and consensus, comes precisely from the end of the ideologies and organized judgements, which describe, explain, interpret and justify the identity of a community. In the face of such relational dynamics, not even religion gets away with it, since, for example, the attempts at reunification of the Christian models into a fundamental monotheistic orthodoxy cannot but be an effort to spread the common values that can draw the con-



Paris: Place Vendôme.

sensus through which a universalism of faith can be affirmed.

THE CRISIS OF GLOBALIZATION

Nevertheless, although globalization tries to approach objectives of economic growth, thus supporting a balancing process of the international community, it is only through a consensus founded on the recognition of the diversities that an international order will be realized. An order that should overcome the present-day emergency: but this does not seem to be among the results of the internationalization of the markets. Considering the possibility that the State could survive as the highest expression of an institutionalised political community, the present-day emergency

resides in the democratic value's ability to become a function of tolerance and solidarity, respecting a certain and actually exercised right, in a regime of consensus towards the norm and its sanctions. On the other hand, considering the will to join the world more and more together in a multi-confessional and multi-racial political system, any protectionist trend risks to create as many fractures as homologation in globalisation, paradoxically removing even the smallest perception of legality of a thus constituted world order. Without political proposals aimed at forming a consensus based on social behaviours, with converging interests and attitudes combined with the respect of all ideas and of the various professions of faith, it will be hardly possible to remain within the

essential limits necessary to affirm a participation that could overcome the interethnic conflicts. A participation that should further the respect of the diversities and cultures, in a climate of juridical safeguard based on the reciprocity of guarantees that should give a legal value to the protection of rights and the applicability of sanctions.

CIVILIZATION AND CONSENSUS

Proceeding from the foregoing considerations, quoting Huntington becomes almost a duty. But the risk about quoting Huntington too often is that one could believe him. Now, beyond the analyses carried out on the fragility of the borders between civilisations, history



teaches us that every confrontation is, at the bottom, an expression of an "encounter" of civilizations, sometimes violent, or peaceful if in the exchange a common rule is fixed and shared. An "encounter" that represents a manner through which, as no synthesis between different values or interests is realized, one chooses the road of conflict: civil, if internal, or war, if between communities institutionalised into States.

Nevertheless, what escapes Huntington is that the propensity to realize a globalized system assumes the aspects of the risk of assimilation and it is on this point that the possibility of a crisis is realized. In fact, the vulnerability of the Western democracies resides above all in the inability to manage diversity, alternating moments of tolerance with attempts at social and economic assimilation of the minorities. In other words, the problem is not to try to homologate, but to offer social and political models besides the economic ones. Models where every diversity can realize its expectations without upsetting the juridical balance of a community. In other words, by extending legality through consensus and removing any possibility of a crisis.

Actually, precisely the latter aspect represents the moment of maximum crisis of Huntington's theory. If, for example, immigration is today a phenomenon which proves the tendency to affirm a "transversality" of the communities, certainly either the fault lines shift or perhaps we have missed some passage. Reality, despite the possible clash, is after all very much different. Besides the necessity to find

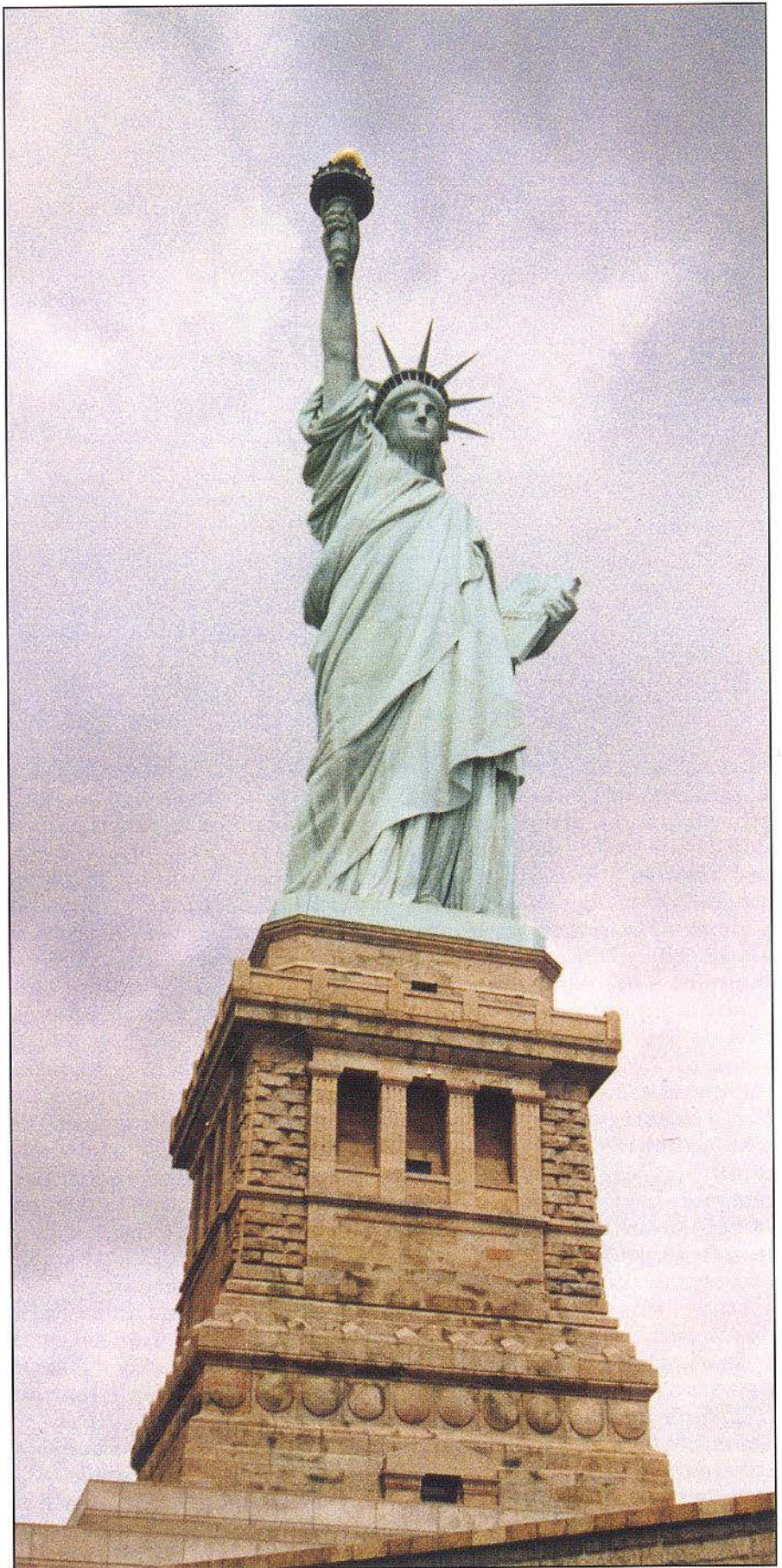
The Eiffel Tower.

better opportunities in the Western world, certainly the reduction of the frontiers to a mere cultural, more than a physical-political, acceptance, causes a progressive shifting of the communities, including the Arab ones, towards a multicultural dimension. A heterogeneous dimension of the social relations, for which the "frontier" concept becomes extremely relative as it is expressed as line of contact, of greater interaction between different ways of interpreting reality, man's experience, everyday life.

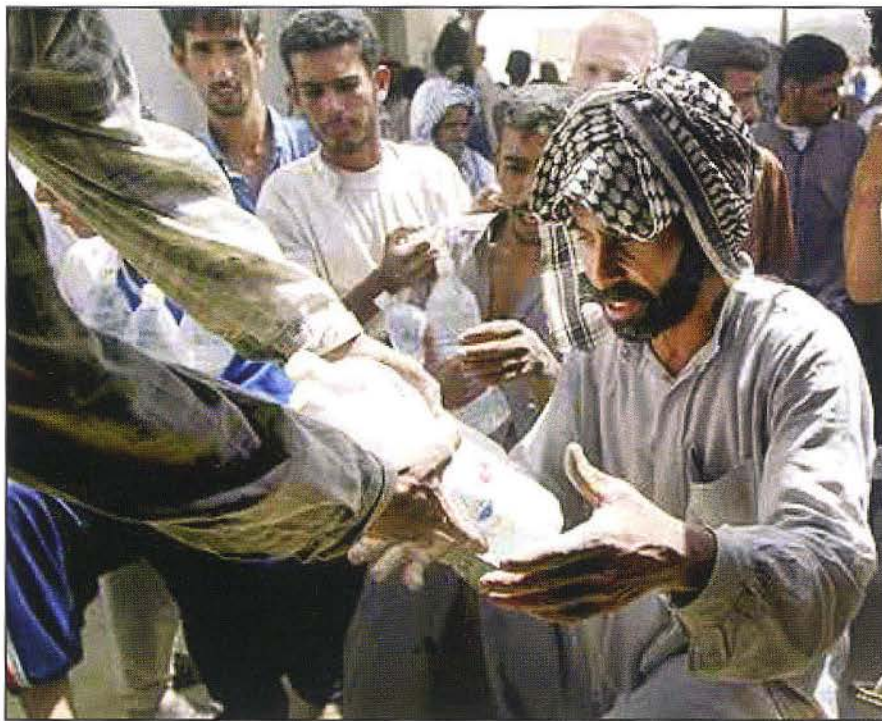
The increase of the flow of immigrants actually shows how much the political weight of the States, all of them, was progressively reduced as the outcome of a permeability of the economic and social systems with which the confrontation can dematerialise in the same logic of the internet.

On the other hand, in the face of a society of immigration, the sensitivity of a government is shown by the level of possible integrability, especially as regards its capability of adaptation and acknowledgement of someone else's rules without pursuing their assimilation. In this regard the only possible question is: is a democratic model compatible with a multiethnic society?

Now, the answer can only be positive for two reasons. First, because the democracy concept itself, in a decision-making and management system of the community, is based on the enhancement of the diversities, respecting and constitutionalizing the ethical-juridical aspects on which human society is built. The second reason is the effect induced by internationalization, since the weakening of the State is favoured by a cultural transversality that limits



The Statue of Liberty.



Distribution of food in Iraq.

the capabilities of action of the dominant community. On the other hand, the democratic formula, in a well-established and contemporary political system, attempts to render the very idea of nationalism a relative concept. This happens at the moment when the process of supranational institutionalisation contributes to amplify the basis of consensus and bring the diversities nearer, trying to avoid polarizations, not only within the single national communities, but also inside the regional communities or in the international community. In a certain sense the same process of progressive unification of Europe answers a similar opportunity/necessity.

Thus, today, in a climate of more and more widespread relations among individuals, the duty of a democratic system is to overcome the aspects of its own and other peoples' marginality, in order to achieve a sentiment of legality that in its

concrete behaviour should express a participative consensus in the political action carried out. Marginality, as a static element, becomes a limit to be surpassed through the conquest of consensus among those layers of legalised immigration in order to overcome a clash of civilizations, trying to find a synthesis of the diversity by safeguarding the differences of the minorities.

Nevertheless, the actual limit of the Western point of view is that of being unable to go beyond the political horizon of development, with no proposals aimed at removing the areas of underdevelopment, and conquer the consensus of the peripheries of the world in order to subtract human and material resources from the multinational of terror.

On the other hand, in the face of multilevel and transnational threats, a limited dimension of the opposition, implemented through a limitation of powers and rights, would not achieve perceptible effects, but produce a decline in consensus with a reduction of the guarantees of liberty and the defeat of any

democratic hypothesis and precisely the most advanced communities would pay for it.

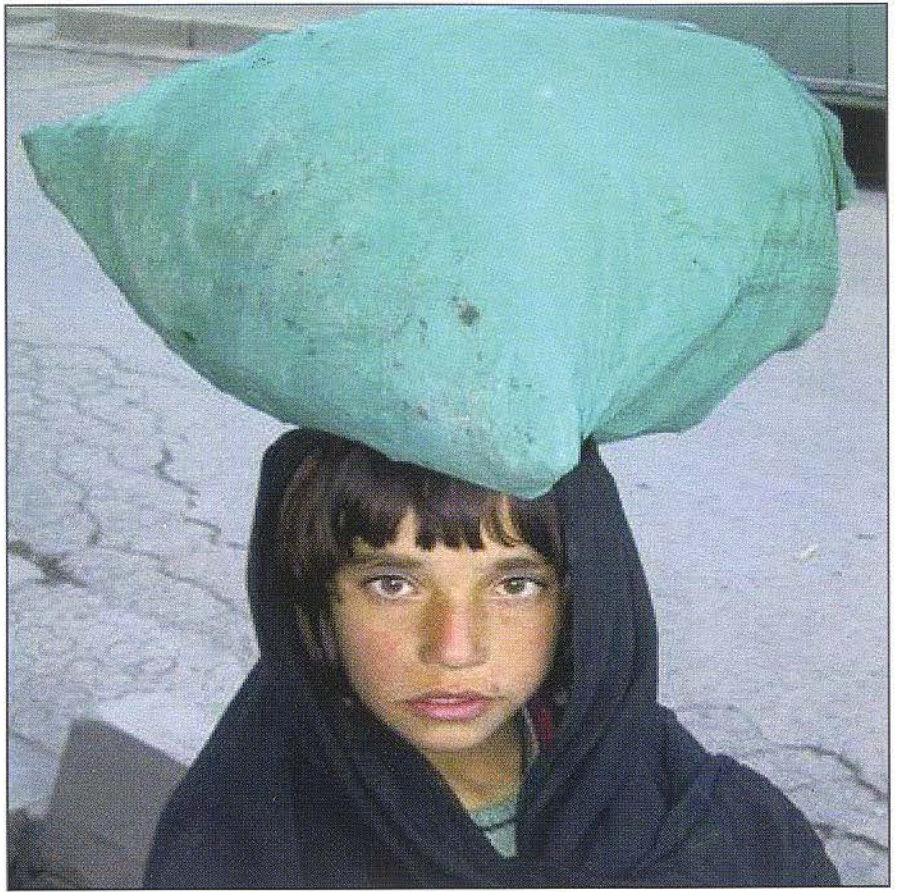
THE FUTURE

The years bridging the 20th and 21st centuries have been particularly interesting for the analysis of the relations between democracy and world order.

All this has undergone an acceleration due to the terrorist escalation. The events of 2001 have remodelled the ways of thinking the internal and international relations, and the transnational connections among the communities, to the point of making thinner and thinner the boundary between war and instability. They have shifted it on a new dimension, where one cannot distinguish what assumes the characters of internationality from what appears almost an internal aspect of a world community taken as a whole. The consequence of all this is that an international order based only on force is no more a feasible proposition. Force alone creates unbalances and shifts the relational terms on a confrontation of power. A confrontation which, dragging along every possible political prospect of growth and life in common, without ensuring a future of stability, obtains the result of subverting an order only to establish in its place another provisional order. A world that tries to find in the force of this or that power its reason of balance ends up by undermining the political growth of the international community and that of the individual national communities, which are becoming culturally and economically closer and closer.

Thus the real problem is again not so much the end of the State but the reorganization of the democratic State as a model of proximity, as institution sub-

sidiary to a democratic model of cosmopolitan governance. With all this, it is not so much a matter of demonstrating that the State is functional to the process of globalization, as to think that the diversity of opportunities is the best way of interacting in a system founded on relations pre-vaillingly cooperative and non-competing. The truth is that, in order to include the other, one needs the consent of the one and of the other. Owing to this, not even Huntington finds his absolution in the reductionism where he sets the future of the world in a hypothetical clash of civilizations, as if a confrontation of diversities were not, per se, a confrontation between different ways of interpreting the economic and political reality. Besides, without going too far, there is not much regarding ideology and very much regarding tradition and religious sentiment that characterizes the way of perceiving reality in the Islamic communities to the point that, in the past, they have been hardly permeable to both the socialist ideology and the capitalistic liberalism. The truth is that the guarantee of the cultural diversities must be aimed at increasing the dialogue, avoiding possible fractures in a system that would ultimately risk homologation. Autonomy, interdependence, self-determination, respect of the universal values safeguarded and guaranteed for all, are the elements that can structure consensus as a political category qualified by participation and by the safeguard of the minorities. For this reason, universalism is not the result of an utopian approach reserved to a few enlightened persons. It must represent the point of arrival of a perception, diffused in the everyday life, of a historical necessity founded on the respect and defence of values such as solidarity and cooperation in observance of the law. In



A little Afghan girl.

defence of values such as democracy, liberty and peace – in their name and only in that sense – can the use of force be legitimated.

A universalism, therefore, which should no more be considered a value belonging to only a part of the world and should not be an expression of a unilateral choice of world governance.

CONCLUSION

In a universal representation of a shared democracy, the consensus becomes the keystone of the new order through which the anxieties of the present and the uncertainties on the future of mankind can be overcome.

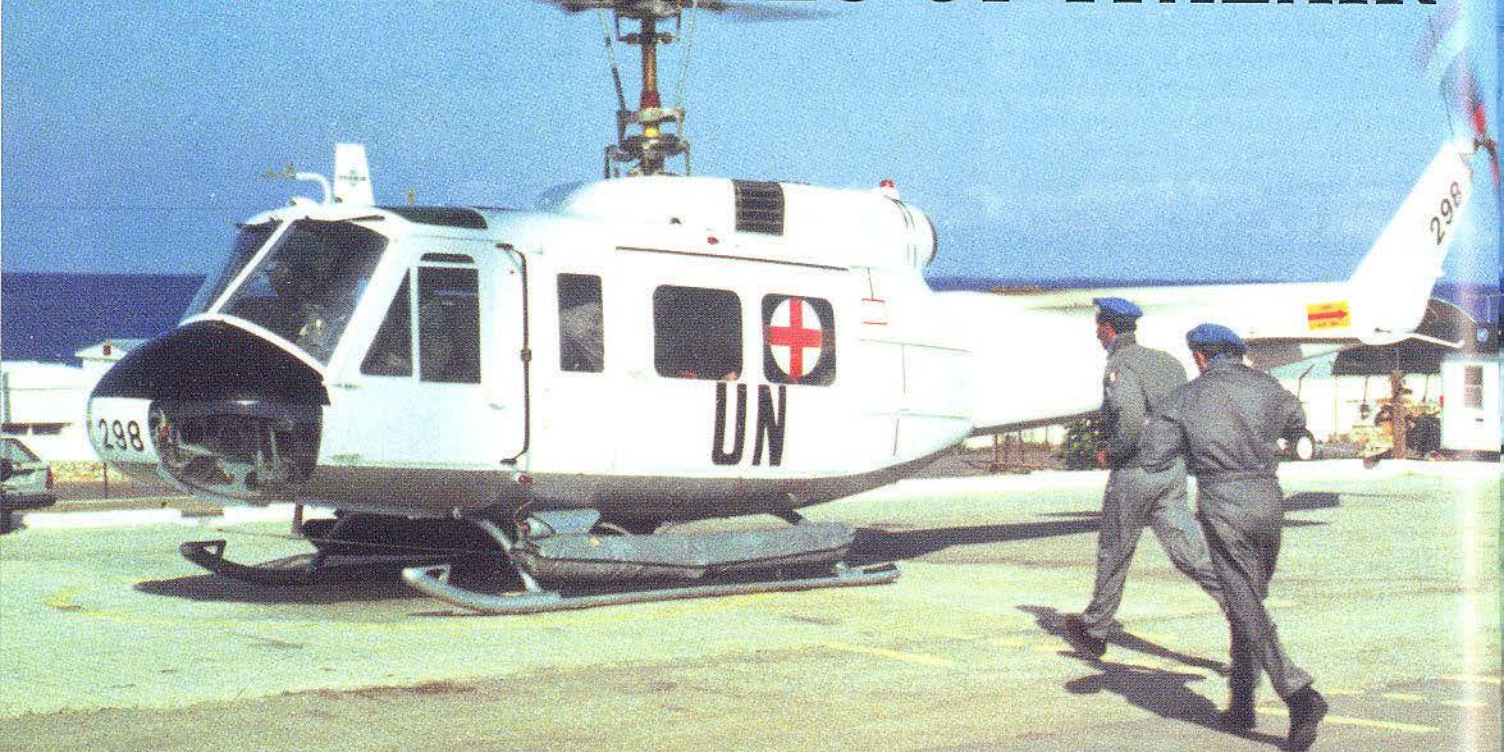
A broadminded outlook needs a counterpart, a contrast, and consensus can only stem

from another consensus, in a progressive overcoming of opposing positions through a process of political synthesis grounded on a dialogue that only the democratic method can guarantee.

Thus, if democracy is incompatible with social inequality – when this means difference of opportunity and exclusion of a person from the participation in the formation of consensus and from the possibilities of growth and access – it becomes physiological to universally consider scarcely enduring a world order built on asymmetric opportunities of political participation and access to the economic development of the communities. And this is the breaking point of any possible and long-lasting equilibrium. □

**Expert in geostrategy*

A JOURNEY TO BEIRUT ON THE ROUTES OF ITALAIR



*A journalist visits the city and our
Contingent in Lebanon. Here is his diary*

by Nello Rega*

"You Italians are very important here in Lebanon. ITALAIR has a determinant role in our mission. Your servicemen are indispensable because they enable us to control the Blue Line from the sky and, furthermore, they are exceptional in the dialogue with the population".

Major General Alain Pellegrini,
French Commander of UNIFIL

Peace, détente, diplomacy, high specialization. This is the synthesis of a meeting anticipated and hoped for. The journalist's curiosity and his wish to describe, once more, truth and concreteness. The journey starts on a hot summer day. Everything is shipshape. The details of the operation and the indispensable notepad are in the suitcase. The airplane of the *Middle East Airline* is ready to take off for a



intrigued looks. Visa, passport control, and the Lebanese adventure begins.

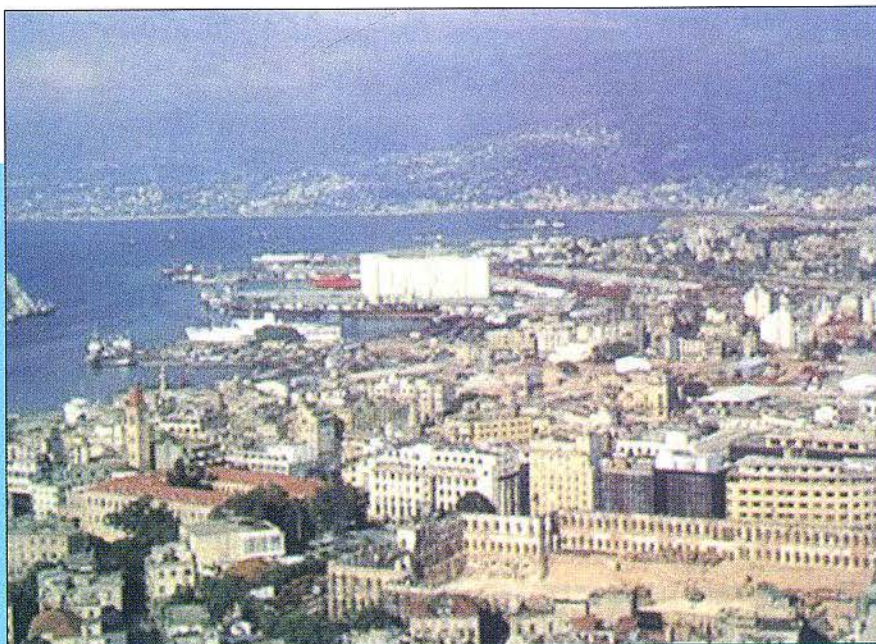
BEIRUT

The landscape that opens before our eyes is a blend of Mediterranean colours and Arab shades. The chaotic and frenetic traffic reminds me of that of the western metropolis. All around, the “advancing new”. Globalization-style buildings,

posters, blow-ups of the politicians who, in the past decades, have made the Lebanese history. The attention is all focused on the election for the new Parliament. It is the first election held without the presence of the Syrian Army.

After a few kilometres, wriggling among road hogs and metropolitan pedestrians, we reach the centre of the town. Restored

Beirut. A view of the city.



ride that I could define as hellish, to say the least. From the Roman skies we head north, destination Milan. We wait an hour here and then off we go, heading south. We fly over Rome again and then the aircraft steers towards the Mediterranean and Beirut. The impact is the same as that met many times before in other Countries of the area. A modern airport, advertisements all over the walls. Surprised and



The medal awarded to the personnel who served with the UNIFIL mission.

buildings and old blocks, still showing the holes made by the bullets of the civil war. On the street-corners, policemen on the alert. The tension is high but, at least apparently, life seems not to realize it. Suddenly we see the main symbol of Lebanon. It tells of the civil wars that have torn the Country apart during 15 years, and reminds of foreign invasions and attempts at colonization. At the centre of Martyrs' Square, a statue embodies blood and violence. The shell holes are still visible. On the corner, an expanse of flowers on a field of asphalt. A few metres away, the tombs of the martyrs of the umpteenth attack against peace. Seven coffins for as many victims of the massacre of Valentine Day. The photographs portray the men of the escort of former premier Hariri, killed by a bomb together with the political leader when, on February 14, an enormous explosion gripped the heart of Beirut. At a little distance from the "cemetery on the asphalt", the

city spreads towards the port, which is still one of Lebanon's economic outlets.

Meanwhile the streets are filling with people. Some stop to observe shop-windows coloured by western fashion, others "take shelter" inside corners of American cuisine. In the air one can feel the Arab presence. Intense perfumes and middle-Eastern aromas surprise us in the twilight of expectation. The expectation that is in the heart of the Lebanese people, who hope that it will dissolve with the new day.

The journey inside the "after Syria" Lebanon has just started. After a crowded flight and the impact with the capital, the southward road is before us. There are less than a hundred kilometres, but the asphalt is uncared for and the winding roads multiply the distance. As we move away from Beirut the traffic drops. My guide and travel companion, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Italian Army, suggests to observe the details. Along the road the election posters proliferate. We count almost two hundred of them in a little more than twenty kilometres. They are mostly those of Hariri's son, portrayed next to his father, to remind the voter that he wants to follow in his footsteps. Meanwhile we run into the first roadblock, then the second...the third. After almost hundred kilometres the number of the roadblocks has gone up to ten. The soldiers stop our car, look at our faces and, with a typically Mediterranean gesture, let us go. Some, instead, look for evidence in our passports.

THE SOUTH OF THE COUNTRY

The road becomes narrower and narrower, the holes increase. The eyes of my guide speak, as if to say: this seems another

Lebanon. Then, a poster with the symbol of Hezbollah and an Imam armed with a submachine gun. We are entering the extreme south of the Country, stronghold of the pro-Syrians and, until 2000, controlled by Israel. On the horizon we can see Naqoura, washed by the sea. It is a little village, with less than 500 inhabitants and about 2000 "guests", the members of the UNIFIL (UN Interim Force in Lebanon) mission. *"We have been here since 1978, with different jobs but a sole purpose: the respect of peace and international agreements"*. The Lieutenant Colonel explains that *"Italy is one of the Countries with a very old tradition of presence in Lebanon, a real national pride"*.

The UNIFIL base expands for more than 2 km, with helicopter landing strips, lodgings, offices, coordination areas. The "blue village" is on the seashore and hosts also the cemetery of Naqoura. Here the graves follow one another, decorated with flowers and photographs and – unusual fact – seem to be watched over by the Blue Berets. But it is only a coincidence. In fact, the inhabitants of the village can enter the cemetery easily, even if it is quite peculiar that in order to pray on the tomb of their loved ones they must have the authorization of the UNIFIL Hq.

Before heading for the Headquarters of the Italian base I scout the corners of Naqoura. The silence is broken by the noise of the UNIFIL helicopters taking off and by the few all-terrain vehicles of the United Nations. Very few people on the streets. At dawn, from the mosque, the local Imam breaks the sleep of the faithful, calling them for the morning prayer. Thus the Christian citizens of Naqoura have the "luck" of not needing the traditional battery-powered alarm-clocks to start the day. Looking to the left, along the sea, one can see Israel. With a good



An AB-205 helicopter taking off from ITALAIR.

binocular one can even make out the soldiers. Until 2000, the Israeli troops controlled and garrisoned the whole area. They had arrived more than twenty years before, in response to the Syrian military. Today, things are back to normal, or almost. To the south there is Hezbollah, i.e. "the party of God". For the U.S. and Israel they are terrorists, for the Lebanese Shi'ites they are heroes. Throughout the years, they have countered Israel's attacks, attacked Israel, built schools and hospitals, helped the poor. Now they have got a good number of seats in Parliament.

THE UNIFIL HQ

My guide takes me to the UNIFIL Commander, Maj-Gen Alain Pellegrini, a French officer proud to be born in Corsica, who states: *"The UN resolution no. 1559 on the withdrawal of Syria from Lebanon does not change*

the UNIFIL mandate. On the contrary, I believe that the progress achieved up to now on the plane of stability is going to increase".

The Commander of the UN mission in Lebanon is very pleased with the efforts made along the "Blue Line" that runs between Lebanon and Israel. The purpose of his men is to guarantee the coexistence of the two peoples that reside along the 121 kilometres of the border established after the withdrawal of the Israeli troops from southern Lebanon.

The Commander does not hide the delicacy of the work of the Blue Berets. *"We never forget to hold a dialogue with all the subjects interested in the respect of the 'Blue Line'. I refer in particular to Hezbollah and its important role in the area"* Between a diplomatic speech, a military vision and comments on the contenders, he stops to talk. Then, after a pause, he goes on: *"You Italians are very important here in Lebanon. ITALAIR has a determinant role in our mission. Your servicemen are indispensable because they enable us to control the "Blue Line" from the sky and, furthermore, they are*

exceptional in the dialogue with the population". His eyes express pride and gratitude. He adds: *"For this reason on the past 5th of May ITALAIR was awarded the UN medal for its commitment in support of peace. It was a much deserved acknowledgement which crowns the choice made by Rome to stand by the United Nations as protagonist. Italy has been in UNIFIL since the first moment and I hope it will remain here also in the future. With more commitment and responsibility, if anything. Thanks to Italy and to the Italians"*. What can one add to these words? What does one feel? The reporter, full of pride and happy to belong to a great Country, can only head for Italian land.

ARRIVAL AT ITALAIR

The Italian Tricolour flanked by signs stands out at the entrance, to make one "feel less faraway from home". "Roma 2250 km" a black inscription informs. Nevertheless, despite the distance, I feel at home: voice-



An AB-205 helicopter getting ready for take-off.

es, sounds, inflexions, glances. I have entered a bit of Italy, which soon I am going to call "What a beautiful Italy". The encounter with the most traditional Italian citizen – coffee – is inevitable. This time the blend has a different flavour, better, more aromatic, more intense. There is inside it the wish to assert the pride of our roots, the hope of being helpful to peace, the certainty to be engaged in an important mission. I meet some Officers and, after a few words, I feel I am back in Rome. And yet I am thousands of kilometres away!

I meet the Commander of the helicopter squadron, who takes me on a tour of the base.

A first-rate workshop for the maintenance of the helicopters, the quarters, the operations room, the mess – where at lunch and dinner one can find again an

Italian corner – the club. The reporter has now only the task of understanding the objectives, the risks, difficulties and hopes of this mission on the Lebanese soil. My interlocutor is generous with answers. *"In this mission there is a very high professionalism in our men. This aspect tells a lot about the particularity of our mission which, although certainly not demanding as other missions in terms of psychophysical stress, it stands out for its delicacy and the spin-off for our Armed Forces and for Italy as a whole".* There is pride in his words and, during our chat, my guide and the other components of the Contingent wear a proud look. *"We are an example of effective organization on the logistic chain. Although we are a very small unit, we enjoy the privilege of a swift logistic support which answers our needs as regards spare parts, contact-squads for important second-level interventions. This has permitted, and*

permits, an average operational effectiveness of 80-90% in terms of helicopter availability".

At this point, the subject of our chat turns out to be the helicopter, which is the actual protagonist of this mission: the flight average is 1000 hours per year. The promptness of the interventions is 15 minutes in case of medical needs in the whole area concerning the "Blue Line". The chopper is the AB-205, a machine that the pilots define as "wonderful" in terms of sturdiness and reliability. Will this last also in the future? *"We'll have to find an alternative that can ensure the same efficiency"* adds the Commander. *"In our Armed Forces the similar machines now in service are the AB-212 and AB-412. Considering the tasks presently assumed abroad by the AB-412 and its crews, one can assume that its substitute could be the AB-212. Setting aside names and numbers, in his eyes there are interrogatives about another question. "The rotation of personnel is*

In the capital, the damages caused by the civil war are still visible.

a great problem. In these last years we have noticed that we must go back to a partial but constant "feeding" of the unit".

In the office of the Commander there are a lot of photos with the Lebanese population: the smile of a child, a man's hand lifted in a thanking sign, the colours of happiness for the recovered autonomy. *"We have very good relations with the Lebanese. Our thirty-year presence has certainly helped détente and encouraged the dialogue. We fly over the Lebanese territory but the airspace is controlled by the Israeli air-force, hence the need to have close relations and agreements with IDF (Israel Defence Forces). Also with the Israeli we have excellent relations, whenever we go see them they always welcome us with a friendly smile and esteem. With us Italians, in particular, they are much more open and inclined to dialogue, and not only for strictly operational reasons. We must continue to do this, and do it better. A friendly smile is worth much more than lots of words written in the international resolutions".*

The agenda of my presence at Naqoura at this point envisages the "encounter of all encounters". My guide accompanies me, with his unfailing smile, "number one" in the UN-Italy relations. I meet "him", unlit cigar hanging from his lips, helicopter pilot suit, relaxed face and eyes that enclose thousands of missions and difficulties to be faced. Colonel Giacomo Lipari is the representative of the Commander of the UNIFIL mission in Beirut, as well as the Commander of the Italian contingent in Lebanon. He belongs to AVES and here he has a political and military role that enables him to have a complete picture of the situation. After the withdrawal of the Syrian troops



from the Country, it is perhaps necessary to reconsider the UN mandate. Of course we turn the question to the Commander: *"Certainly the new scenarios call for at least one reflection. What has changed since April, when the Syrians left Lebanon? We should start from there to redraw the presence and the mandate of the United Nations. I believe that in New York this is nearing a serious and intelligent discussion".* Will this observation suffice to rewrite a resolution of the Security Council? *"If only an interview and some politico-strategic considerations could suffice! These last weeks I have brought up at several levels this necessity. I have found good listening ears and excellent interlocutors. We shall see. For the moment, I am very glad to live with our success and the very good Italian relations with the forces in the field".* How does an Italian Officer live in this contested and lacerated corner of the world? *"When people meet us or notice our colours on the uniform, they lift their thumb as a sign of joy and friendship. These attitudes, especially for a soldier, fill the heart. We Italians have perhaps more sensitiveness, we*

always remember the sufferings of our Country during the Second World War and the efforts to become a great Nation. Moreover, our character also help us, as well as our ability to always find a solution. It is our spirit of adaptability. And this is not easily learned.

At this point the picture is clear. Also here the Italian accomplishments are excellent and so are the hopes for the future. Enriched by these umpteenth experience, at a distance of almost three thousand kilometres from Italy, also this Lebanese diary is about to end. I try to fix all the corners of Lebanon, the characters encountered, the strong and seductive emotions. A farewell to my guide. A doubt comes to my mind: is it my luck that always makes me meet helpful, prepared and professional people, or is it that also the human aspect, so determinant, is very widespread among the persons in uniform? The answer of course is not that simple, but my gratitude as journalist and Italian is in the handshake I exchange with Giovanni. Thank you, also on the south of Beirut! □

**Journalist,
RAI-Televideo*

INTELLIGENCE, DEFENCE AND SECURITY

THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

by Giancarlo Bove

...Nothing is more necessary and useful to a General than knowing the intentions and plans of the enemy. The more difficult is the acquisition of this knowledge, the greater is the merit of he who succeeds in making a correct forecast...

Niccolò Machiavelli

This article describes a defence and security model which takes into account the role of Intelligence as an instrument of prevision-
al analysis and strategic management of information.



A "Bersaglieri" patrol in Iraq.

For Intelligence, the restricted areas of strategic importance and the entire civilian and military infrastructure of contemporary civilization represent a high-priority objective, on which one should focus the attention in order to ensure security and defence against terrorist actions.

This objective can be achieved by exploiting all means and resources which can permit to anticipate those actions with enough time to organize and apply the necessary countermeasures.

For Intelligence, to "anticipate" means to identify, beforehand and correctly, two physical variables: "time" i.e. when terrorism is

going to strike, and "space", meant as "internal environment", location of the potential target of the terrorist action.

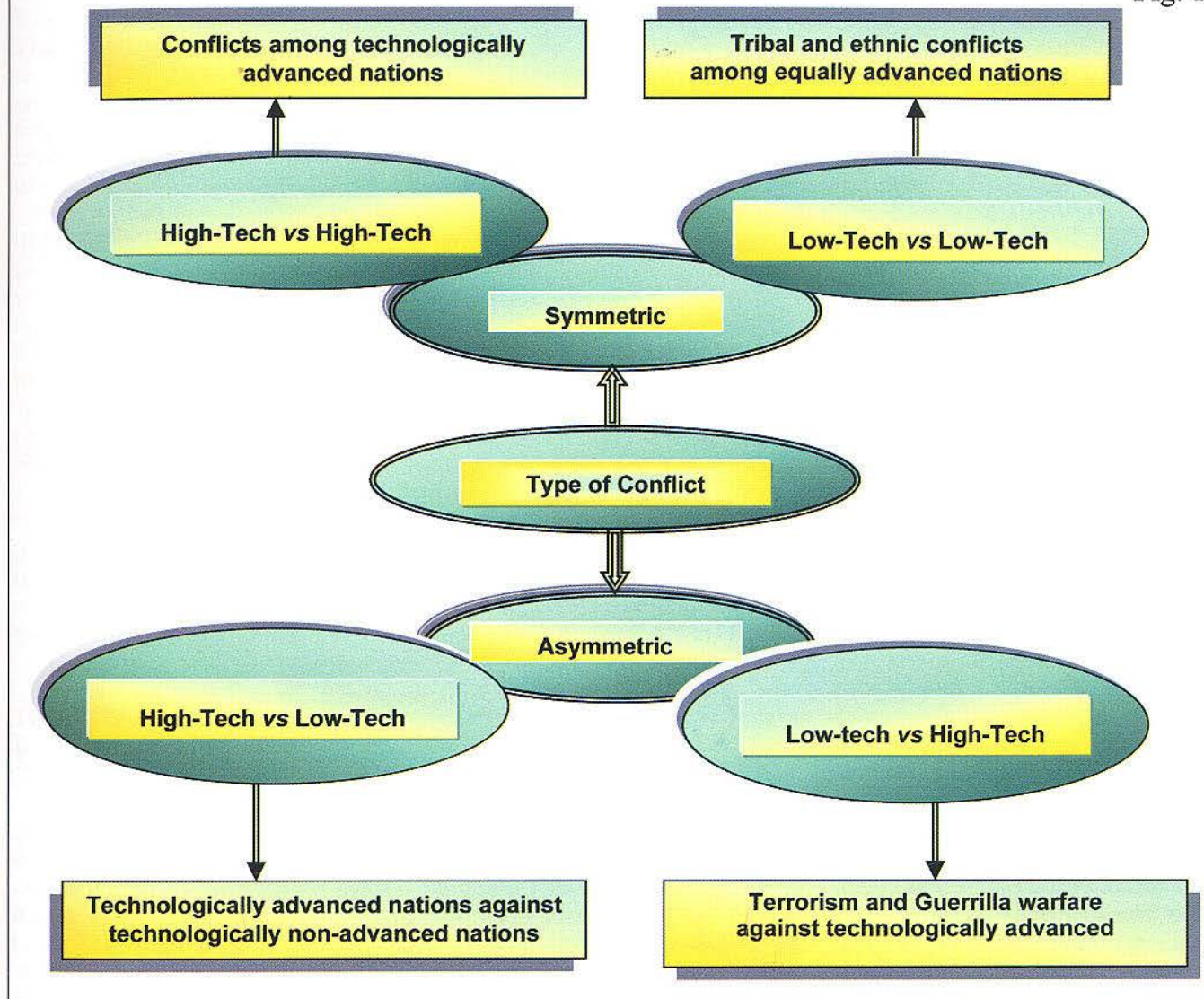
"Prevision" and "Environment" are two interdependent concepts with a fictitious link. This link, in its turn, is extended to the "Internal Environment", which includes the land space controlled by modern surveillance means and security systems, and to the "External Environment" i.e. the air space and coastal area which are hostile and difficult to control, owing to their geographical extension and because certain situations cannot be changed.

Nevertheless, to anticipate them can be useful because this

reduces the uncertainty of the future decisions which concern not only the planning of military operations aimed at contrasting and neutralizing the terrorist threats, but also the selection of the appropriate measures of defence and security for averting them.

We should not forget, furthermore, that after 9/11 the very notion of security, defence and attack is changed. Suffice it to think, for example, of the NATO Countries and the U.S., which are now defending their security by fighting and attacking the enemy in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Fig. 1



But that is not all, because the situation of tension now prevailing after the terrorist attacks on the U.S. and Spain and the threat of attacks against other Nations, including Italy, has led to strengthen those measures, which have become more and more frequent.

In this article we are going to describe a model of preventive defence and security, taking into account the role played by intelligence as an instrument for anticipatory analysis and strategic management of information.

Besides, we should remember that the strategic management of information, together with a programming, anticipatory and pre-

venting capability, is the basis of any civilian or military initiative against terrorism.

THE ASYMMETRIC CONCEPTION OF THE WAR AGAINST TERRORISM

The war against terrorism is different from a traditional war and, in order to produce an adequate model of defence, security and intelligence, one should have a deep knowledge of an enemy whose offensive capability is carried out through various forms of violence, including the politico/psychological one (1).

A contribution to this know-

ledge can be given by setting up a data bank for keeping a record of all terrorist events. The elements filed in the data bank are processed with certain criteria, including mathematical ones, in order to foretell, as much as possible and with sufficient precision, every probable situation and future scenario that could be used for providing antiterrorism and counter-terrorism responses (2).

These responses must take into account the fact that the enemy does not fight, but attacks and strikes with recourse to tactics that belong to a conception of conflict - or war - that the experts define as "asymmetric".

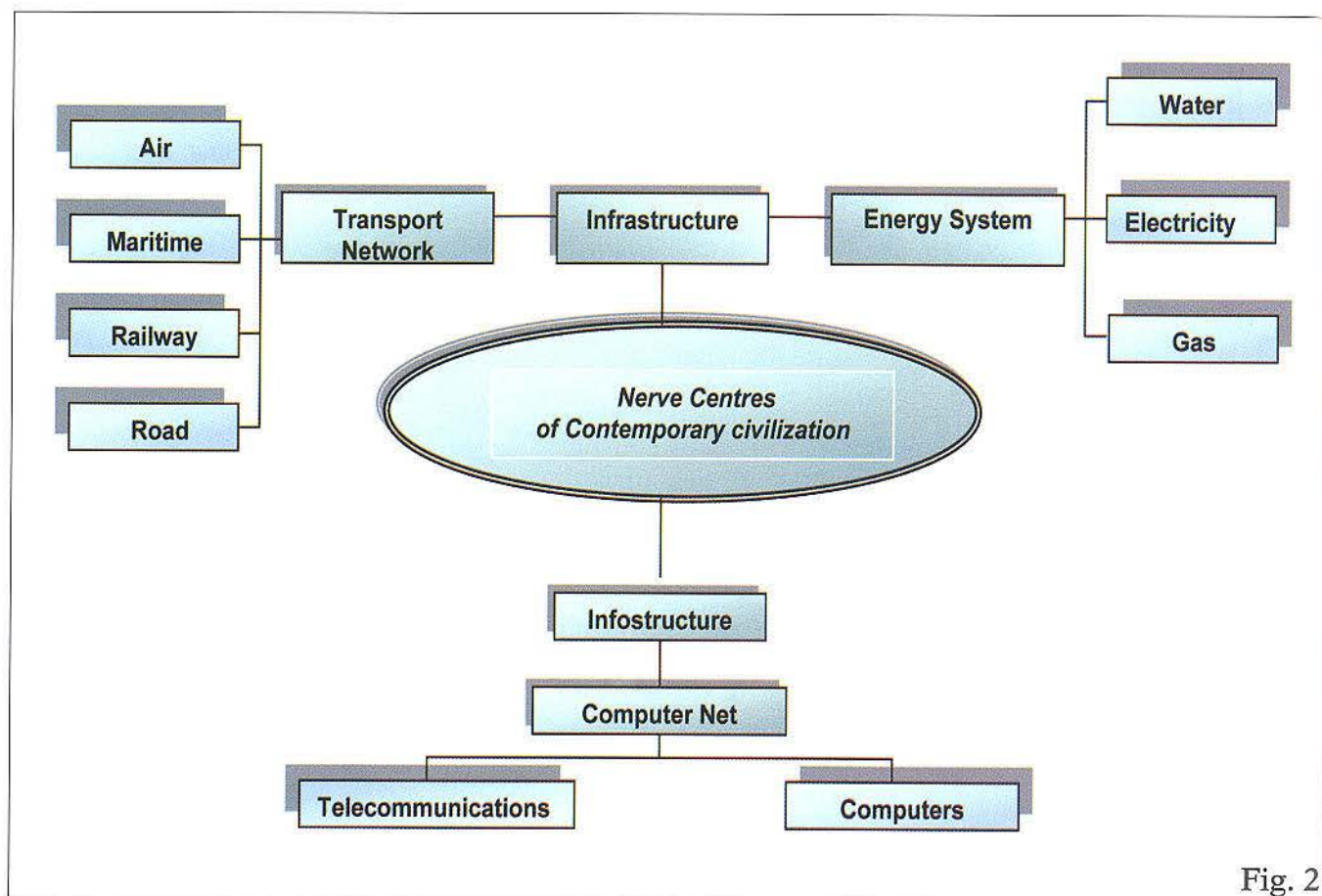


Fig. 2

This notion, linked to the technological, military and economic gap between the parties, includes also two different types of conflict - symmetric and asymmetric - which can be classified as shown at fig. 1.

Asymmetric types of conflict - high-tech against low-tech - were experienced during the first Gulf War, in 1991, which lasted a short time, with minimum losses for the contender who was stronger and better organized, both militarily and economically.

Other examples of this type of conflict appeared in 1999 in Kosovo, in Afghanistan after September 11, 2001 and in Iraq in 2003, in the second Gulf War.

These conflicts were fought with the participation of a Nation, or a coalition of technologically advanced Nations. Very different is the situation where there is terrorism, where the asymmetric characteristic - low-tech against high-tech - does

not follow the rules of military strategy but, on the contrary, employs any kind of means to strike with a *modus operandi* typical of terrorist strategy.

A ruthless, lucid and apparently irrational strategy, where the selection of the targets is made with the intention of achieving the maximum destructive result on the psychological and physical plane.

On the psychological plane, because of the emotional impact on people caused by the highest possible number of innocent victims, whereas on the physical plane the effect is achieved through the destruction and paralysis of the infrastructure and info-structure considered the nerve centres of contemporary civilization, as shown at fig. 2.

It is worth to specify that in low-tech against high-tech conflicts typical of terrorism, terms like "battlefield", "enemy" and "weapons" are misleading compa-

red to the past, since they are linked to a period when the armies were losing or winning battles sealed by armistices or peace treaties.

If up to now the armies' attention has always been directed towards their likes, i.e. the military instruments of other States and their defences, now the world must face transnational threats posed by terrorist individuals and networks which, after September 11, 2001 have asserted themselves as the new global enemy, defying States, economy and society.

These terrorist nets, which have no borders and take all values out of the national grammar of armies and war, have a non-territorial and decentralized structure and act at national and transnational level.

In addition to this, there is the threat represented by the individualization of the wars, which are no more fought only by Sta-

tes against other States, but also by individuals against States. These individuals, with their actions, operate in almost unlimited times and manoeuvre spaces, following the example of the attacks on the U.S. federal buildings of Oklahoma City in 1995.

As a matter of fact, a single individual can have, even if he is alone, the technical know-how to make weapons that can be used for terrorist objectives. This is the type of enemy who, unlike the subversive groups, is very difficult to find with the traditional intelligence instruments.

As we said, in the face of these threats, besides the work done by the Intelligence to foresee them, it is important to adopt a new model of security and defence capable of preventing them.

THE INTELLIGENCE PREVISIONAL MODELS

The importance of preventing, i.e. acting in advance, is expressed by Ovid's Latin maxim: *...principiis obsta sero medicina paratur...* (oppose it from the beginning, it takes a long time to prepare a medicine...).

This principle is applicable to all fields of human activity, including defence and security, where prevention is a fundamental and essential requirement. Prevention, in its turn, implies a pre-

vious evaluation: the future must be seen in advance.

This is the basic problem that Intelligence must solve. For example, to foresee a terrorist attack means to know in advance the intentions of the enemy.

This requirement is vitally important in strategic terms and has been translated into a series of criteria and procedures whose aim is to provide essential elements of information, to produce other intelligence requirements and supply, in a complete and systematic form, the intelligence needed for special operations (3) aimed at countering and neutralizing the threat (military intelligence operations).

Prussian strategist Karl von Clausewitz said that war is the kingdom of the unexpected, and this is also true in the war against terror where, in order not to be taken by surprise, it is indispensable to evaluate the unfolding of the situations, no matter how unpredictable they are.

This evaluation is done through previsional analyses based on a statistic processing of historical data concerning terrorism.

Since for lack of space it is practically impossible to describe all possible methods, we shall mention only some of them. One is the "Analytic Hierarchy Process (AHP)", developed by Thomas Saaty of Pittsburgh University. The method is expedient for solving conflict situations like those prevailing with terrorism, for op-

timising complex decisions and for creating tentative scenarios which, with the appropriate variations, could be adapted also to the military context.

The Analytic Hierarchy Process was followed by the "Analytic Network Process" (ANP), a more complex and sophisticated instrument, already used by the researchers of the Institute for International Prevision and Research Studies (ISPRI) when requested by Government bodies.

Instrumental in the creation and prevision of scenarios are the "Events Data Banks", constituted with heuristic goals, i.e. structured on theoretic bases and able to significantly correlate a plurality of factors, such as strategic objectives, attack tactics, available resources and means, together with the events that could be at the bottom of the terrorist threat.

Such events are very important, because they can be correlated with the so-called "unforeseen developments", i.e. the unexpected developments of the terrorist threat.

Researchers abroad have singled out at least two categories of unexpected events which are difficult or impossible to foresee: the extrapolative ones and the mutant ones (fig. 3).

According to Professor Umberto Gori (4), the extrapolative unexpected events could actually be foreseen if there were appropriate simulation models and

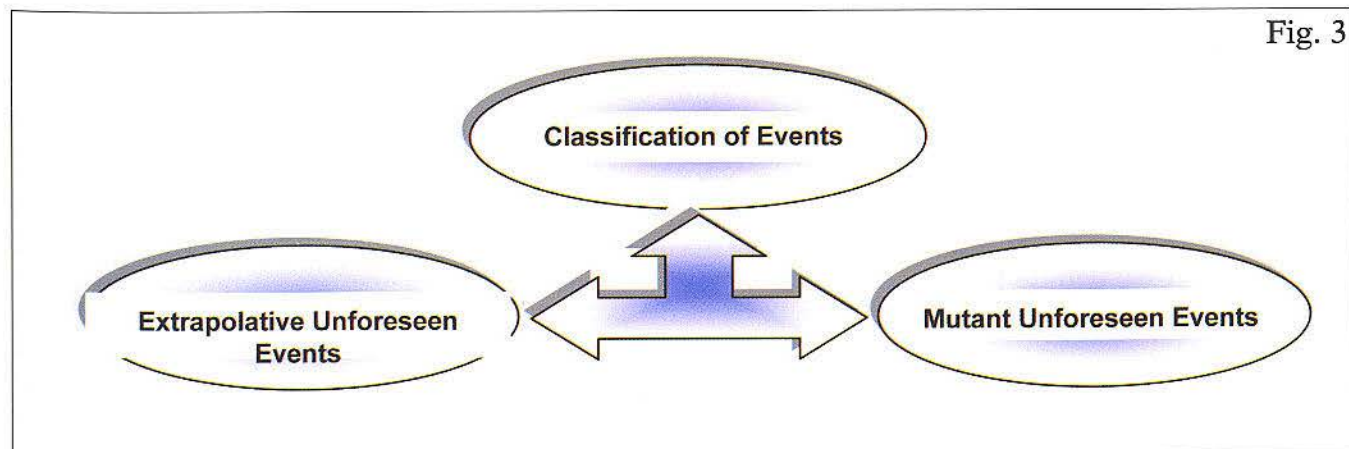


Fig. 3



Servicemen from the 9th "Col Moschin" on reconnaissance in the Afghan desert.

more historical data to process.

In this regard, the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) and other American defense agencies have acquired specific software capable of processing all events from a tactical, strategic and decision-making viewpoint, gathering information on previous situations, from the most remote to the most recent ones.

To obtain good results, one

should process the historical data in order to establish a data base, or a knowledge base, aimed at building an abstract model of reality.

Later, after the creation of propositions and rules which constitute the basis of the programme, one can move to the "inference" phase, i.e. a concatenation of rules looking for different solutions of the same problem, with all

possible variations.

The unexpected mutant events, on the contrary, because of their nature cannot be considered in advance. They can be either spontaneous or coincident. The former are events such as murders and the so-called "acts of God" in the name of the holy war and Islamic fundamentalism, while among the latter there are events which derive their impor-

tance from other events, not linked to them by a common cause, which occur in the same period.

An example of the latter is the attack of March 11, 2004 in Madrid, three days before the political elections, and on July 7, 2005 in London, during the G8 Summit. These events are apparently unlinked, but could actually reflect precise and even disquieting strategies (5).

All terrorist actions, if carefully evaluated in their *modus operandi* and execution times, permit to gather useful pieces of information, enriching the data base mentioned above.

Other analytic instruments that seem to work well and we do not describe for lack of space, are the crossed-impact analysis for building scenarios and the Volterra-Lotka's deterministic equations used by the researchers of the International Institute for Applied Analysis of Systems (IAASA) (6).

Neural nets, artificial intelligence and the games theory are also effective: the latter is suitable for studying the strategic interactions between terrorists and a government designated as target.

These strategic interactions between rational actors who are

trying to act according to their conscience, and so will act and react, are the basis of the simulations reproducing the possible situations between terrorists, their demands and their goals.

One of the rules of antiterrorism is to refuse to negotiate with terrorists holding hostages. The non-negotiation policy has been taken as a model by many Countries and is based on the fact that if a subject (the objective of the action) decides a priori not to give in to the kidnappers' requests, those who have the intention of taking hostages, knowing that they cannot negotiate, can be induced to desist.

Evidently there is something that does not work in this policy, since the terrorists continue to take hostages, as shown by the recent events in Iraq.

Furthermore, a terrorist action can end in different ways: an attack can cause a failure of the special units for logistic reasons, another could end with the acceptance of the requests advanced by the terrorists; yet another could be successful and produce no concessions.

These simulations have shown that the responses to terrorism end up with security and defence

measures to prevent it at home.

In prevention, every target invents protective strategies to divert the attack, and the Nations that spend less on defence and security are the most exposed to terrorist actions. Still there is not a single analysis of the terrorist deeds capable of giving an answer to a specific situation.

It all depends on the information on the various terror organizations and their *modus operandi*. Having a ready-to-use solution can only be useful, at most, for studying the terrorist organizations, their assets and for deciding whether they can be influenced by the failure or success of previous operations.

By applying a ready and differential structure, the analyst can better understand the dynamics of the terrorists' strategic choices as well as those of politics and governments.

On these subject, the Counter Terrorist Centre (CTC), in cooperation with the Los Angeles Institute for Creative Technologies, specialized in virtual simulations conducted together with the University of Southern California, has devised a project aimed at training the analysts to think outside the traditional patterns.

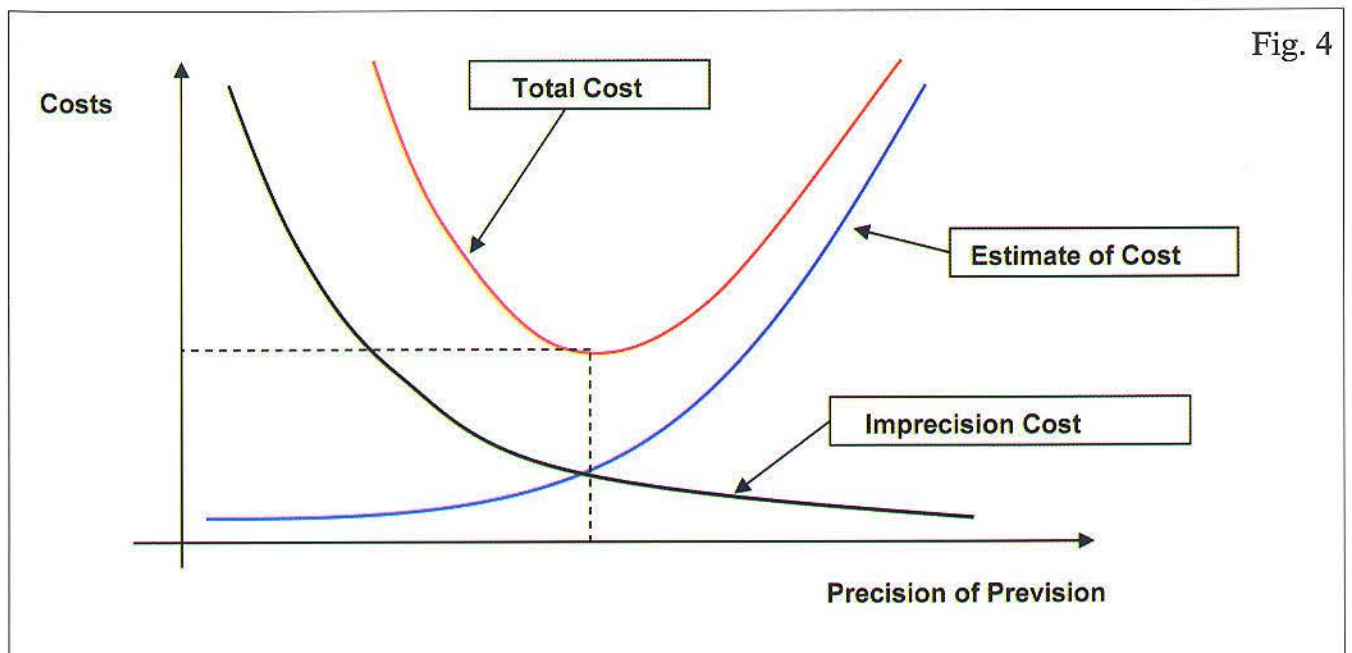
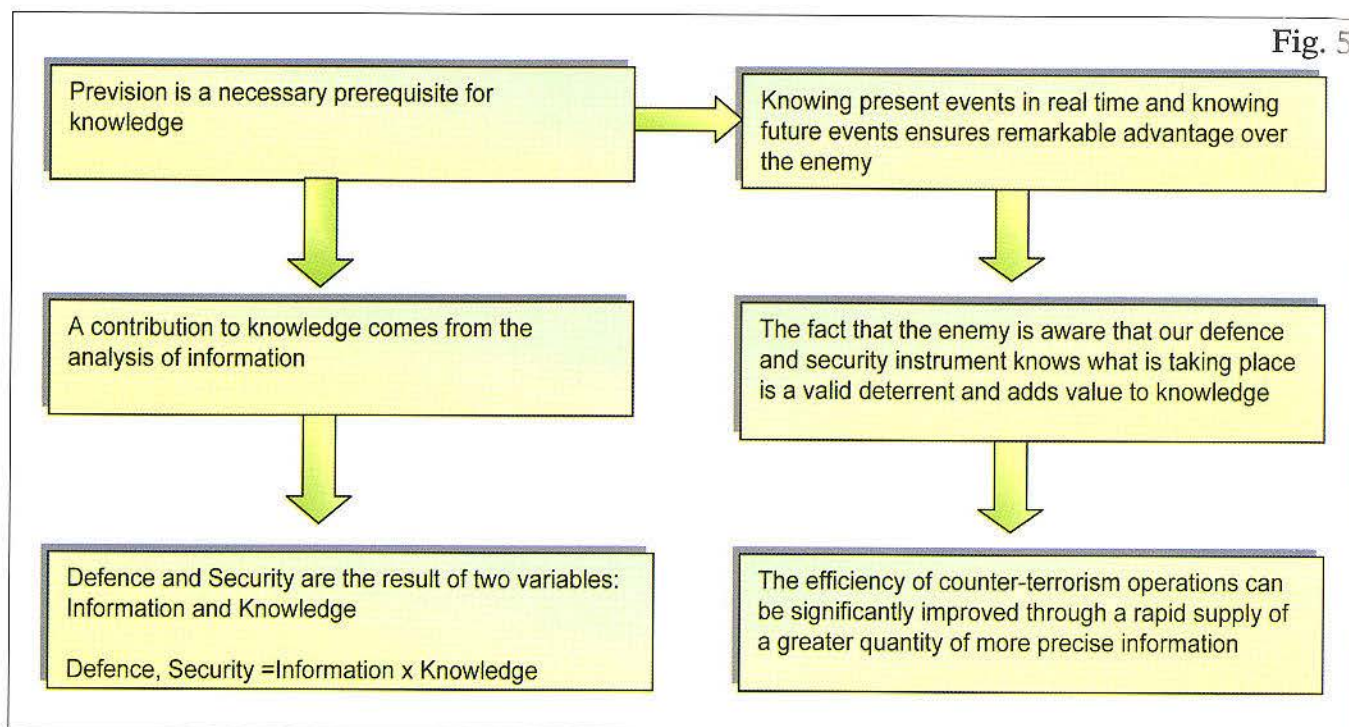


Fig. 4

Fig. 5



This project is nothing new, if we consider that some time ago the Pentagon submitted a plan, which was later cancelled, for realizing an applicative software capable of foreseeing a terrorist attack in the Middle East.

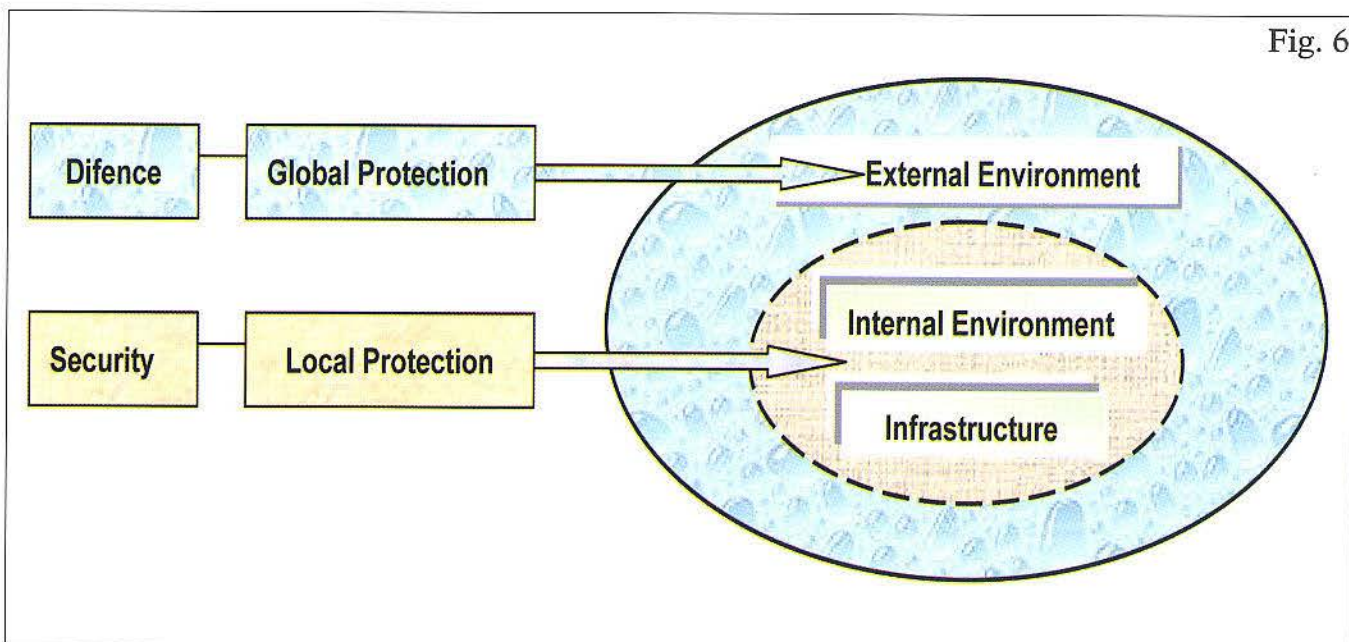
The failure of the project led to the resignation of Admiral John Poindexter, chief of the counter-terrorism data research programme called "Total Information Awareness (TIA)" (7).

The new project, proposed as a substitute for the cancelled one, consists in an innovative approach to the war against terrorism. Mark Mansfield, spokesman for the US Intelligence, says that the strategic objective of the project, which assembles academicians, experts and research institutes, is to train analysts to look at the world and conceive it through the eyes and minds of the terrorists.

In the past, the training of analysts was made easier by the study of the results of processing the information gathered through the "Human Intelligence (HUMINT)" techniques.

These techniques consist in gathering information working directly within the terrorist network, thanks to the infiltration of trained agents from the so-called counter-terrorism teams, similar to those created in

Fig. 6



Italy by General Carlo Alberto Dalla Chiesa.

Today, to gather information by infiltrating agents into the terrorist nets is very difficult, because the international terrorism of Islamic mould imposes language barriers which are difficult to surmount.

Suffice it to think of the difficulties encountered by western agents when trying to learn the various Arabic dialects. Hence the need to collect information using more sophisticated means which exclude all forms of linguistic communication and permit, as we said, to look and think with the terrorists' eyes and minds.

The means employed by the analysts are provided by the "Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), a department which, together with the Pentagon, deals with the most advanced projects concerning technological and scientific research.

The assets are computers and special nets, which reduce the times necessary for the analyses by using sophisticated software and "text mixing" (categorization of information contained in the documents) (8).

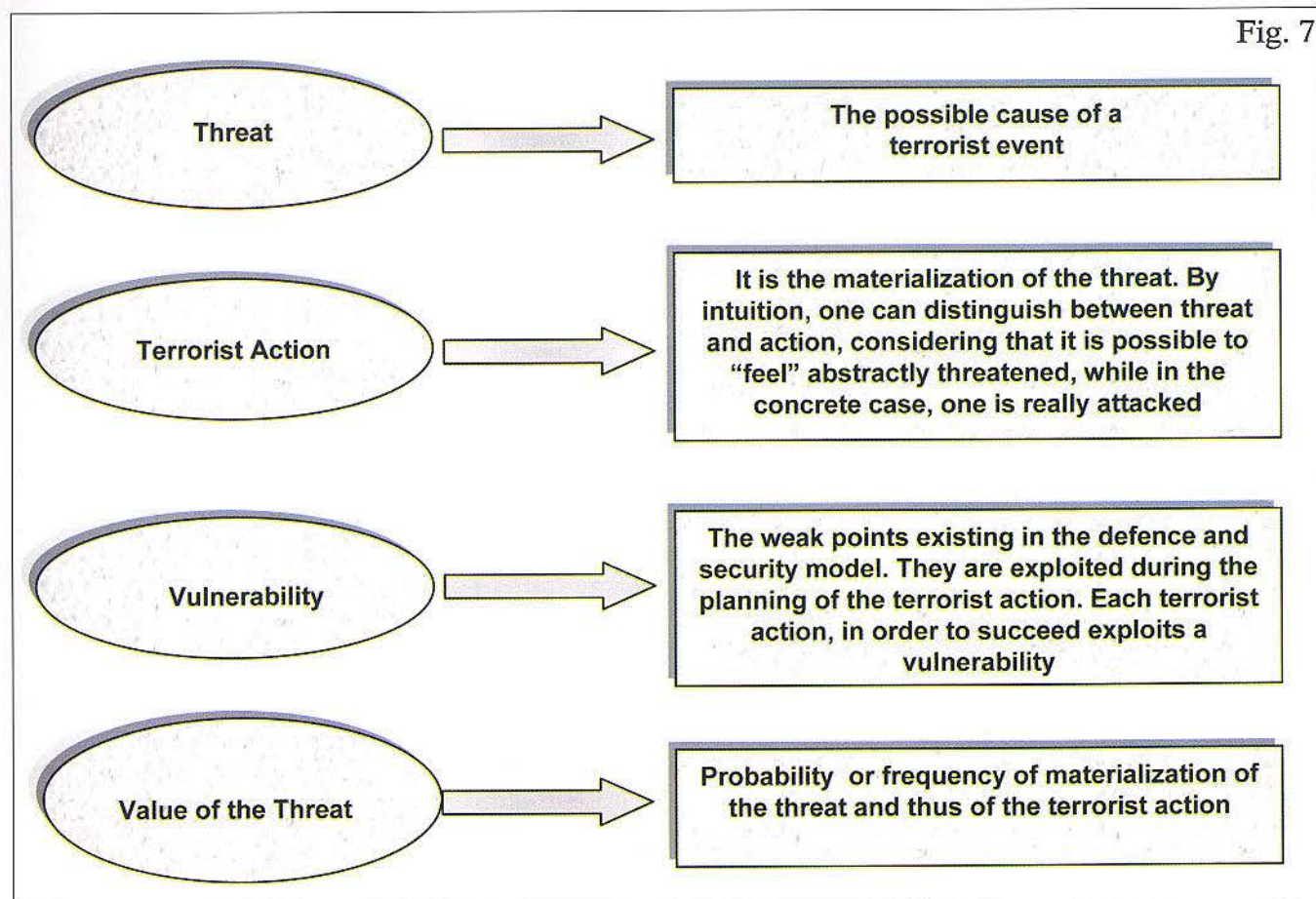
Gordon Johndroe, spokesman for the Office of Homeland Security, confirmed the appropriation of a fund of 150 billion dollars for the financial support of those means. These economic resources were supposed to go to the "Counterintelligence 21" project, whose system for data sharing was found to unsuitable for meeting the new requirements connected with the war against terrorism.

It must be remembered that the lack of an appropriate provisional analysis by the intelligence cannot be tolerated, since it is indispensable for the security and defence of the post-bipolar world after the rising of the threat of international terrorism.

As regard forecasts, it also important to fix the limit of precision, which depends on the horizon of the prevision itself. For long-term forecasts the limit is obviously low; in this case it is advisable to follow the more complex casual methods, based on statistical techniques, while for the short term one should have recourse to self-projecting methods, exploiting historical series of data in order to be easily implemented by computers, in order to limit the relevant costs also when large quantities of data are processed.

When the choice is difficult, it is possible to make a confrontation between different methods; this reduces the risk of big mistakes due to having chosen a non-suitable method and, at the same time, increases the level of precision.

An indisputable fact is that the precision of the forecast affects the cost of provisional analysis





A robot in action during a mine-clearing operation in Iraq.

but, considering the risk represented by terrorism, it would be unwise to cut the funds destined to this delicate and precious intelligence activity (fig. 4 and 5).

Once the possible (or, to be more precise, probable) event is foreseen, together with the type of threat with which it is going to materialise, the task of preventing it is up to the defence and security organization, within which the terms of "security" and "defence" take on different conceptual and structural meanings.

From the conceptual viewpoint, while security includes both the

military and civil dimension, defence, on the contrary, gives priority to the military aspect.

From the structural viewpoint, defence means global protection of the "External Environment" from which the terrorist threat arrives, an environment defined by the air, coast or sea space.

Defence ends up by turning into security if, on the contrary, refers to the "Internal Environment", defined by the land space which is the home of civilian and military infrastructure or, more generally, of the nerve centres of contemporary civilization.

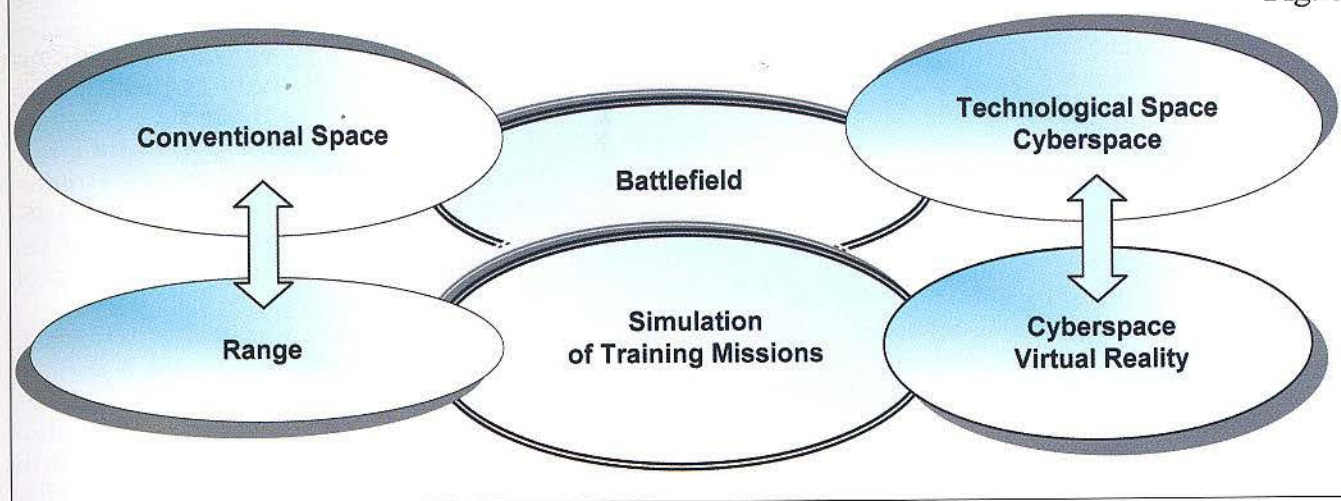
The defence of the "Internal Environment" is a synonym of local protection applied within the perimeter of the infrastructure.

This protection, in its turn, is guaranteed by specific security measures that we are going to examine later (fig. 6).

It is worth mentioning that, as regards defence and security, Countries like the United States have availed themselves of particular models capable of giving an effective response to the terrorist threat.

These models are called "Homeland Security" and "Homeland Defense". The latter includes the military protection of territory and population, and the defence of critical infrastructure against external threats and aggressions, as well as activities aimed at deterring the aggressors and preparing the Army for the action fol-

Fig. 8



lowing the failure of deterrence.

The "Homeland Security" model, instead, includes the means suitable for preventing terrorist attacks and for reducing the vulnerability to terrorism, minimizing the damages and helping the recovery after an attack.

For the coordination of these activities, at the beginning of 2003 the Pentagon has established the post of "Assistant Secretary of Defence for Homeland Defence", assigned to Paul Mc Hale, who carries out the liaison with the White House, the National Security Council and the Department of Homeland Security, created in 2001.

In the ambit of defence and security, the concept should be specified as shown in at fig. 7.

Defence and security are therefore the basic concepts on which the study of two distinct models is developed, as illustrated in the following sections.

THE PREVENTIVE-DEFENCE MODEL

The terrorist actions, just like military operations, are characterized by a fundamental element: rapidity which, combined with surprise, prevents defence from realizing what is taking place.

In this situation, the possibility of successfully applying a defen-

sive strategy becomes precarious, owing to the lack of timely information. In fact the problem is not only that of evaluating the effectiveness of the system that counters the possible threat, but also to discover the outset of the threat itself with a warning sufficient to enable the defence to operate correctly.

In this regard the "Defence Science Board", an advisory group of the Pentagon, has proposed a model of defence based on so-called "proactive" military actions, aimed at causing the reaction of the terrorist net. Such a reaction would compel the enemy to expose himself, thus permitting to assess his organization, tactical doctrine and armament and also to find out which States provide international terrorism with logistic and financial support.

A special unit, the Proactive, Preventive Operations Group (P2OG), operates within this model and can infiltrate the various terrorist groups in order to collect reliable information coming directly from the source concerned.

It should be stressed that the particular operational specificity of the P2OG requires special equipment and infiltration techniques which are carried out through a complex net of intelligence agents and intermediaries, as

well as with a special training in information-gathering.

The rapidity in collecting these data, and their precision, is of fundamental importance for three reasons: the first concerns the conduct of operations of surgical war against Countries which support terrorism and own weapons of mass destruction. The second is connected with the success of the operations of the surgical war in a non-military context, where a mistake could cause serious political damage.

The third reason is the role played by intelligence which, according to a methodological viewpoint, besides being an integral part of the actions against terrorism, operates also for situation-simulation for training purposes.

The simulation of the missions required for the new scenarios is very demanding, because of the enormous variety of situations and behaviours that have to be modelled.

This requires specially equipped areas to be used as firing ranges. In Italy, these areas are decidedly smaller than the most important foreign ranges.

Even without considering the 2600 sq km of the US National Training Centre, in the middle of the Californian desert, and looking only at the European ranges we see that the Hohefels

range, used by the US Army in Germany, covers an area of 200 sq km, while Capo Teulada has surface of 72 sq km which, moreover, cannot be entirely used, considering the orography of the region, and Monteromano covers only 46 sq km.

It is very difficult to widen the available areas in order to adapt them to the new training scenarios by building real-size and detailed reproductions of the infrastructure to be defended. In this regard, the Italian Defence Administration is beginning to add some areas adjacent to Capo Teulada, but in any case it will be impossible to reach the size of the training areas used by the foreign Countries mentioned above (9).

The expansion concerns the plain of Medau Becciu, in a rela-

tively impervious area of the Capo Teulada range. The plan is to put up a village with more than seventy buildings and typical infrastructure, such as schools, churches, bus station, etc. in order to simulate situations of anti-terrorism combat in an urban environment.

On planning the training mission, the simulations require that the following conditions should be verified: definition of the characteristics of the battlefield inside the range; ensure the defence of the "External Environment" from where the terrorist threat comes; guarantee the security of the "Internal Environment" and therefore of its infrastructure.

The first condition, which concerns the definition of the characteristics of the battlefield, is

particularly important from the strategic viewpoint since, according to the asymmetric conception of the fight against terrorism, war has changed.

In fact, in a traditional war and, more generally, in symmetric conflicts, the battlefield is defined by geographic areas of various size, which are the object of the conquest.

With the war against terrorism, instead, the battlefield is defined in a new dimension that includes two separate spaces - conventional and technological - within which the enemy operates (fig. 8).

"Conventional Space" comprises the "Internal Environment" and therefore the land space where terrorism's potential targets are located, and the "Exter-





Above.
An A-129 "Mangusta" helicopter
armed with "Stinger" missiles.

Left.
An AB-412 helicopter in Iraq.

nal Environment", physically represented by the air and coast space from which the threat comes.

"Technological Space" includes the infrastructure, i.e. computer nets and, more generally, cyberspace (10).

Furthermore, "Conventional Space" and "Technological Space" are not separate entities, but can intersect and superimpose on each other, thus becoming complementary as each one develops in its own direction according to the means and weapons that terrorism employs for its strikes.

The arms and means employed, owing to the asymmetric

characteristics of the conflict, could belong indifferently to military or civilian technology. A laptop can turn into a weapon, an airliner can become a missile and a boat can turn out to be a high-potential bomb; not only that, but the progressive crumbling of the distinction between military and civilian technology and professional and non-professional soldier contributes to make impossible to distinguish the border between these spaces.

All the enemy needs, therefore, is the capability of striking within a certain space which can be found in any environment and which engages Intelligence and military experts to the highest degree.

Once the battlefield is defined, one should verify the second condition, which concerns the "External Environment" from where the terrorist threat is coming.

We should remember that the

defence of the "External Environment" concerns mainly the components of the air and coast space.

DEFENCE OF THE AIRSPACE

Strengthening the airspace defence is a constant aim of the Armed Forces. Suffice it to think, for example, of the defence organization set up on the occasion of the G-8 Summit held in Genoa in July 2001. During the meeting, although the attacks on the United States had not yet occurred, the need was felt to create an air shield against possible threats coming from the air.

After 9/11 the threat of terrorist actions carried out with aircraft became a constant nightmare for the whole Western world.

The example of France is significant: many years in advance the Country had created a defence instrument called "Mesure Active de Sûreté Aérienne (MASA) - Ac-



An observation post at An Nasiryah.

tive Measure of Air Security – very effective against terrorist actions of different nature and scope.

The origin of the studies that led the experts in terrorism to de-

fine MASA goes back to the eighties.

During that period a mysterious character, nicknamed "Black Baron" by the media, enlivened the Paris nights in an origi-

nal way by flying over the capital at low altitude with a small touring plane.

The Black Baron's exploits prompted smiles and quips among the citizens of the capital,

but his feats were not perceived in the same way by the authorities of the "Prefecture de Police", worried that undertakings of this type could one day turn into threats.

And precisely to counter a hypothetical, but not impossible, terrorist attack of this kind, the Defence Ministry decided to develop a deterrence-and-intervention instrument, with the support of a helicopter component.

NATO has adopted specific measures called "Renegade", which in Italy are under the aegis of the Air Force Staff and are applied in case of incursions inside the national airspace. These measures can be strengthened in case of specific significant events, as happened for the funeral of Pope John Paul II, especially to face a possible threat represented by the so-called "slow movers", i.e. aircraft (essentially, ultra-light and light passenger aircraft) which, owing to their low speed and low altitude of overflight, may be difficult to detect and, if necessary, to intercept. In this respect, the most suitable means for guaranteeing air security is the helicopter. In view of this, also the Army, through its air component (AVES), can give an important contribution, thanks to the machines in its possession. The latter, all of them a national product, are suitable for anti-terrorism airmobile operations, owing to their rapidity of intervention, agility, manoeuvrability and, above all, the possibility of redeployment in the immediate vicinity of the area that needs protection. In particular, with the adoption of the Agusta A-129, the Army Aviation in the past years has had at its disposal a combat machine of entirely Italian design and qualitatively advanced, which is obtaining wide acknowledgements at international level. The reduced dimensions of this craft, its diversified fire capacity (also air-to-air), its ability to operate also in a standoff position (which exploits

the cover offered by the environment in which it works: trees, irregularities of the ground, buildings, etc.) make it a highly insidious defensive instrument in operations that imply a close contact with the enemy, be it represented by land forces or light airplanes (including drones and remote-control aircraft).

We should not forget that a seminar on the new terrorist threats, held at "Le Bourget" in France, the officials responsible for the particular sectors expressed their serious concern about the arrival on the market of unmanned aircraft capable of carrying an offensive load consisting of bombs, high-potential explosives, nerve gas, etc., at a relatively low cost.

With just a few thousand Euros, a terrorist can buy an aircraft of this type, equipped with GPS and autonomous navigation system, which can carry a load of some kilos over a distance of 15 or 20km and hit the objective from above.

A last, but certainly not less important aspect which, on the contrary, has a very high priority, concerns the command-and-control system of the aircraft employed in the possible MASA-type

counter-terrorism actions.

The Italian Army Staff, aware of the importance of effective and integrated assets for command-and-control, has already adopted in the mid-eighties the Tactical Sighting Command and Control Subsystem (SOATCC).

The system is fully automated and permits to control the Army Aviation Aircraft and also to survey the lower airspace, identify the targets, evaluate the air threat, process the tracks coming from the various sensors, diffuse the information of the individual users and, finally, to video-acoustically alert the self-defence weapon systems.

DEFENCE OF THE COASTAL SPACE

The defence of the coastal space extends beyond the coastline through which terrorists threaten drilling platforms, oil terminals and other infrastructure.

To approach the coastal space is easy, with simple craft like kayaks, motor rubber dinghies, fishing boats filled with explosives or electrically-propelled pocket-submarines, like those already employed for tourist use.

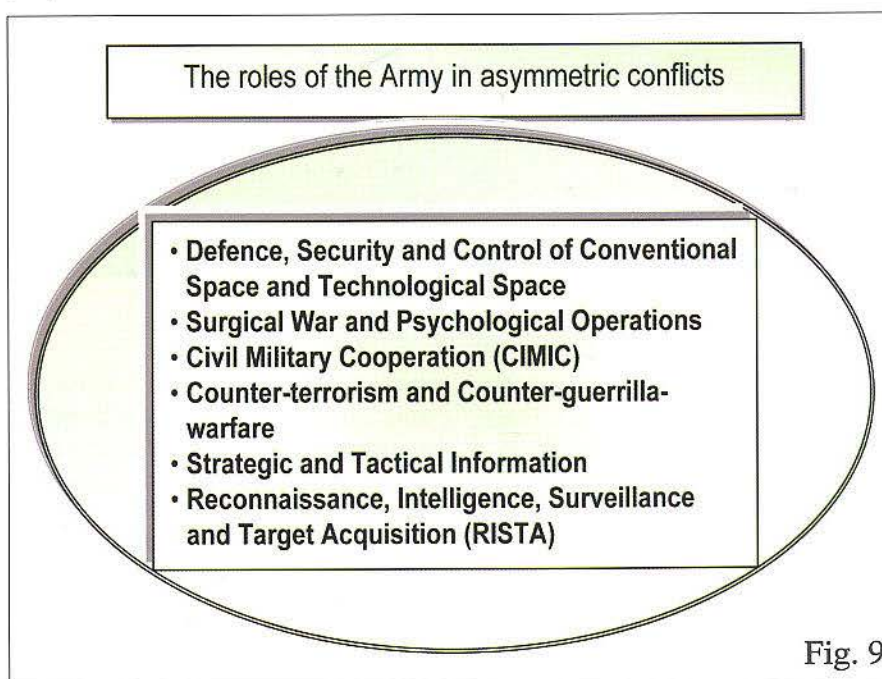


Fig. 9



An Italian patrol on surveillance duty.

In order to cope with this type of threats a Country like Italy, which is enormously dependent on sea communications, should provide itself with a single operational command, with an air-naval integrated system of Communication, Command, Control and Information (C3I), equipped with sensors and instruments for

gathering data on land, airborne and on ship, capable of keeping under control the waters surrounding the peninsula and the most important points of access and transit: the Channel of Otranto, the Strait of Messina and the Channel of Sicily.

A complete picture of the situation would enable the Command

to employ forces adequate, in type and size, to the level of the threat.

The responsibility of this Command would be that of managing the forces available for the operations envisaged for the presence-and-surveillance function in peacetime, exploiting in the best possible way the various systems on

the basis of their characteristics.

Therefore, it is a matter of realizing a complex structure, which could be defined as "in layers", where each layer contains certain types of systems, going from the simplest ones, e.g. patrol motor-boats, to the most advanced such as high-sea patrol boats, corvettes and aircraft. These layers should be complementary and not made of watertight compartments, since the most capable systems could also work as local Command-and-Control Centres and intervene, if necessary, where the lower-level ones usually operate.

In crisis situations, the structure would participate in a function of integrated-defence of the national spaces, contributing to close the accesses to any form of threat coming from the sea.

The Command could also coordinate the actions carried out by

amphibious or land units to defend the coast. Of course, for all this to be accomplished, the Army, Navy and Air Force, besides the Harbour Offices and the "Guardia di Finanza" with its air and naval units, should be enabled to operate together in real situations, overcoming ministerial jurisdictions, bureaucratic obstacles and possible rivalries.

These are not trifles and require a great effort from the political and military leaders, also because the rationalization of the chains of command would imply a reduction in personnel, but it is necessary to take resolutely the road of utmost joint collaboration in order to implement a really effective defence instrument, adequate to the meet needs of the Country and the foreseeable threat.

In addition the type of threat and the means to counter it, the

configuration of a defensive instrument depends also on the hydrographical characteristics of the basin concerned and the morphology of the coasts.

An example: a Country like Norway, with 1500 km of jagged coastline, densely populated and with important industrial infrastructure, entrusts its defence to a mixed deployment of artillery pieces and torpedo-tubes protected by fjords. An attempt at modernization was the planned adaptation of the "Penguin" anti-ship missile to the requirements of coastal defence.

But the instruments mentioned above are insufficient for opposing terrorist actions carried out with small submarines, either electric or with closed-cycle heat engines, or with any type of underwater vehicles.

Against these actions one can use nets of underwater acoustic

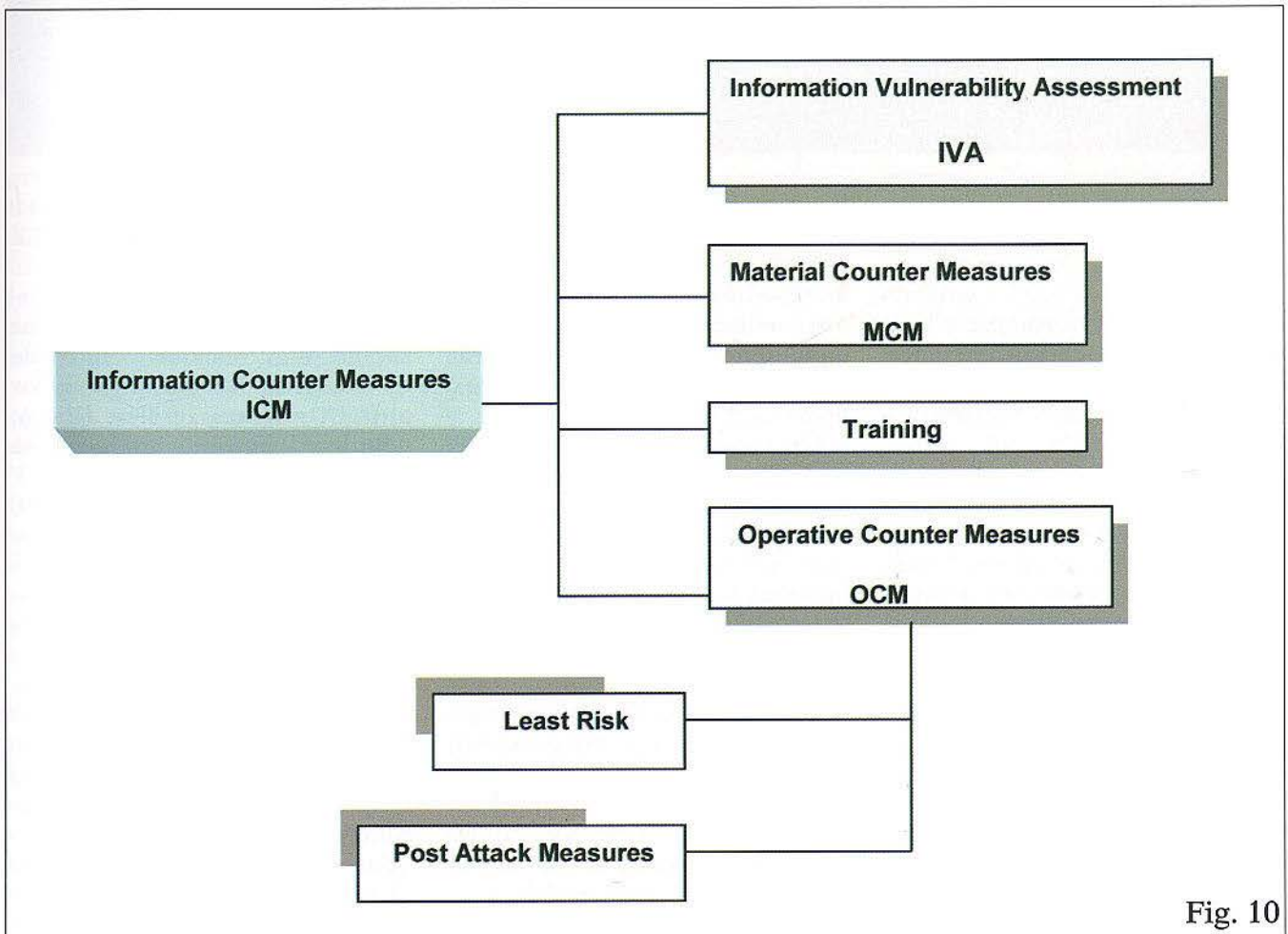


Fig. 10



The turret of a "Centauro" heavy armoured car.

and magnetic sensors, placed on the seabed at a certain distance from the coast and connected with an operations station on land.

The efficiency of an instrument of this kind would be further enhanced if the chain of sensors could be integrated with underwater telecameras for surveillance and reconnaissance when the threat cannot be identified with the necessary certainty.

In case of alarm, as the threat is identified, the countering action could be assigned to amphibious units of the Army or to formations like the Navy's Underwater Raiders (COMSUBIN).

Another important contribution to this defensive deployment

is given by radar and naval/air patrols.

In the latter case, an aircraft like the helicopter, equipped with a surveillance radar and flying at an altitude of 5 metres above sea-level can control an area of approximately 1140 sq km.

The monitored area increases to 3700 sq km if the aircraft flies at an altitude of 150 metres at a speed of 190 knots. The airplane is obviously preferable, since helicopters have very high operational costs and need a great number of maintenance hours for each hour of flight.

To verify the third condition, concerning the security of the "Internal Environment" and therefore of the infrastructure located within it, we shall have to have recourse to the construction of a preventive-security model.

THE PREVENTIVE-SECURITY MODEL

For constructing this model we should refer to a statement made by Daniel N. Nelson, a professor at the University of New Haven, who has long been interested in military strategy.

Security, according to Nelson, consists of a delicate and dynamic balance between resources and threats and, in order to ensure this balance, a Nation must develop two different models.

The first is conceived on the reduction of dangers, thanks to diplomacy and international alliances; the second, instead, is based on the exploitation of the Country's resources.

As regards the first model, we can say that the need to resort to international alliances had al-

ready been anticipated by US General Douglas Mac Arthur, a man that knew many secrets and who used to repeat that the next world war would be a global conflict of land forces, joined together to fight evil forces. Probably the same evil forces which characterize those that U.S. President Bill Clinton once defined as the invisible threat of international terrorism.

We are going to work on the second model, keeping in mind that the concept of resource contained therein is very far-reaching and includes organizations such as the Armed Forces which, according to Nelson, must be modernized in order to present them as an instrument of remote control of conflicts and of active prevention of crises within the defence and security framework.

The initiatives for achieving this modernization include, first of all, the training activities necessary for the acquisition of counter-terrorism operational capabilities in an urban environment.

The selection of this training ground is not accidental since terrorism exploits to its own advantage any urban infrastructure in order to cause destructive effects on the civilian population and consequences at economic and politico-military level.

The Army carries out its tasks of high professional level in this direction, as shown by Exercise "Fight in Built Urban Areas" (FI-BUA), with technical experiments of patrolling techniques against guerrillas and terrorists, search of suspect areas, capture and interrogation of prisoners and gathering of information.

These techniques are applied within operations defined as "Three-Block War" which, in general, include monitoring activities, control of the infrastructure and military actions against terrorist cells or groups of guerrillas (fig. 9) (11).

In order to carry out these ta-

sks, the Armed Forces, and the Army in particular, most have operational units with an high level of mobility and flexibility.

Thus it is important for the Government to ensure the possibility of acquiring modern equipment and materials for the constitution of these units.

The international cooperation must be closer and closer, at both unit level and information level. In the first case, servicemen from foreign units should spend longer training periods with the Italian units and vice versa. A mutual operational knowledge cannot but give positive results, as was proved by the joint Italo-Maltese exercise "Terraferma 2003" (12).

In the second case, international cooperation at informative level is fundamental because information, even if confirmed by many sources, is in itself sterile and therefore requires the analysis and comparison by different intelligence services.

Therefore a real cooperation and the exchange of information and data is essential. Raw information coming from a unit can be analysed, developed and managed more efficiently on the field.

Besides, one should take into account that at informative level there must be no doubt or perplexity, not even licit ones, and to fully understand that the "terrorist enemy" is the same for everybody and without a resolute common military policy it is impossible to achieve a definitive victory.

Another important resource to be employed for security purposes is the modern technology for surveillance, which provides concrete investment occasions for our industry, for training civilian and military personnel and for employment (13).

We should consider that after 9/11 there has been a proliferation of reactions concerning security and surveillance. The highly technological industries, smelling the possibility of laun-

ching their products, sensed in the attack on the World Trade Center the occasion they needed for making security appliances, exactly as has been done in the last thirty years, after terrorism induced the airlines to make technical changes in aircraft and airport structures.

From the technological viewpoint the security measures will be applied to the infrastructure, to the personnel working therein and the info-structure that includes the computer nets.

SECURITY OF THE INFRASTRUCTURE

Waterworks and electric systems are particularly vulnerable to the terrorist threat. They are highly technological networks, ramified all over the territory and very difficult to control thoroughly.

In this situation, the prevention of terrorist actions must be entrusted to a network of sensors that can immediately signal any situation of risk. As regards waterworks, for example, one can employ special chemo-resistors, i.e. electrochemical sensors whose electric resistance varies according to the degree of alteration in the water composition.

In case of chemical or bacteriological attack, the type of toxic agent can be identified by immediately interrupting the water supply to the urban network.

As concerns instead the electric system, if on the one hand the situation is not worrying at pollution level, on the other it can have chaotic consequences in case of a black-out caused by a terrorist attack.

In these emergencies it is necessary to experiment electronic devices which can make automatic the redistribution of the flow of electric energy, thus offsetting the power losses caused by accidental failures or sabotage.

The problem is similar to that

of the internet, where the management of the data stream must be operational even if portions of the net are destroyed.

For the security of military or civilian land installations of a certain strategic importance, such as NATO bases, electric and nuclear plants and scientific research centres, one can employ devices for controlling and surveying the perimeter of the area of the installation.

These devices are the so-called "Unattended Ground Sensors" (UGS) which provide information on the movements around restricted areas.

The other possible applications, besides those for reconnaissance, intelligence and monitoring of perimeters, include the measurement of the level of radiations and the discovery of contaminations caused by chemical or bacteriological agents.

The integration with a secure and protected communication system permits to connect the UGS into a net, enabling the control centre to better observe the movements around the installation.

Still as regards security, a special chapter should be devoted to "Personnel Security", i.e. the security measures adopted for control and identification of the qualified personnel who operate inside civilian and military installations.

To this end, one resorts to biometric identification techniques, based on the comparison of the imprints of voice, iris, hands and face.

These techniques permit to enter restricted areas and services, such as:

- Military Security Areas of strategic and military interest, i.e. Defence Research Centres;
- Network and Computer Security Areas: data bases and critical applications;
- Airport Security Areas: reserved areas for the airlines.

Infrastructure security

In order to face the threat of cyber-terrorism against civilian and military infrastructure, appropriate countermeasures systems can be developed, known as Information Counter Measures (ICM), divided into several areas (fig.10).

Information Vulnerability Assessment (IVA)

In this area one can define the various levels of danger and classify the damages caused by an attack against the net, singling out the most vulnerable work stations or connected sites, implementing at the same time the necessary security measures for the information system recoded in computer files.

If we establish a certain order of priority for the security of the net, the Information Vulnerability Assessment should at the first level, as a security measure that can identify and classify the type of attack, its level of dangerousness and consequently the type of countermeasure to be adopted which could be found in the successive intervention area, known as Operative Counter Measures (OCM).

Operative Counter Measures (OCM)

The Operative Counter Measures include: Least Risk. With this countermeasure one tries to reduce the extent of the risk connected with a possible attack on the net, through the use of removable Hard Disks, the transfer of important files to other restricted users, in the shape of back-ups, and the replacement or update of the passwords with different access codes. Post Attack Measures: they include the measures for recovering lost or damaged information, reconstruction of data bases and restoration of disrupted connections.

Material Counter Measures (MCM)

It is fundamental to update the equipment of the net, paying attention to what is offered by modern technology in terms of hardware and software, in order to be sure to detect and eliminate all possible viruses, electromagnetic emissions and coding of data.

Training

The training programme of technical personnel must be adequate to the specific needs of security and protection of the net and computer system.

The programme envisages the study of subjects concerning methods for detecting and describing the security goals. Then, as didactic logic in the training context, the programme will cover the analysis and assessment of the risks deriving from cyber-terrorism and the estimation of the consequences on the nets and computer systems as a result of one or more threats.

Furthermore, it will be necessary to study the decision-making procedures and techniques for the countermeasures to be adopted, not only to avoid damages to the systems but also to reduce the risks to an acceptable level, thus finding a reasonable compromise between the cost of the countermeasures and that of the electronic equipment needed for their implementation. Therefore, the training areas will include the "Knowledge Management, Intelligence Collection and Distribution", the "Joint Surveillance" and the "Information Technology Security".

CONCLUSIONS

The realization of an adequate defence and security model requires assets and financial resources proportionate to the pro-



bability of occurrence of terrorist events, and covers overlapping areas, levels and functions.

The areas are respectively represented by the "External Environment" from which the terrorist threats come, and the "Internal Environment", where the threats materialize becoming offensive and destructive actions against the civilian and military infrastructure and info-structure.

The levels, instead, concern intelligence, modern technologies for surveillance and security, and military training. These levels, in their turn, are divided according to the following separate functions:

"Intelligence, configured for the identification of terrorist events and recognition of the type of th-

reat and action, through ad hoc analytic previsional models and investigative instrument.

"Technology: it refers to the "Internal Environment" which houses the infrastructure whose security must be defended. The importance of this function was already well known in the past epochs. Suffice to think that in the Renaissance there was the widespread idea that peace and prosperity should be organized precisely thanks to technology and science, an idea that was further strengthened by the European Enlightenment. Since then the attempts at planning security have been an essential priority in a world of fears generated by terrorism.

"Military Training, which must

Rangers of the 9th "Col Moschin" Regiment in the afghan desert.

be adapted to the scenario imposed by terrorism, which requires the capability of fighting on a battlefield represented by any environment which includes, besides the conventional one, also the social, ethnic, political and economic space.

From this point of view, one should progressively modernize the traditional training conducted at military institutes and academies.

Unfortunately there is a great gap between the conventional military and the modern ones. Today's soldier must be trained to fight, think and reason like a "mi-

An A-129 "Mangusta" helicopter during a low-altitude flight in Iraq.

litary Machiavelli" and, at the same time, adjust himself with extreme flexibility to the requirements imposed by the diverse operational situations of the war against terrorism. □

Expert in Geostrategy

NOTES

(1) Giancarlo Bove, "Terrorism in Media Format", *Rivista Militare*, Eng. Ed., no 3/2004.

(2) Antiterrorism includes the passive forms of defence, while counterterrorism conducts offensive actions aimed at neutralizing the terrorist threat.

(3) Special Operations: actions conducted by military or paramilitary forces specifically organized, trained and equipped for achieving military, political, economic, psychological and counterterrorism goals by employing non-conventional means in hostile, prohibited or particularly sensitive areas. In peacetime and in conflict situations, they are carried out independently or in coordination with conventional forces. Politico-military considerations are often at the root of Special Operations, imposing clandestine, covering or low-visibility techniques, as well as controls at national level. Special Operation differ from Conventional Operations as regards risk, operational techniques, modalities of employment, independence from any support and dependence on detailed operational information and local resources.

(4) President of the University Centre of Strategic and International Studies, and ISPRI Scientific Coordinator.

(5) The terrorist attacks and the defeat of Premier José Maria Aznar are terrorism's greatest victories since September 11 and perhaps of the last years, as stated by American conservative political scientist Robert Kagan.

(6) At Laxemburg Castle, near Vienna, former residence of Maria Theresa, Queen of Austria, there is a research centre (IAASA) which has the sole objective of transforming a pre-

diction of the future into an exact science. The Centre was founded in the late sixties thanks to a Russian-American agreement and employs as researchers scientists from every part of the world.

(7) In January 2003 the U.S. Senate, after a vote following a proposal by Senator Ron Wyden from Oregon, rejected the possibility of financing a programme for fighting terrorism called "Total Information Aware-

ness" (TIA). The draft of the plan had been commissioned to retired Admiral John Poindexter by the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). A former National Security Adviser in the Reagan administration, the Admiral has been appointed by President George W. Bush as Chief of the Information Awareness Office (IAO), a department dealing with new intelligence systems, TIA among them. TIA can





rely on a number of capabilities of electronic reconnaissance of information called "data mining", which would facilitate the work of the analysts.

(8) Text Mixing permits to deal with documents by using automatic-analysis instruments. These tools summarize and categorize the information contained in the documents, identify their language, extract names and sentences, report the fre-

quency of words and phrases and classify documents according to their importance within a specific subject. The analysis and information coming from many sources and relevant to the same subject can disclose structures and connections permitting to go back to the planning of a certain policy and even to foresee future decisions.

(9) On the basis of what has already been done by several European Ar-

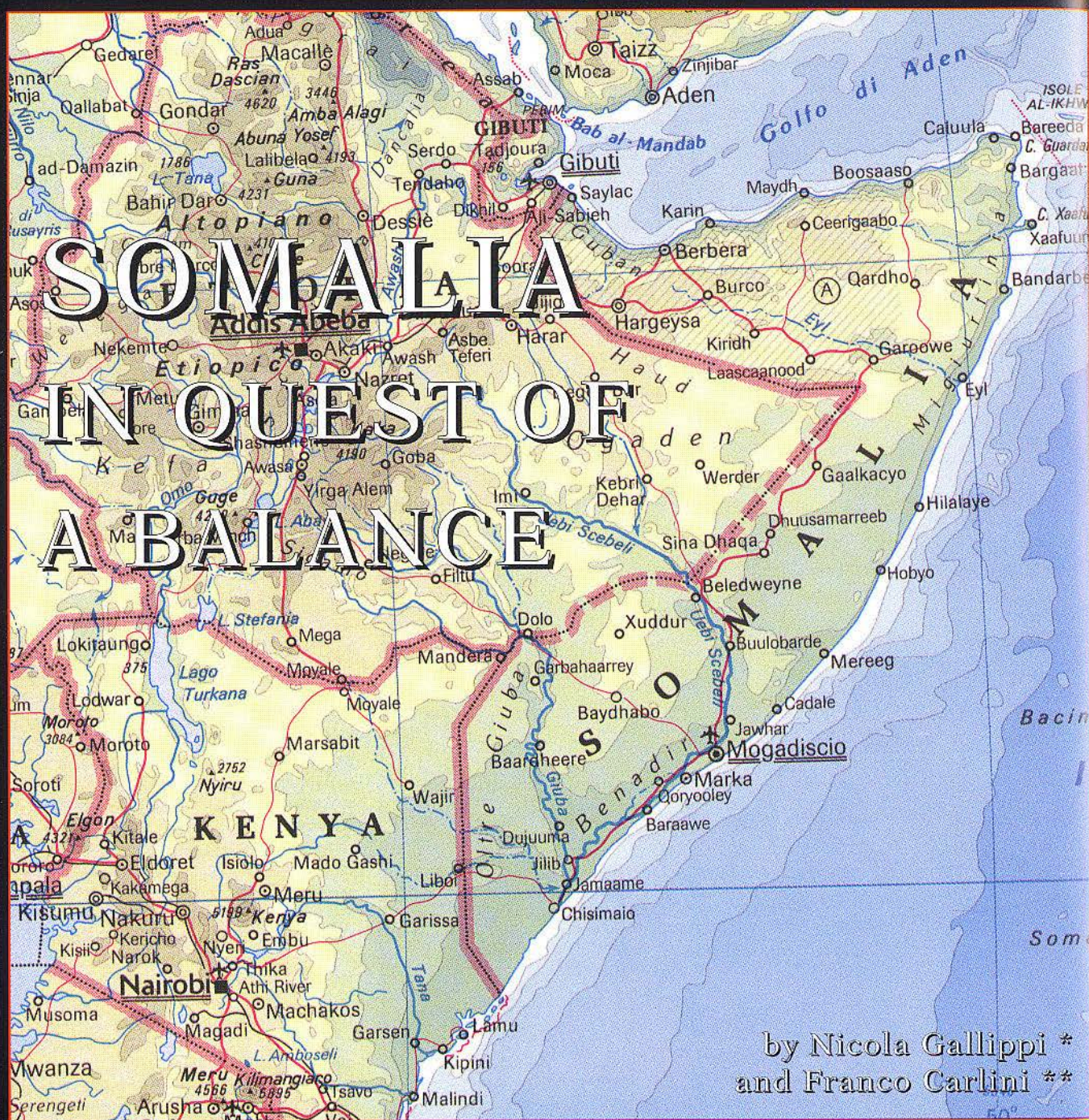
mies, the Italian Army has also decided to acquire an innovative training system for simulation. A document issued by the Army Staff in April 1999 outlined the requirements in this sector and was followed by a Project Group for Simulation. This small group of Officers was given the task of making a thorough analysis of the state of the art in the simulation sector in order to create a system capable of meeting all training requirements.

(10) "Cyberspace" is a parallel universe, created and nourished by communication nets and computers. A world produced by traffic and by the digital accumulation of data, information, knowledge, evaluations, comparisons and indicators.

(11) In this regard, the "Nibbio 1" Task Force, based on the 9th "Alpini Regiment" of the "Taurinense" Brigade, reinforced by personnel of other Branches and Corps, has applied these techniques in its actions of terrorism contrast and prevention. The "Nibbio" contingent operated in the Khost area, in the eastern part of Afghanistan, on the Pakistani border, the so-called Sanctuary Denial Area, in order to neutralize the terrorist formations and their possible logistic bases.

(12) Exercise "Terraferma 2003" was conducted at the Cesano Infantry School. The activity carried out by Maltese and Italian servicemen helped to improve the cooperation, integration and relations between the Armed Forces of the two Countries in a well defined operational context. The exercise included the activation of checkpoints and observation posts, armed escorts, control of riots and crowds, surveillance of sensitive areas, mine-clearing, operation in urban environments.

(13) As for personnel training, in 2004 a project called "Security Consulting United Didactic Organization (SCUDO) was promoted with the cooperation of the "Ente Nazionale ACLI Istruzione Professionale (ENAI) and the Israeli multinational organization "Logan's Ltd". "Logan's Ltd" was founded in 1988 by a group of security advisors, former members of the Israeli Armed Forces, with an extensive know-how in antiterrorism. SCUDO is an initiative realized in order to teach how to manage terror-related situations which endanger the people's physical safety, activities and property. For more details visit: www.logan-sltd.com and www.enaip.it.



THE RECENT HISTORY

From independence to the "end of the State"

On July 1, 1960 the territories formerly governed by Italy and Britain become independent and are unified into the parliamentary Republic of Somalia.

The coup d'état carried out by Siad Barre on October 21, 1969,

changes the form of the State into a "Socialist Republic", governed at first by a Supreme Revolutionary Council and then, from July 1, 1976 by the Revolutionary Social Party. Anyway, the power remains in the tight hold of dictator Siad Barre, who leads a bloody war against Ethiopia, coming out a loser.

On January 27, 1991 the regime falls, pulled down by underground political forces; the first

among them is the Liberation Army of Somalia, which assembles several minor groups.

Thus a phase of power struggles begins, led by various warlords. The figures of Mohamed Farah Aideed and Ali Mahdi Mohamed, allied in the United Somalian Congress, stand out among them. This phase degenerates into violence against the civilians, with thousands of dead and injured. The fight for power



becomes an actual war of bands, blindly led, unable to take control of the situation and restore political and social order.

On April 24, 1992, the United Nations Security Council approves the employment of Observers for the implementation of the ceasefire subscribed by the warlords, but does not provide for adequate control procedures. The following September 19, Farah Aideed enters Mogadishu and imposes the withdrawal of the UN Observers.

On December 9, 1992, following a resolution of the United Nations Security Council, the American Marines land near Mogadishu before the television cameras. Operation "Restore Hope" begins under American command and with the participation of an Italian Contingent, "Italfor Ibis", which has already been present in the Theatre since December 13 with its reconnaissance teams. The Command appoints Ali Mahdi "ad-interim" President of Somalia. The United Somali Congress splits up forming two main political groups: the Somali National Alliance, headed by Aideed, and the Somali Political Union led by Ali Mahdi. In the meantime, on May 4, 1993, the multinational operation becomes a UN mission, "Continue Hope", with the participation of 28 Countries. The Italian Contingent becomes "Italfor Ibis II".

Despite the repeated ceasefire agreements, and because of the presence of Muslim terrorists infiltrated by bin Laden, who has moved to nearby Sudan, violence does not end and culminates in the shooting down of an American helicopter and the murder of

Today the Country is fragmented by infinite divisions. Since 1991, in the areas that had been under British rule during the colonial period, there has been Somaliland, a State that has never been recognized by the international Organizations. In 1998 the north-eastern Regions declared their independence taking the name of Puntland. The southern regions are prey to a number of "warlords", forever fighting each other.



U.S. Marines on a Somalian beach.

eighteen rangers. As everyone knows, the Italian Contingent counts three dead and twenty-two wounded during the clashes in Mogadishu on July 2, 1993. The perpetuation of violence brings to an end the peace-making effort carried out by the United Nations. On March 21, 1994, the last Italian Units return home, at the end of an evacuation that lasts about seventy days, within a scheduled reduction of the multinational force sanctioned by the UN.

On February 28, 1995, the entire multinational force completes the evacuation, leaving Somalia to its destiny of violence. During the following five years there is an increase in the terrorist presence, on which Aideed leans, and the continuation of the impotent Presidency of Ali Mahdi. Aideed is killed on August 1,

1996.

In 1991 Somaliland (formerly British Somalia) declares its independence.

Attempts at pacification

A National Reconciliation Conference, convened at Arta by the President of Djibuti, begins on May 2, 2000. The Conference appoints a Provisional National Assembly, which elects Abdikassim Salad Hassan ad-interim President for a three-year term.

He takes office in Mogadishu with the Assembly, but does not manage to exert his authority outside the capital, even though he is supported by the Muslim Fundamentalists and the econo-



A VCC-1 at a checkpoint on the Imperial route.

mic powers. The Somali territory is still controlled by the warlords. It should be noted that at the Arta Conference, counting no less than 2000 delegates, many warlords were not present. Among them: Yusuf of Puntland, Osman Assan Ali Ato of Central Somalia and Musa Sudi Yalahow of Southern Mogadishu, all of them important names who will later on come back to the limelight. Abdikassim, therefore, is appointed President without being backed by the holders of the military strength.

Between 2000 and 2002 the situation of diffuse violence keeps dragging on till the National Reconciliation Conference arrives at a declaration of cessation of hostilities (October 27, 2002), after which the disorders decrease.

At about the same time of the declaration of cessation of hostilities, the "Technical Committee" holds a summit of the three bordering Countries in Khartoum. On this occasion, an agreement is reached for a new reconciliation conference, to be convened on ethnical bases. The Technical Committee becomes a "Facilitation Committee" for-

med by the delegates of the "Inter Governmental Authority on Development" (IGAD) (1). The work goes on smoothly, also because the Abdikassim presidency *de facto* continues his term of office. Thus the participants in the Reconciliation Conference establish the Temporary Parliamentary Assembly, with 275 members appointed on an ethnical basis, which write a draft of the Constitution.

On September 13, 2003, the Assembly approves the draft of a temporary federal Constitution. The decrease of the fights among the armed factions, which had started the previous year, is more and more evident.

The year 2004 is full of hope. The most important stages are:

- January 19: amendment to the Constitution draft, fixing in five years the transition period;
- October 10: the Parliamentary Assembly elects Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed, from the Darod ethnic group and the Migiurtinian clan, as provisional President of the Somali Federal Republic, with temporary seat in Nairobi; he is elected by an overwhelming majority (189 votes out of 275) and the election is extended to all clans;
- October 14: President Yusuf swears in the presence of important personalities, among

whom the President of the African Union and the previous temporary President, Abdikassim, elected at Arta. Yusuf's election is seen with favour by the Vatican for his attitude against terrorism. The UN also expresses its appreciation.

- beginning of November: President Yusuf appoints as Prime Minister Ali Mohamed Gedi, from the Hawiye ethnic group and the Abgal clan.

A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY

The complicate formation of the Government

Obviously the events of 2004 are particularly important in order to understand the current Somali situation, together with the behind-the-scene activity that makes them part of the Somali reality, which is mostly determined by the strong powers existing in the capital. Mogadishu is the seat of three powers:

- a religious power, held by the Islamic courts, with their own militiamen; in at least a few of them, one can surmise some radically oriented Islamicist inspiration. The courts are religious tribunals that can assure some order to the city, but most of all they can assemble and manoeuvre a large number of people;
- a military power, typical of the warlords, who are rather "lay" and essentially interested in the game of clan or family alliances, according to the convenience of the moment;
- an economic power, held by traders, who can buy political, religious or military alliances, in order to develop their own interests in the best possible way.

The main holders of these powers seem to be:

- as for religious power, Sheikh Shariff Ahmed, President of the Islamic Religious Organization;

RELIGION

The Muslim-Sunni is the prevailing religion. There are small Christian-Copts minorities.

Islam has been present since the VII century A.D., as shown by the fact that the Somalis trace back the origin of their internal ethnic groups to Mohammed's contemporaries.

Traditionally, though, the Islamic religious rigour did not permeate the Somalian tribal web deeply. The Somalis are still firmly anchored to clan and tribe ties, which through these "civilian" and military hierarchies lighten the power of the religious ones. Therefore the episodes connected with fundamentalism and religious terrorism have occurred only recently, mostly because of al-Qaeda's infiltrations, which found a fertile soil in the disorder and violence which followed Siad Barre's fall.

- as regards military power, some figures of the Hawiye-Habar Gidir, the "warrior" clan, whose armed militias are among the strongest in Mogadishu. At their side there is powerful Musa Sudi Yalahow, of the same Hawiye ethnic group, but from the Abgal clan, who is hostile to the West and to Italy, and boasts an important armed presence in the southern area of the Capital;
- as for economic power, Osman Assan Ali Ato, from the Hawiye ethnical group and Haben Gidir clan, a powerful businessman from Mogadishu. Both Musa Sudi and Osman Ato, in the beginning at least, have supported Aideed (Hawiye-Habar Gidir) against Ali Mahdi (Hawiye-Abgal) and a strong fellowship has been existing between them for years, even though they belong to different clans.

President Yusuf – an outsider in the Capital, since he comes from peripheral Puntland – soon after his election thinks he can get around the Mogadishu situation and follow his own policy: i.e. he neglects to look both for an alliance with Osman Ato, whi-

ch could be useful to have the economic power on his side, and for the neutralization of Musa Sadi, which would eliminate a heavy obstacle to his pro-West policy.

It is also important to underline that the election of President Yusuf was not expected, since the widely favoured candidate was Abdi Abdullahi

Abdou, a very charismatic figure with an important political and diplomatic background, generally looked up to, because he has always been above the factions. Finally, it seems that Yusuf's election had rather obscure implications and that he was strongly backed by Ethiopia (Somalia's historical enemy) also on the advice of the United States, which supposedly considered him an ally in the anti-terrorist strategy for the region.

The most unsatisfied is the very strong Hawiye-Habar Gidir clan (to which Abdi Abdullah Abdou belongs). The Habar Gidir, having taken note of the result of the presidential election, would have liked at least the appointment of one of their candidates as Prime Minister. But things do not go this way, as President Yusuf chooses the almost unknown Ali Mohammed Gedi, who belongs to the Hawiye ethnic group, but is from the Abgal clan, and is



Italian soldiers guarding a school reopened with the help of the "Ibis" Contingent.

considered by the Habar Gidir a powerless Prime Minister.

Among Yusuf's election intrigues, one should also consider the possible Islamic repercussions, as the fundamentalists were in favour of the confirmation of Abdikassim, whom they supported during his 2000-2004 term. Moreover, it seems that they have not completely cut their relations with al-Qaeda.

The formal acts of constitution of the Government continue with the appointment of ministers in a number considered sufficient to meet the ethnic and clan balances, according to a particular Somalian "handbook". The Government takes office in the temporary seat of Nairobi on December 1.

But at this point the dissatisfaction of the Habar Gidir comes to the fore, and exactly on December 2, in Gelinsor, near the Ethiopian border, there are clashes with many victims between subgroups of the same Habar Gidir clan, the Saad and the Suleiman. The reasons, which were revealed only afterwards, would lie in the fact that the Saad accuse the Suleiman of backing the policy of Yusuf and Gedi; besides, being Gelinsor so close to the Ethiopian border, it almost sounds as a warning to both Yusuf and Ethiopia.

Moreover, on December 11, the Parliamentary Assembly passed a vote of no-confidence against the Prime Minister and his government, for protocol reasons, and on the 17th of the same month fighting breaks out again at Gelinsor and merchant ships of the United Arab Emirates are bombed off the coast of Mogadishu by a minor warlord who controls the port.

In the meantime, though, already on December 12, the day after the no-confidence vote, the diplomacy of the clans start to work again and political meetings among the government Authorities and all their counter-

TERRITORY

Somalia, the "horn" of the Horn of Africa, is a vast tableland sloping down from Ethiopia, and higher in the northern regions. The land is arid, with the exception of the southern regions crossed by the Juba, Uebi and Shebelle rivers. The climate is characterized by scarce rainfall.

Besides Mogadishu (the Capital, with more than 1 million inhabitants), other important cities are Hargeysa, in the internal northern territory, Berbera, an important commercial port on the Gulf of Aden, Hobyo and Kismayu, port towns respectively north-east and south-west of Mogadishu; Baidoa, which is 250 kilometers north-west of the Capital, almost halfway between Mogadishu and Ethiopia; Jowhar, a small town located 90 kilometres from the Capital.

The economy relies mainly on sheep, goat and camel breeding. Agriculture is quite developed as regards cereals, sweet potatoes, peanuts and bananas. Minery resources are modest (rock salt, iron and gypsum), although there are non-exploited deposits of carbon, copper, chromium, gold, manganese, uranium and zinc.

There are few industries: petrochemical, cement, textile, leather tanning, food (sugar and cooking oil).

The northern regions, from the border with Djibuti to Sanag and Sol, form Somaliland (practically the former British Somalia, with Hargeysa as its capital) which in 1991 declared its independence and confirmed it with a referendum in 2002. Somaliland, though, is not internationally recognized.

Also Puntland, which more or less corresponds to the vertex of the "horn", has given itself a marked autonomy.

The bordering Countries are Djibuti (former French Somalia), Ethiopia and Kenya. Ethiopia, 61% Christian, mainly orthodox, afflicted by the lack of an outlet to the Indian Ocean, is Somalia's historical rival: between them there is also an old border dispute, regulated by an administrative line which cuts into two parts vast territories mainly inhabited by Somali ethnic groups.

Somalia, mostly for religious affinities, strongly feels the presence of Yemen and Saudi Arabia on the opposite shore of the Gulf of Aden.

parts follow one another at fast pace, with the result of a possible strong agreement between the Saad of Habar Gidir (Hawiye) and the Migiurtinians (Darod). The Agreement would lead to the appointment of General Adde Mussa (old rival of Yusuf, his predecessor) as new President of Puntland.

The meetings define also a new government, in a position to obtain a vote of confidence, which includes the powerful men of Mogadishu, who would otherwise prevent the Government from entering the Capital and from carrying out its institutional activity. The new ministerial structure asks Parliament for a vote of confidence on December 23.

Thus 2004 ends with an apparent albeit difficult success of the reconciliation policy wanted by Europe, in all likelihood in accordance with the United States, and directly promoted by the IGAD Countries. Among them there is also the historical enemy of Somalia, Ethiopia, whose presence casts a shadow on the result. The new Somalian leadership leaks out reassuring reports towards the international community, expressing the intention of neutralizing Islamic fundamentalism in order to achieve a normalization of the Country as soon as possible. This political attitude pays, if it is true, as some say, that China immediately offers considerable help.

POPULATION

The really Somalian ethnic groups form 98.3% of the population. The Arabs are 1.2% and the remaining 0.5% is made up of other small minorities.

There are five Somalian ethnic groups:

- Hawiye (35%) whose main clans are: Abgal, Habar Gidir, Hawadie, Murosade;
- Darod (25%) of which Migiurtinia, Ogaden and Marrahan are the most important clans;
- Dir (19%) with Issak, Yunis, Wallo and some other less important clans;
- Rahanweyn (15%);
- Digil (6%).

The Somalian ethnic groups have a genealogical foundation of a religious nature, since all of them have a founder descended from Aquil Ibn Taalib, Ali's brother, Mohammed's cousin and designed heir.

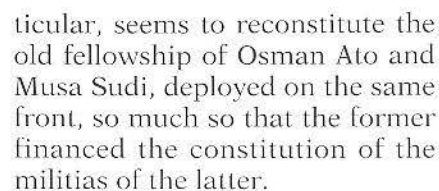
The Hawiye, the Darod and the Dir are the most important and the richest ethnic groups. The other are considered inferior and are contemptuously called "sab".

As there are conflicts among the ethnic groups, so there can be conflicts among clans and even sub-clans (as is currently happening between the Saad and Soleyman sub-clans of the Habar Gidir clan).

The same situation prevails also as regards the alliances.

Families are large, of an open type, and very important. They can be transversal to the clans and even to the ethnic groups. The familiar bonds often prevail over those of the ethnic group, the clan and sub-clan, generating new and mutable tribal alliances, promoted by specific interests

As far as the internal situation is concerned, among the newly-appointed Ministers there is the significant presence of Osman Assan Ali Ato, a very strong figure in the Capital, mentioned as the holder of the Somalian economic power, with interests as far as the United States; of Musa Sudi Yalahow, one of the main warlords controlling southern Mogadishu and central Scebeli; of Hussein Aideed, son of the dead Aideed, Ali Mahdi's antagonist. These three are respectively, Minister of Infrastructure and Reconstruction, Minister of Commerce and Minister of Information. The contiguity of the responsibilities of the first two, in par-



One thing is certain: 2004 ends with new violent fights, this time in Mogadishu itself and in Hobyo, on the coast of Central Somalia.

A Government in "exile"

The year 2005 opens with the presentation of the Government, which was sworn by President Yusuf on January 7 and received the vote of confidence by Parliament on January 13.

During the same days there is a rumour that the most important representative of the Habar Gidin, Abdi Abdullah Abdou, would voluntarily leave the political contest. The news, if true, can be interpreted

in two ways: one which is reassuring for the two leaders, Yusuf and Gedi, who do not have to fear anymore the cumbersome presence, in terms of legitimization, of a charismatic and challenging figure, who would have been a menace; and an opposite one, since Abdullah Abdou's withdrawal (final or temporary?) could also derive from his negative appraisal of the Somali situation, considered too intricate to be safely managed.

The fact remains that, from the very first days, there is a series of incidents, one-sided stances and violence that hamper the government policy and the possibility of installing the new Institutions. The incidents concern essentially the profanation of the Italian cemetery in Mogadishu; the stances refer to the probable entrance into Somalia of a multinational peace force and to the possibility of temporarily moving the capital from Mogadishu to another town; the violence is aimed at many different targets.

The Italian cemetery of Mogadishu is profaned by Islamic militiamen on January 19 and the Government, despite the official apologies, the symbolic reparatory initiatives taken by President Yusuf and some attempts at mediation, does not succeed in solving the question. A rudimental

mosque is built in the cemetery area and guarded by militiamen; during the prayers of the following Friday, leaflets against the Italians are distributed. On February 2, in order to unlock the situation, the Government decides to send a parliamentary delegation, accepting to pay a high political scot. Despite the Italian official protest, the incident of the cemetery is not solved but fades away against the background of other events.

The government's approval of an international peace force, consisting of 7000 men, is voted on February 5, in the presence of President Yusuf, by 36 Ministers; 9 Ministers vote against, some warlords are among them. This causes new disturbances: the following day (February 6) the arrival of a parliamentary delegation, sent to Mogadishu for the question of the cemetery, does not calm the troubled waters, actually the contrary is true. On the same day Minister Osman Ato, speaking on a local radio, says that the inhabitants of Mogadishu will never accept the presence of foreign troops. The opposition against the deployment of a peace force does not decrease, although President Yusuf says that the 7000 troops will be provided equally by the African Union and the Arab League (Fe-

bruary 9). Also Minister Musa Sudi says that "the President should come to Mogadishu without foreign troops", while Osman Ato reappears, criticizing Yusuf's pro-Ethiopian policy and inciting the people of Mogadishu to fight against the probable Ethiopian peace forces and all the enemies of Somalia, even if they are Somalis (February 9). The Islamic courts, on their turn, keep on saying, albeit with slightly different nuances, that they are against other Countries' peace forces, even African ones, unless they are Muslim. Sheik Shariff Ahmed, President of the Islamic Religious Organization, during a manifestation goes as far as threatening a Holy War (February 10). In the night between February 26 and 27 many parliamentarians and ministers sign a document against the presence of bordering Countries in the peace forces. This document has different repercussions. On the one side Ethiopia steps back, saying that it does not want to impose its presence (March 2); the American State Department basically agrees with those in the Government who do not want Ethiopian troops on the national territory (March 7). On the other side IGAD starts to show its intention of intervening in Somalia with troops from all its member countries (March 14 and 15); the Somali Government presents a motion in favour of the intervention, violently opposed by the parliamentarians, also with physical fights, and then definitely rejected (March 17). The following day IGAD, seen the unbearable political situation, follows the Italian suggestion and decides to send a peace force formed by its member Countries, with the exclusion of those bor-



A CH-47 transporting material and personnel of NGOs working in Somalia.

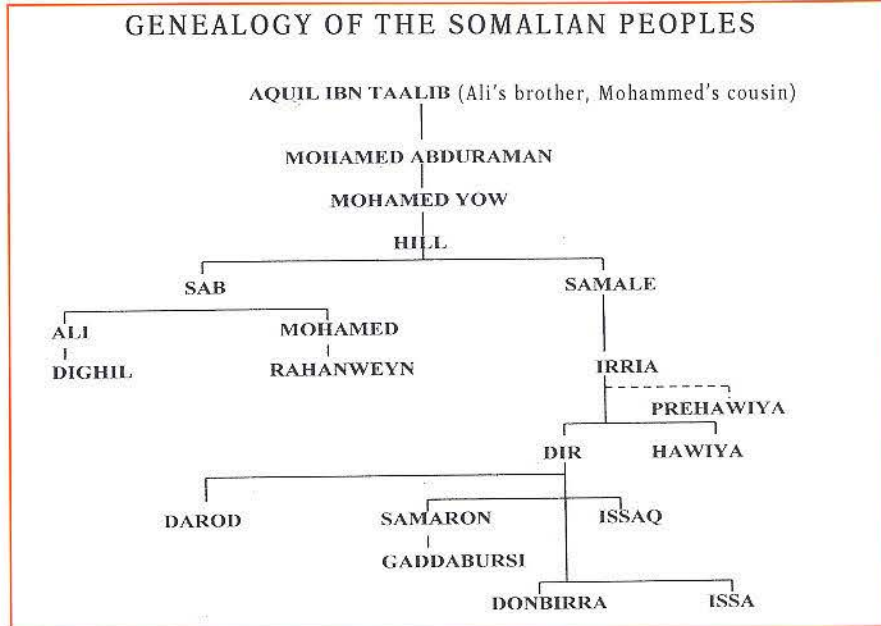
dering Somalia (Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibuti).

Therefore the question of a possible Ethiopian interference is solved with a great defeat of President Yusuf and Prime Minister Gedi.

Also the President's intention of bringing home the Institutions, in a town temporarily designated as capital (Baidoa or Jowhar), while waiting for the normalization of the situation in Mogadishu., meets with many obstacles: the Italians do not like it (declaration by the Speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, the Hon Pier Ferdinando Casini, to his Somali counterpart Hassan Sheikh Aden on February 14, during the latter's visit to Rome), and it is also the subject of an opposing document signed by many Somali ministers and parliamentarians, during the aforesaid night between February 26 and 27. Minister Musa Sudi, in his turn, in accordance with other warlords, declares his willingness to withdraw his militias from the Capital, in order to facilitate the entry of the Government (March 13). Despite all these signals the Government, during a meeting held on March 21, decides to move the Capital all the same. But the meeting is abandoned by about ten Ministers, among whom important Mogadishu personalities who, in a document of their own, declare to consider illegitimate any decision. The split is evident.

The Government takes notice of a second defeat, made even worse by the clashes that break out in Baidoa on March 26 among militiamen of pro-government Minister Hassan Mohammed Shatigudud and Mohammed Ibrahim Habsadai, a parliamentarian hostile to the possibility of making Baidoa a temporary Capital.

A third sign of resentment towards the Government is the resumption of violence. Besides the murder of two Generals in



the tense climate created by the profanation of the Italian cemetery, we must also record the resumption of skirmishes at Hobyo, with the probable presence of troops coming from Mogadishu (February 3), the demonstrative shooting against a parliamentary delegation arrived to Mogadishu two days before from Nairobi to attend a meeting with local notables (February 8), the murder of BBC journalist Kate Peyton (February 9), the terrorist attack with an "explosive" motorcycle against a delegation of the African Union, in Mogadishu for talks with representatives of the Arab League and IGAD (February 17), the clashes between the Islamic courts and the inhabitants of Mogadishu's Huriwa districts, and the fights at Hobyo between Saad and Suleyman (March 23).

This sequence of attacks against the Government, carried out in different ways, and the warnings to the international community, show that some persons do not want to renounce the positions gained during fifteen years of anarchy and prevent the President and his Government from settling in the Country. A quick visit to Somalia (February 24 and 25) by President Yusuf and Prime

Minister Gedi does not bring any appreciable results, but actually stirs up old disputes.

Yusuf's position is not easy, as is shown by a very critical letter, divulged on a Somali site by a certain doctor Abdishakur Jower. The letter invites Prime Minister Gedi to distance himself from President Yusuf, condemning his strategy, developed with the Ethiopian backing in order to isolate and weaken the strong Hawiye clans (Habar Gidir, Abgal, etc). In this strategy is also included the idea of moving the Capital from Mogadishu – where the Habar Gidir are a majority – to Baidoa. In order to oppose Yusuf, the writer of the letter urges the Prime Minister to take as a reference General Adde Musse, new Chief of Puntland and old rival of Yusuf. Doctor Jowar also advises the Prime Minister to oppose Islamic terrorism resolutely, since in this way he will get the support of the moderates and even that of the warlords.

SOME EVALUATIONS

The well-founded doubt is that some leading representatives of the new Somali course should be taking advantage of this situa-



A squad of US Marines.

tion in order to rediscuss the balance reached on December 2004. In fact it seems that three political areas come out from these events, even though it is not easy to trace their boundaries or superimpositions. It is also difficult to say something about their internal unity and consistency: one area, pro-West and pro-Ethiopia, is led by President Yusuf; another is mainly lay, traditional and nationalist, more or less of a Nasseirian type, against Ethiopia and animated, within the Hawiye ethnic group, by the Habar Gidir clan, where there are many important personalities, making it still very difficult to say who is the leader; the third is inspired by religion and considers the President of the Muslim Religious Organization, Sheikh Shariff Ahmed, its leader. Amidst all this, the Muslim terrorist threat remains looming and could have an important role in an unscrupulous game of short-lived alliances, creeping among the different factions in order to acquire positions of power and, in the final analysis, to orientate the new course of Somalia.

The letter written by doctor Abdishakur Jower can help in the evaluations. Its meaning seems to consist in the indication of Adde Mussa as a reference figure: if one considers that

he is a Darod-Migiurtinian, exactly like Yusuf, this could suggest the wish to replace the latter with the former, as this would not change the balances at the summit reached at the Reconciliation Conference: the Darod Migiurtinians would keep the Presidency; the Hawiye of the Abgal clan would keep the Premiership and for the Hawiye of the Habar Gidir clan the games would reopen, with the possibility of obtaining a larger presence in the Government and fostering the victory of a lay-nationalistic line, without the pro-Ethiopia obstacle represented by Yusuf. Fundamentalism would stay in the background, like a drifting mine.

This is the situation at the end of March. During the following months of April and May, it has been dramatically confirmed by the two main ensuing events: at the beginning of May, a failed attempt on Premier Gadi's life in the Mogadishu stadium, during his visit to the city (May 3), made to convince the people to accept the President's decision to move the Capital; at the end of May the town of Baidoa is taken over by the faction opposing President Yusuf, thus making impossible the transfer of the governmental institutions there.

The slackening of the dispute about the peace force, due to the moderate line followed by IGAD, triggers the quarrel on the Capital, till a probably conclusive day of reckoning.

In such a complex game is it possible to foretell the protagonists' future actions? Let us give it a try.

The Habar Gidir seem to be in the strongest position: they are widely backed by the Country (the Hawiye ethnic group, of which they are the main clan, is the most numerous and is located in the heart of Somalia) and they hold a firm power in Mogadishu, where President Yusuf cannot take office without becoming a "hostage" (and he has also serious problems about installing himself in a temporary Capital). Furthermore they represent the economic power and have a rather good control of the international relations through high personalities of the clans, and have shown their skill in the development of military capabilities by occupying Baidoa. Finally, they are further reinforced by the alliance with the Migiurtinians, through the sub-clan of the Saads. The lay-nationalistic "party", therefore, at present seems to have the best cards and be able to achieve its goals.

Also the religious "party" – which is less strong if compared to ten years ago and does not show any government ambition – can feel protected enough from external interferences of non-Muslim Countries. In fact, it is backed by two leading Ministers (Osman Ato and Musa Sudi) and, precisely in the Capital, has shown that it can mobilize the crowds and exert a remarkable pressure. At present it should not have the necessity to look for the support of extremist fringes.

A BRIEF UPDATING

The events of the months of June and July brought important changes in the situation.

On the international plane there has been the sudden transfer of the Governmental and Parliamentary institutions from Nairobi, Kenya, to Jowhar, Somalia (about 90 kilometers north of Mogadishu), while the dissident ministers and parliamentarians, gathered in the historical Capital, took a rigid position against the transfer of the political and administrative structures (June 14-30). Furthermore, President Yusuf started the constitution of a "Presidential militia", made up of loyal men from Puntland, to be employed as a police force and for the government's security (information confirmed by Prime Minister Gedi on July 8).

These initiatives taken by Yusuf widened the gap between the two government factions, starting an exchange of accusations, which brought the dispute to an almost breaking point. Also important, in the month of July, was the reemergence of Islamic fundamentalism, with the awkward shadow of Al Qaeda. In this respect, Brussel's International Crisis Group (I.C.G.) raised its authoritative voice, and in a report published at the beginning of July, as well as in a study of the end of the same month, reconstructs the activities of the al Qaeda groups in Mogadishu between 2003 and 2004 and informs of the recent constitution in that city of a terrorist formation, the "New Jihad". The I.C.G. maintains that it is time to give Somalia the same attention given to the Middle East, and that the Country risks to go back to the situation of 1995: in its territory, in fact, there could be leading figures tied to al-Qaeda (some of them made known also by the Italian Press), working in collusion with an emergent Somalian terrorist and linked to the Mogadishu militias.

At the same time, the press agencies record exchanges of accusations between the "dissident" Minister of Security, Qanyare, and the aforesaid emergent terrorist, about two assassinations that have occurred in the city, which have had a high impact from the social and religious viewpoint.

In short, the internal picture looks simpler now than at the end of May: there are only two parties, one pro-West and faraway from terrorism, and a nationalist one, controlled by the Mogadishu clans, historically not alien to alliances with terrorism, whereas the non-extremist religious party seems to have lost its voice. But the picture is politically more complex, as both parties are in the Government. The nationalist party counts the Hawiye ethnic group and the strongest clans (Habar Gidir and Abgal) that dominate over Mogadishu without rivals and, should they make a new alliance with the fundamentalists, they could reopen a violent phase, as was the case at the beginning of the nineties. As for the pro-West party, it can rely on the Darod ethnic group and on the minor groups present on the Somalian territory, on the alliance with Ethiopia and on the Puntland hinterland (which can be regarded as secure, considering that the recruitment of the first unit of the presidential troops was carried out there) and on the leadership of Yusuf, the only one who managed to drive fundamentalism out of the territory under his control.

For diplomacy, work is becoming more and more difficult, and could require radical choices.

The Government is in the worst position, and especially President Yusuf himself, because he is regarded as an expression of the hostile Ethiopian diplomacy and appears less powerful after the

events of May. Besides, Yusuf has probably lost the ethnic and territorial "hinterland" constituted by Puntland. The presidency of the region has in fact gone to General Adde Mussa, considered his

opponent by some, even if they both belong to the same ethnic group and clan: this would be an aggravating circumstance for Yusuf. His game, which is mainly played on the strength of the axis with Addis Ababa, at the moment lacks any prospect, as the axis has neither been able to contrast the alliance between the Haban Gidir-Saad and the Migiurtinians, the latter being loyal to the new President of Puntland, nor to permit the transfer of the Capital. In such a situation, Yusuf seems to be cornered and could hazard politically lacerating moves.

Being aware of the uncertain character of these scenarios – which have been assumed according to western keys of interpretation, although we have always tried to identify with the Somalian cultural reality – our wish to Somalia is that it will not waste the opportunity of a rebirth, built with so many difficulties, and will look with determination for a feasible balance, considering the diplomatic proposals made in order to bridge the serious rifts opened between the Presidency (and part of the Government) on the one side, and the dissident Ministers (with the Mogadishu lobby and all those who contrast the new course) on the other.

In this phase, it will not do any harm to also express the wish that Italy could develop an authoritative role and its diplomats be "listened to" by the competing Somalian leaders. □

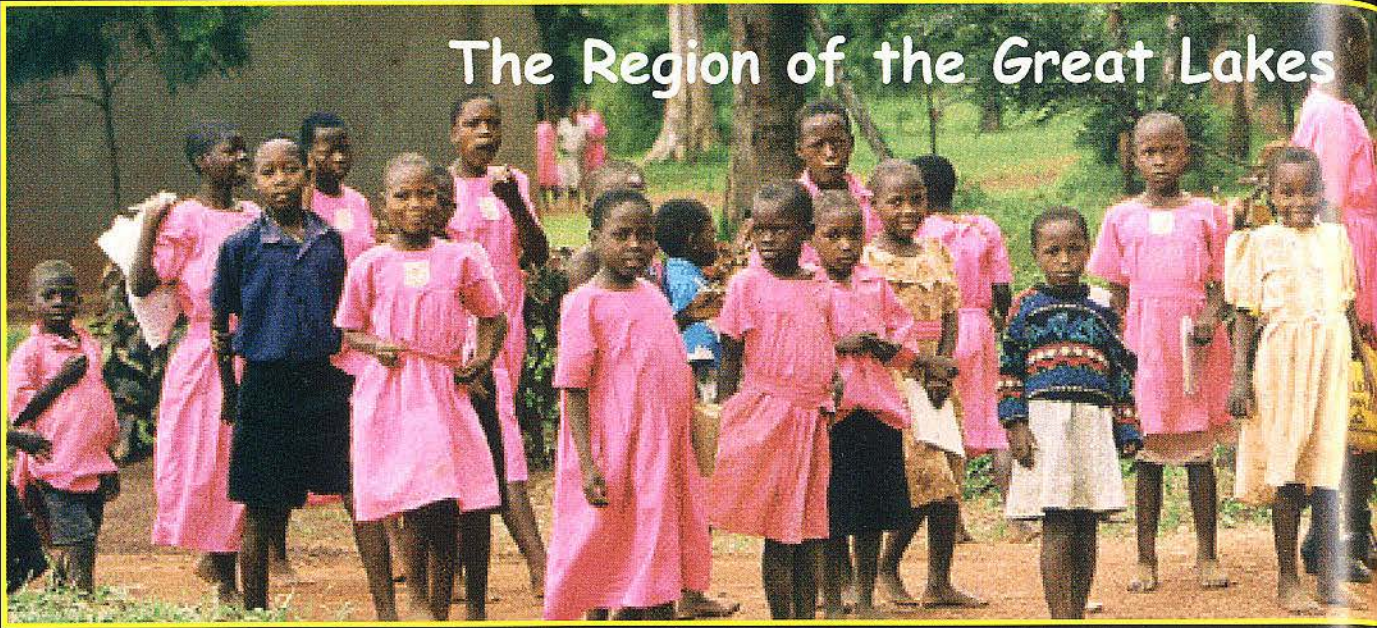
**Lieutenant General (ret)*

*** Expert in geopolitics*

NOTA

(1) IGAD is formed by Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibuti, Eritrea, Uganda and Sudan. It is supported by the IGAD Partners Forum, constituted by the European Countries under the co-presidency of Italy and Norway.

The Region of the Great Lakes



AT THE CENTRE OF AFRICA ON THE THRESHOLD OF HELL

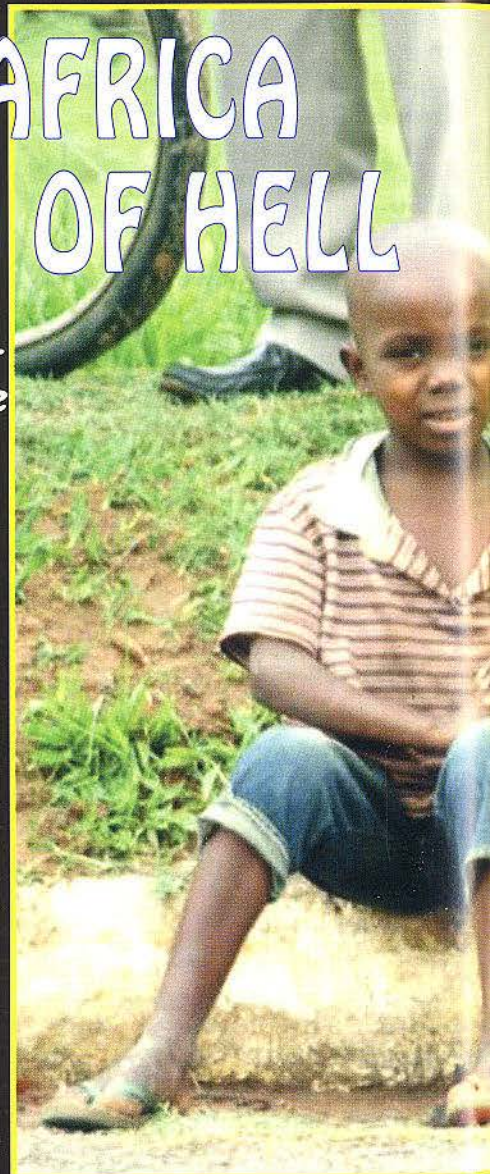
Massacres, migrations, famine and destruction. An endless tragedy that occurs before an inattentive and confused world

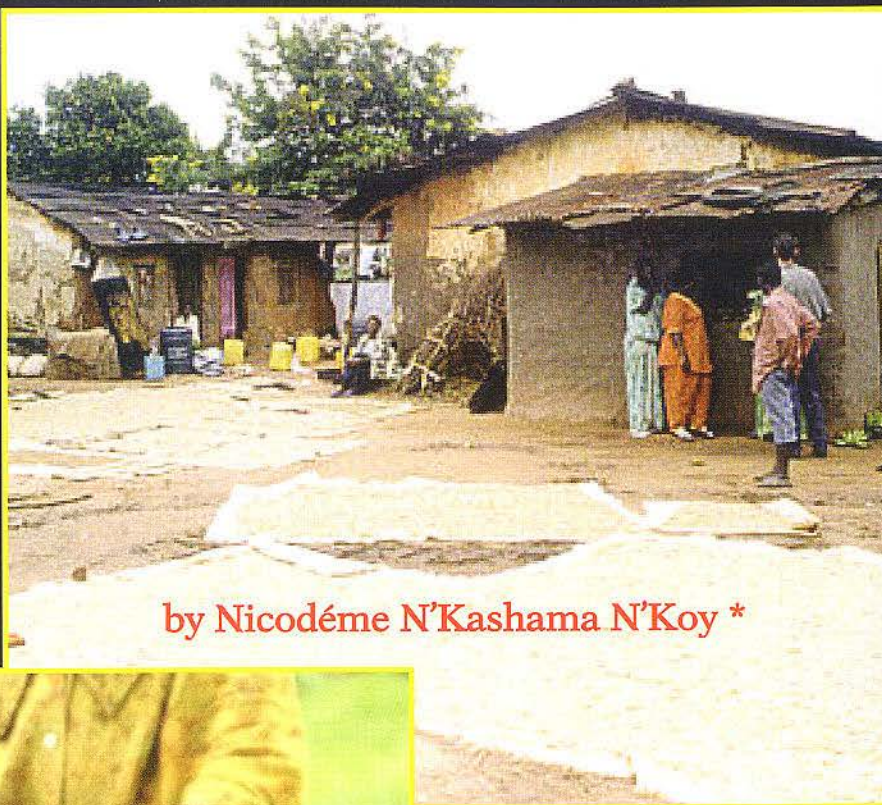
Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the Congo are the theatre of dreadful tribal wars, in an intricate scenario of greed for the richest subsoil of the Continent.

The United Nations and the European Union – especially Italy, with its diplomacy and influence – can give a precious contribution to end this distressing situation.

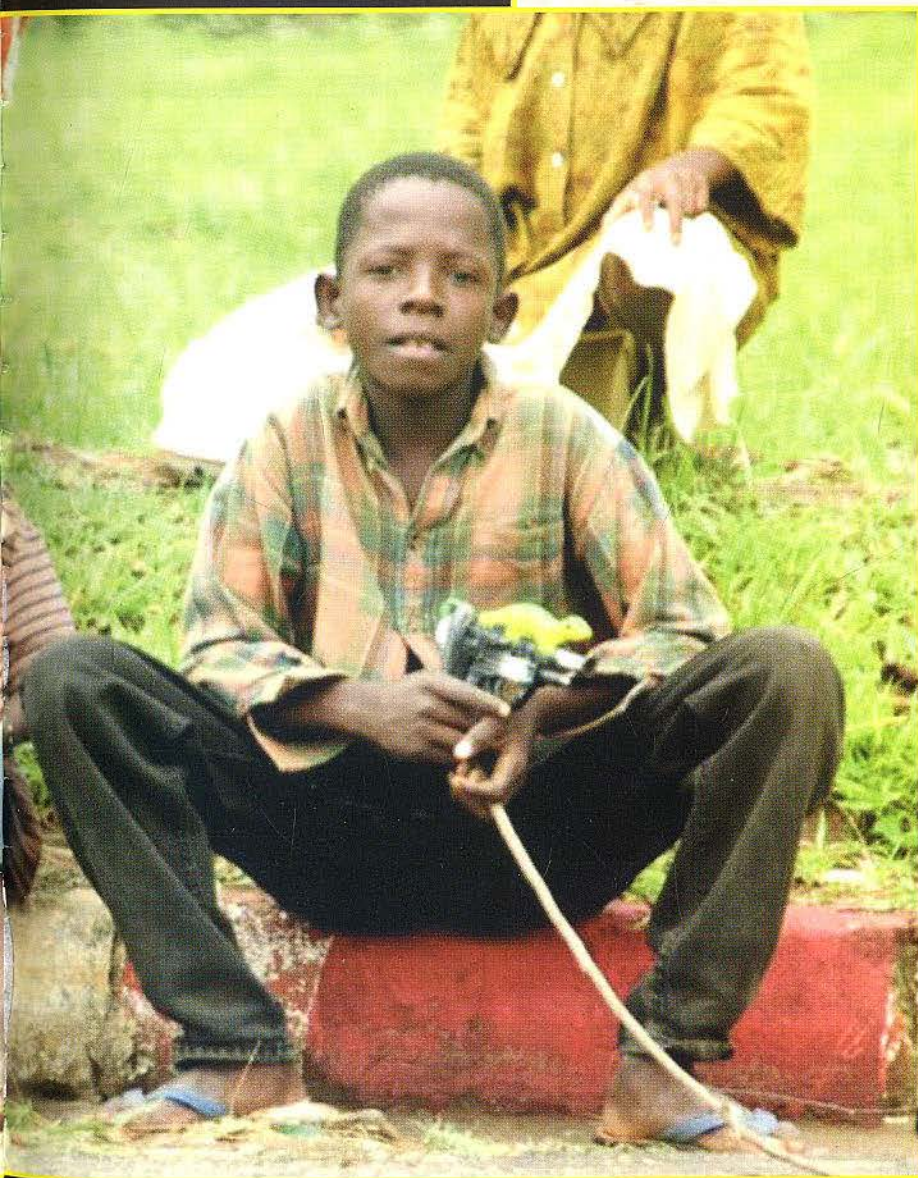
Wars with an ethnic and social background go on in some Countries of Black Africa, sowing seeds of death, destruction and looting, with ensuing mass-migrations and famine. The populations of Sudan, Somalia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Angola, the Congo, and particularly those of the Region of the Great Lakes, will never be able to forget the repeated massacres.

On the international stage for a conflict that has been going on for about half a century, the region of the Great Lakes is the theatre of a new and intricate war which involves the nations on its borders and feeds economic interests.





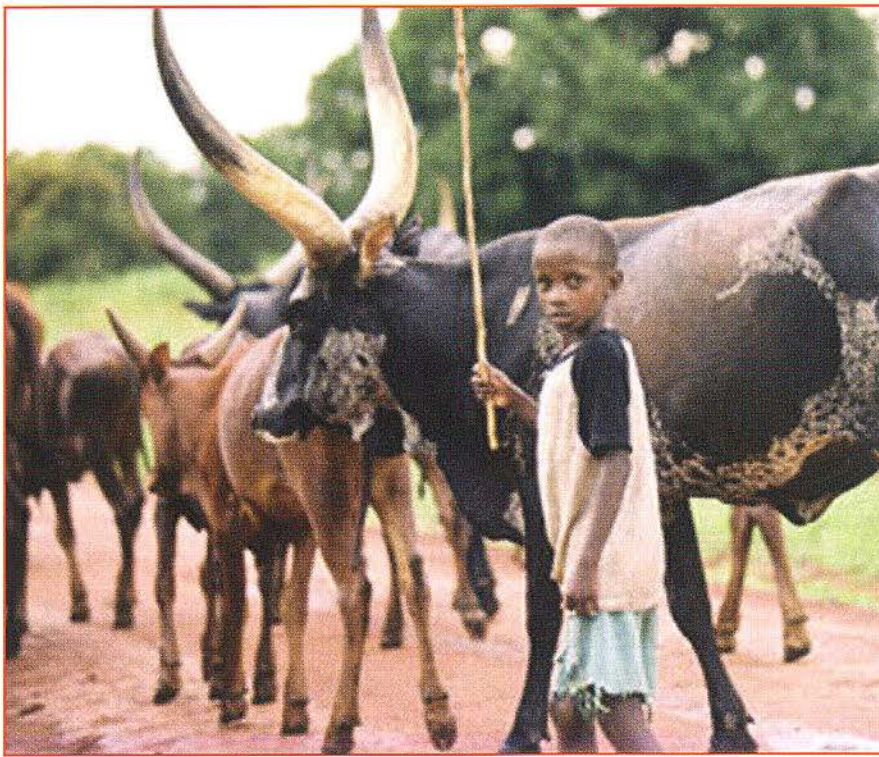
by Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy *



At present, with the attention of the world focused on the Iraqi and Afghan vicissitudes, the war in progress in the eastern part of the Democratic Republic of the Congo risks to be forgotten, while the number of the victims, 4 million up to now, is going to grow.

The economic interests of this conflict have been denounced several times by the United Nations and by the Congolese Government. The Kinshasa government has quantified the damages suffered in the years between 1998 and 2001: they are upsetting and concern mineral, agro-pastoral, environmental, financial and material resources.

The entire world has not yet been able to forget the apocalyptic pictures of the Hutus (farmers) and Tutsis (herders) victims in Burundi and Rwanda. The consequences of these bloody, still unresolved conflicts, culminated in the genocide committed in Rwanda in 1994, have gone beyond the national frontiers of the two Countries and reached the Democratic Republic of the Congo because of the presence,



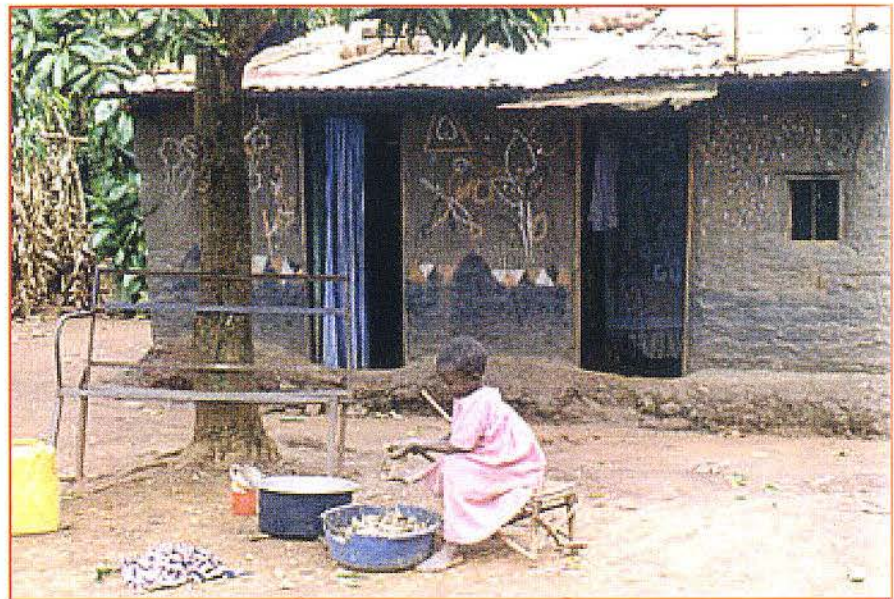
ences among these States, as regards area, population, culture and customs. The territorial extents are also different: Burundi covers an area of 28,000 sq km, Rwanda 26,340, Uganda 237,000 and the Congo as many as 2.3 million sq km. The latter, with its 54 million inhabitants, is the most populated Country, followed by Uganda with 19 million, Rwanda with 8 million and Burundi with 7 million. In the last two Countries, the Tutsi and Hutu ethnic groups, well-known antagonists, were originally the majority, but we should remember that before 1994 they had never fought each other so much.

Despite their language, culture and religion in common, and although being accustomed to sharing the local resources and the same villages, between these

among the refugees, of many infiltrated Rwandan soldiers carrying weapons and munitions.

Taking advantage of the oppositions within the Mobutu Government, at the time President of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the leaders of Rwanda, Burundi and Uganda sent their troops to the north-east of the Country in support of AFDL (Alliance of the Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Congo-Zaire) led by Laurent Désiré Kabila who, with this help, managed to seize power in May 1997 and proclaim himself President.

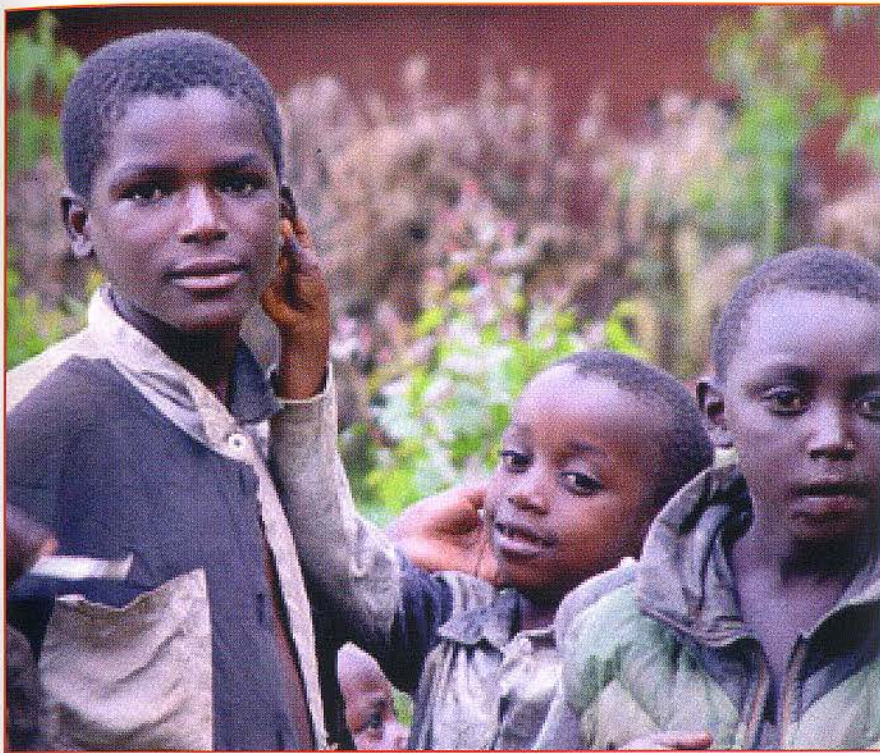
After having distanced himself from his allies, Kabila had to reckon with these same forces who, together with some groups of rebels, tried to overthrow him in August 1998. In this circumstance he came through thanks to the intervention of the Armed Forces of Angola, Namibia and Zimbabwe but in January 2001 was assassinated, leaving the Democratic Republic of the Congo with serious problems of internal politics and social and economic stability.



THE REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES

This region, located at the centre of Sub-Saharan Africa, includes Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the nations that are the subject of our attention, as well as Kenya and Tanzania, which have hosted the refugees from Burundi, Rwanda and Congo. There are enormous differ-

groups there has never been a real and lasting peace. Moreover, the ethnic conflicts have been joined by the differences determined by political interests for the conquest of power. According to writer Rigobert Minani Bihuzo, in order to conquer and maintain power one is willing to do anything. When ethnic belonging does not guarantee the permanence in power, coalitions between members of the antagonist ethnic



groups are automatically made and unmade, also at the cost of perpetuating or permitting massacres inside one's own group.

THE GEO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS

Burundi has an economy based essentially on agriculture, in particular on the cultivation of maize, legumes, coffee and fruit. Besides the lack of sufficient funds for the development of this important sector, the overpopulation problem is determinant: 7 million inhabitants occupy a territory of 28,000 sq km. The instability of the institutions, due to the ethnic and political crises, has slowed down the agricultural production.

The economy of Rwanda is based on the production of coffee and tea. Despite the reorganization of the institutions and the renewal of the economic structures, the genocide of 1994 and the mistrust that marks the relations between Hutus and Tutsis are obstacles that still have to be overcome. The hatred and resent-

ments accumulated along the time do not encourage the creation of the climate of mutual trust that would be necessary for a peaceful coexistence.

Uganda, a Country of hills and savannas, has an economy founded on breeding and on the growing of cotton, coffee and tea. Despite the stability of the politico-governmental organization, the repeated raids of the rebels of the "Lord's Resistance Army" and the numerous movements that oppose the government put its

economy to a hard test.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is the nation which has more mineral and agricultural resources in the region. The institutional crisis, consequence of the last period of Mobutu's government, the following coming to power of Kabila in 1997 and, finally, the war that has bloodied the east of the Country, have had a negative impact on the economy and have destabilized political and social life.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CONFLICTS

In order to have a clear picture of the present situation, we should examine each Country separately, without omitting the possible future developments.

Burundi

Formerly called Urundi (its dynasty is believed to go back to the XVII Century), has been a German colony until the first world conflict.

Militarily occupied by Belgium (1916), it became a Belgian protectorate (1923) together with Rwanda, under mandate by the League of Nations.

Economically linked to Belgian Congo until the independence,





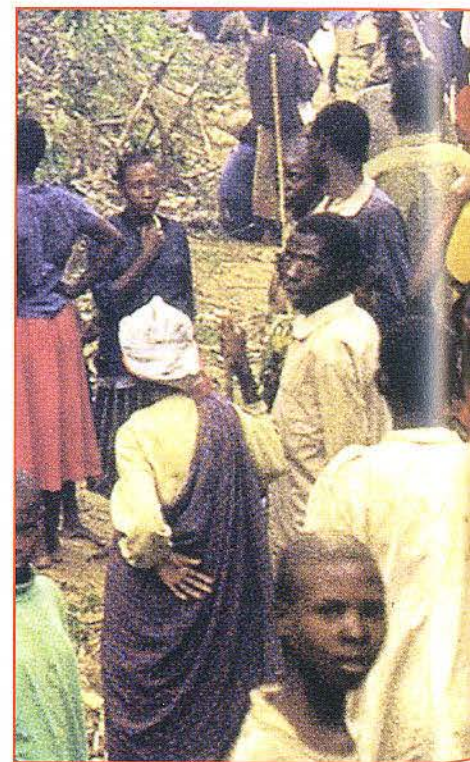
obtained on July 1, 1962, Rwanda and Burundi have always been characterized by ethnic conflicts. The efforts of King (Mwami) Mwambutsa IV to guarantee the defence of the national unity were to no avail. The conflicts between the Tutsi ethnic group, considered Nilotic, and the Hutu, of Bantu origin, thwarted any form of political accord. In 1966 King Ntare V was removed by Micombero, a Tutsi, who abolished the monarchy and made Burundi a separate republic. In 1972 the Hutu revolt against the Tutsis ended with the massacres

of the latter at Bujumbura and, in the south, with the outcome of 300,000 dead. Four years later Jean Baptiste Bagaza seized power with a military coup d'état, only to be ousted in 1987 by Tutsi Major Pierre Boyoya.

The Hutus, who constitute, as in the past, the 90% of the population, rebelled against the monopoly of power exercised by the Tutsis, thus causing the massacres of 1988. Melchior Ndayaye, a Hutu, elected President of the Republic in June 1993, was assassinated in October by the Tutsi. In January 1994

Cyprien Ntaryamira was elected in his place but he soon died, together with Rwandan President Habyarimana in the attack to their airplane, on April 6, 1994. In a climate of violence, Sylvestre Ntibantunganya, who had taken Ntaryamira's place, was overthrown in 1996 by a coup d'état led by Pierre Boyoya.

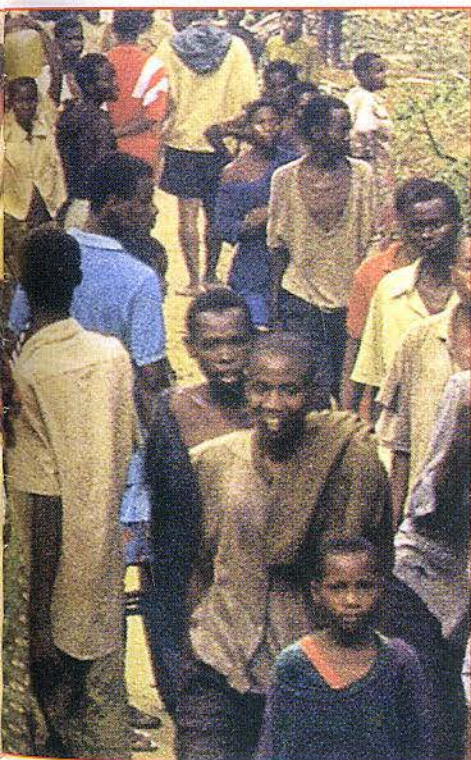
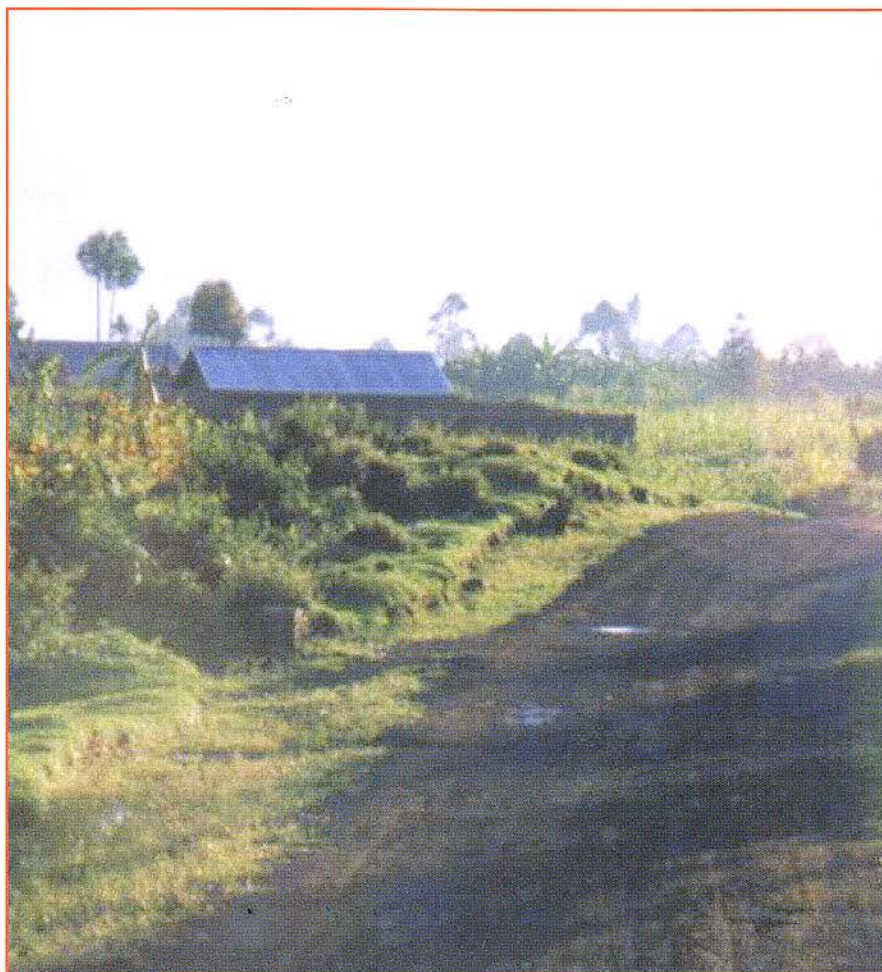
Since then Burundi has been living in a situation of civil war, where the Army, consisting mainly of Tutsi, fights against the Hutu militias. This has caused about 200,000 dead and 1,500,000 refugees. This has been going on until the intervention of the international community, culminated with Nelson Mandela's mediation, which unfortunately has not yet produced the fruits hoped for.



Rwanda

After the tutelage exercised by Belgium on a League of Nations' mandate, Rwanda was annexed to the Belgian Congo. Since 1950 the Hutus, who were a majority in the Country, have been trying to impose their laws on the Tutsis.

sis. The monarchy was abolished in 1961 and the following year Rwanda acquired its independence with Gregoire Kaybanda, who became the first President of the Republic. Before assuming power, in 1959, he had declared that Rwanda belonged to the Hutus (Bantu) and that the Tutsis would be invited to go back to Abyssinia. In 1973, General Habyarimana, a Hutu, seized power with a coup d'état. Since then, the Country has had a one-party Government, the National Revolutionary Movement for Development (MRND). A civil war exploded in 1990. It was originated by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR), formed by Tutsis immigrants in Uganda, who were asking for democracy. After a new Constitution and the Arusha



Uganda

Occupied by the British until 1962, the year of its independence, Uganda could initially count on the capabilities of its Prime Minister Milton Obote. The government was based on a federal system which grouped four traditional Kingdoms (Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro and Ankole).

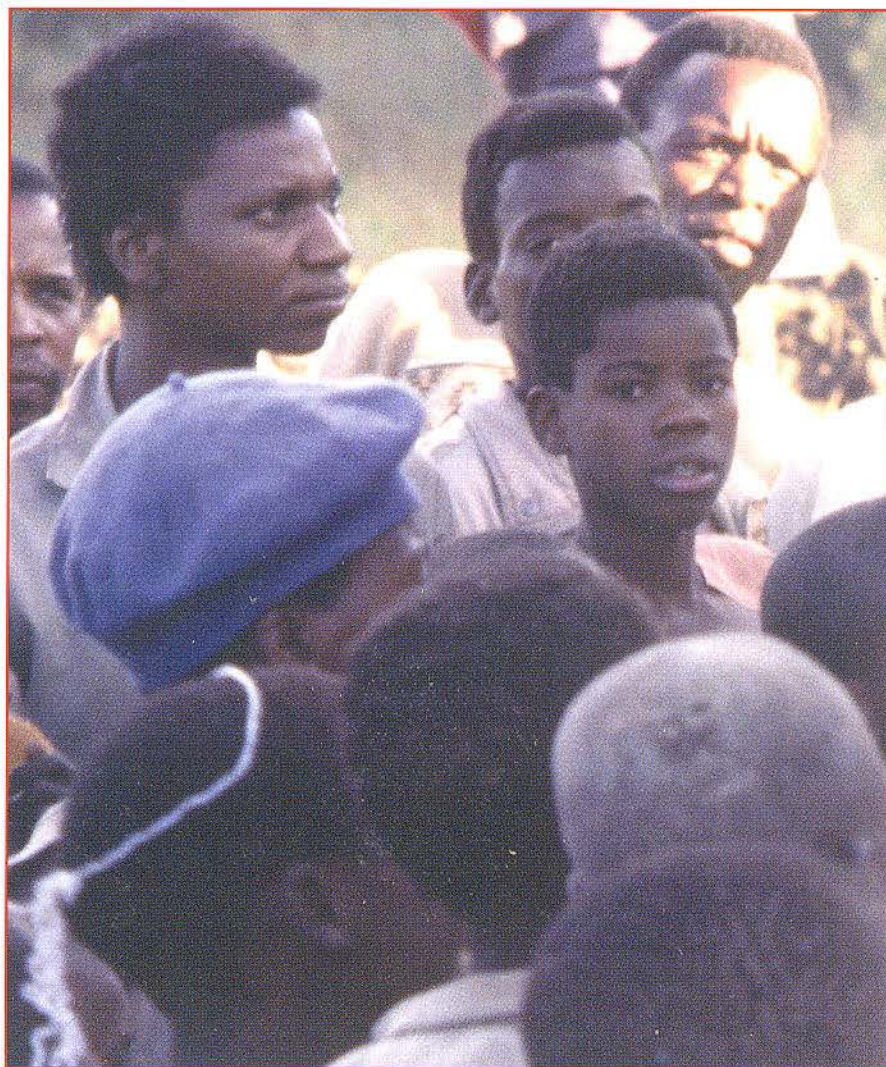
With the new Constitution of 1967, this organization was abolished and an authoritarian regime took its place. On January 25, 1971, General Idi Amin Dada set up a dictatorship that abolished all fundamental liberties. In 1979 he was overthrown by the Tanzanian Army. From then on, Uganda lived in permanent insecurity, caused by political instability and by the proliferation of movements of rebellion, until a coup d'état against Obote, in

1985, took to power General Tito, who was deposed the following year by President Yoweri Museveni, who is now in power. Since then, Uganda has been facing a continuous and persistent armed opposition in the north and east, supported from outside its borders.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo

It is a Country of ancient kingdoms and empires, essentially consisting of a population of Bantu origin. The Berlin Conference (1884-1885) took it away from the sovereignty of Leopold II (April 30, 1885) and gave it to Belgium in 1889. After becoming Belgian Congo, it won its independence on June 30, 1960, with Joseph Kasavubu and Patrice Lumumba, respectively President of the Republic and Prime Minister. From

(Tanzania) accords, signed in August 1993, there was a period of peace. Unfortunately, President Habyarimana's death, in the mentioned attack of April 6, 1994, threw Rwanda again in the hell of an interethnic war between Hutus and Tutsis, which ended with the genocide of 800,000 people.



1960 to 1965 there were wars of secession, and tribal movements of rebellion proliferated. In November 1965, with a coup d'état, General Mobutu seized power and set up a presidential Republic, with a sole party, the People's Movement of the Revolution (MPR), making life difficult for all his opposers. In 1990, the people's demands for democracy forced the dictator to organize the Sovereign National Conference (CNS), which elected Prime Minister the leader of the opposition, Etienne Tshisekedi. But the rebellion led by Laurent Désiré Kabila was successful and Mobutu was forced to go into exile in Morocco, where he died. Mobutu's place was taken by Joseph Kabila.

During the past ten years the Democratic Republic of the Congo has been constantly at war,

and 4 million victims are its tragic result.

THE REASONS, THE PRETEXTS, AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR IN THE CONGO

The Congo, after its occupation, in 1996, by insurgents supported by forces from outside the Country, has become a ground of conflicts, not much considered by the mass media and world public opinion, but which risk to inflame the whole Black Continent. The will to take possession of the Congolese enormous mineral resources is at the core of the interests of some Countries which are trying to seize control of them. The Congolese, there-

fore, besides being powerless witnesses to a war that hits the civilian population with all types of violence, must also suffer the dismemberment of their Country because of its natural wealth.

This treacherous occupation, which concerns the eastern half of the Congo, according to journalist Hugues Delétraz is due to economic and political reasons. The exploitation of the mineral resources of this territory (cobalt, copper, manganese, gold, zinc and diamonds), but also of the rare metals (niobium and tantalum) existing in the Kivu region, finances the war efforts and provides not-negligible resources to the forces of occupation. Sometime ago also the local Bishops condemned the systematic plundering carried out to the detriment of the people. This was reaffirmed by Monsignor Munzihwa before being killed: the interference of the industrial States in the district of the Great Lakes, with the intention of exploiting the economic resources of the Kivu and Shaba regions, is one of the main concomitant causes of the Congolese tragedy.

Despite the various agreements signed by the warring parties to allow the withdrawal of the foreign troops, the war has never stopped completely. These are the reasons why the occupation continues and the conflict stagnates. In 2001, the Kinshasa Government brought a further accusation before the United Nations with the document "Synthesis of the Government concerning the systematic sacking and illegal exploitation of the natural resources of the Democratic Republic of the Congo".

The consequences of this situation are very heavy: economic recession, paralysis of the banking systems, widespread growing impoverishment, proliferation of diseases, hunger, loss of purchasing power, a forced migration which in fact assumes the characteristics of deportation, block

of agriculture and stock raising, shutdown of schools and hospitals in the occupied provinces, inability to pay the wages to the civil servants.

The population lives in fear and insecurity, also for the instability of the Government institutions. Politically, the democratization process decided by the Sovereign National Conference (CNS) is at a standstill, while the period of transition envisaged by the South-African agreements is almost over. In such desolating context, one instinctively asks when it will be possible, at long last, to achieve peace.

The European Union and the United Nations are at present among the institutions which can mediate with the Governments involved in the conflict. Italy, in particular, with its diplomacy and influence can give, within the European Union, a significant contribution. A joint intervention of the EU, UN and African Union is therefore essential for putting an end to the agony of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and permit the recognition of its rights. But this action must be carried out with utmost rapidity. Up to now the African Union's attempts at deploying a force of interposition between the fighting parties have failed for diplomatic reasons. Also at the fourth meeting that took place on the 30 and 31 January 2005 at Abuja, the capital of Nigeria, the African Union has proposed to put an end to the conflict before the elections, which should be held within this year, but it is unlikely to succeed by itself.

The intention is to proceed to the disarmament of the rebels who operate in the east of the Country. Artur Zahidi N'Goma, one of the four Vice-Presidents of the Congo, has asserted: *The times of the reciprocal accusations is finished, because many people have died, women have been raped and our resources have been pillaged.* The resolu-



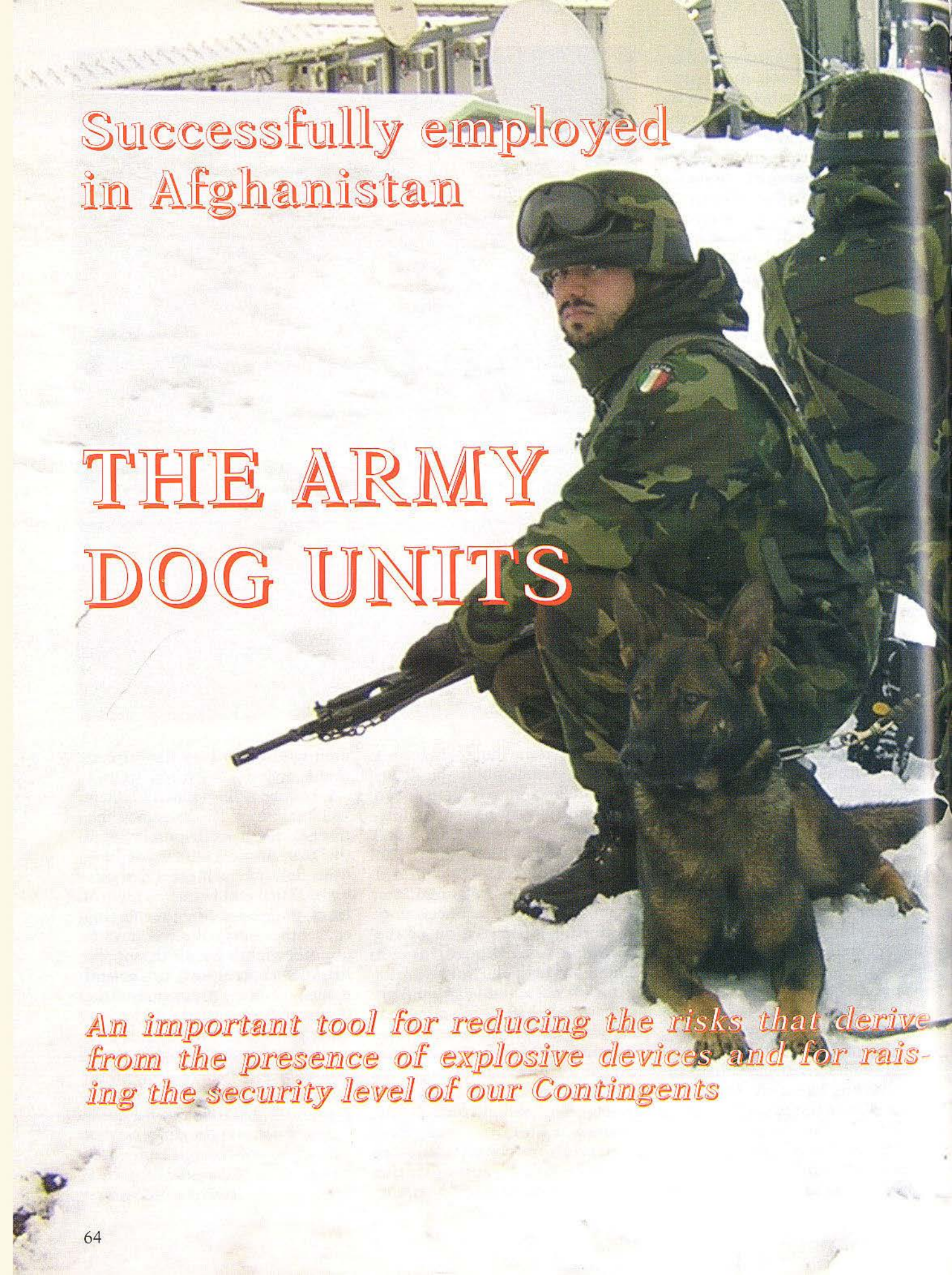
tion adopted at Abuja will have a concrete effect only if the disarmament becomes effective and the Country recovers its territorial sovereignty.

Considering that the African Union, with the aforementioned document, has ascertained the responsibilities of the uncertainty prevailing in the region of the Great Lakes, the European Union, through the words of its special Representative, Aldo Ajello, has stated its resolve to economically support the implementation of the resolution. Therefore, the United Nations, in its turn, will have to make sure that the rights of the citizens of the concerned Countries and their territorial integrity is duly respected. The results of the process of pacification of the

area will depend on the success of this action.

Certainly, no regional settlement will last long if, at the same time, there is no reconciliation between the two ethnic groups that have been fighting each other for centuries. Tutsi and Hutu will have to learn to live together respecting each other. Only the recognition of equal rights for all those who inhabit the region, an actual process of democratization of the Countries concerned and the respect of their territorial integrity and sovereignty will guarantee peace and prosperity. □

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of Foreign Languages
and the "S. Pio V"
University of Rome*

A full-page photograph of a soldier in camouflage gear, including a helmet with goggles, kneeling in the snow. A German Shepherd dog is sitting in front of him. In the background, there are large satellite dishes and another soldier. The text is overlaid on the image.

Successfully employed
in Afghanistan

THE ARMY DOG UNITS

*An important tool for reducing the risks that derive
from the presence of explosive devices and for rais-
ing the security level of our Contingents*



A little more than three years since their constitution, the results can be considered quite gratifying, but they are not a point of arrival. As a matter of fact, all dog-teams will have to reach their complete operational capability by the end of 2008.



by Ugo Gaeta *



THE DOG GROUP

Established on July 1, 2002, in Grosseto, within the preexisting Military Veterinary Centre, the Dog Group is a unit at battalion level, whose organizational structure is based on four main branches: Command; Logistic, Training and Operational Support, which enable the Group to carry out a number of functions related to the following activities:

- Promotion, selection and training of military personnel in the specific sector;
- Breeding of dogs, to meet the requirements of the Service;
- Specialization of binomials;
- Control and periodic validation of the dog teams;
- Development of the operational procedures of employment and testing of the equipment and technical canine materials;
- Preparation for the employment of dog teams;
- Logistic provision of technical canine materials in support of dog units, both in Italy and in the operational Theatres.

The Group consists mainly of military personnel, all of them volunteers, who have passed a rigid selection. There are also civilian employees of the Ministry of Defence, who deal mostly with the breeding and training of puppies. Moreover, the Group avails itself of the precious collaboration of a number of professionals from the "Completion Forces".

The 600 hectares of the vast estate of the Military Veterinary Centre of Grosseto offer the best conditions for carrying out the daily dog-training activities.

Modern support structures have been realized in a short time: a new kennel, classrooms, training grounds, headquarters and lodgings for the Group's personnel and for those attending the courses.

Airdrop of a handler and his dog.

"... the dog-teams capabilities represent an important objective for the regular Army... They give more mobility and flexibility to the manoeuvre forces, and in some operational theatres represent a power multiplier... The binomial man-dog can function in particular operational and geographical conditions where the use of a machine would be impracticable or self-defeating..." (Lieutenant General Roberto Speciale, Deputy Chief of Staff of the Army, "Rivista Militare" It. Ed., no. 4/2002).

Three years later, this statement looks quite well-founded. The commitment of all those who worked hard and did their utmost on the conceptual, organizational and working plane, in order to develop the canine capabilities within the Army, has been amply repaid. A new unit of the Service, the Dog Group,



"Queen" on patrol duty in Kosovo.

today is operational and the results in the field are very significant. Dog-teams of the Italian Army take turns in the various operational Theatres, making a great contribution both to the development of the Contingents' Force Protection and the mobility of some combat formations. The experts of the US Army Engineer School of Fort Leonard Wood (Missouri) expressed their appreciation of the capacities achieved so far, after a recent joint training activity of Italian and American Dog Trainers and Handlers which took place in Grosseto, home of the Dog Group. The clear appreciation for both the innovative training method, developed ex novo by the Italian Army, and for the operational results attained, is well expressed by their words: *We thought that our method to pull out injured people from mi-*

nefields was fast, but the Italians showed us that the same operations could be done more rapidly and as safely. We are working to introduce this technique in our operational procedures.

We would also like to underline the following statement: *We were really impressed by their operational and training methods: the Italians can be proud of them.* The American experts also expressed their wish that the dog-team programme of the U.S. Army could benefit from future exchanges. The proved practical and operational experience of the Italian Dog Group can improve the operational capabilities of the U.S. Army in the field of "Mine Detection Dogs", as they explicitly state.

In such a context, this new operational capacity is more and more evidently showing a potential to become in a short time "a niche of international excellence" of our Service.

In 2001, the Army Staff started a programme aimed at providing the Service with new operational capabilities based on dog units highly specialized in carrying out tasks extremely interesting for the military contingents deployed in missions outside the national territory.

This Project has been updated several times, in relation to the improved experience gained in the sectors of training, development of new doctrines and procedures, special logistic support and, most of all, during the employment in the Operational Theatres.

Today, in its final version, the project provides for the training of dog-teams in the following specializations:

- Explosive Detection Dog (EDD) Team, consisting of a Dog Handler from the Engineer Corps", a Volunteer in Permanent Service (VSP) trained as a Sapper and an EDD trained dog, capable of searching for



Demining a cart road in Kosovo.

and signalling the presence of explosive substances, improvised explosive devices, booby traps, ammunition and weapons inside and outside infrastructure and transport carriers.

- Mine Detection Dog (MDD) Team, made of a "Dog Handler from the Engineer Corps", a VSP (Sapper), and a MDD-trained dog, capable of searching for and signalling the presence of buried mines, booby traps and other explosive devices.
- Scout Dog Team, formed by a "Paratroop Dog-Handler from the Engineer Corps", a VSP (Sapper) and a trained Scout dog qualified, together with his trainer, for parachute jumping.

When on patrol, this dog is capable of signalling the presence of hostile elements on the ground and, when necessary, can seek and signal mines, booby traps and other hidden explosive devices.

- Patrol Dog Team, consisting of an "Infantry Dog-Handler", a VSP Rifleman, and a trained Patrol Dog, capable of performing multiple operational activities in support of any type of military patrol, such as following a track and finding a hostile person or a friendly one (as for example a hostage or the pilot of a shot-down airplane). It can alert the members of the patrol before an ambush, or signal possible clues along the route, traces, booby traps, Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) and Unexploded Ordnance (UXOs). Finally, the Patrol Dog is trained to keep

crowds under control, either in small teams or in larger units organized for that particular purpose.

OPERATIONAL CAPABILITIES

Engineer Corps

Canine platoons sections of the Engineer Corps are included in the 3rd and 10th Sapper Regiments of Udine and Cremona, within the "Support to Mobility" companies. Some teams are also present in the Grosseto Dog Group, where they not only contribute to the turnover of the dog teams in the Theatres, but also carry out a precious duty as instructors during the specialization courses.

In the current scenario of terrorist emergency, the EDD teams

assume an essential importance, thanks to their possibilities of deployment, with particular reference to the prevention of:

- IEDs: they are mainly directed against the convoys of the Coalition Forces; hidden along the edges of the roads among apparently harmless objects, such as piles of stones, heaps of rubbish, cardboard boxes, packing remains, discarded gas cylinders, old tyres and other objects;
- VBIEDs (Vehicle Borne IEDs) and RCIEDs (Radio Controlled IEDs). Apart from the important findings of UXOs and other explosive devices and materials made by the canine units, one must take into consideration the effective deterrent action coming from the daily use of the binomials for checking all vehicles at the entry points of the military compounds.

The MDD teams are trained to operate in scenarios where "intensity" goes from "medium to high"; they move with medium- and long-range patrols, and lead the march in the stretches that are more at risk for the presence

of IEDs and mines.

They have combat requisites and, therefore, their operational procedures differ from those used for "humanitarian demining" activities in "low-intensity" Theatres.

The operational procedures of the Engineer canine units maximize the possibilities of using dogs in various situations or operational backgrounds, while enhancing a dog's great flexibility of employ-

DOGS EMPLOYED AND BREEDS SELECTED

At present, the most numerous dogs are German Shepherds and Belgian Malinois Shepherds. There are also Labrador Retrievers and Rottweilers.

The dogs start their specialization training when they are about one year old. Before that, they are entrusted to the Military and Civilian personnel of the Reproduction and Breeding platoon, to attend a preparatory training programme adapted to the various growing phases of the puppy. A particular attention is paid to the "socialization" phase, where the puppies learn to interact outside kennels and military areas. In this delicate phase, the world is their training ground: they are taken everywhere, from markets to beaches, from stations to airports. Afterwards, they will have to pass the selection of a Technical Commission, which includes a Veterinary Officer: the suitable puppies are sociable, brave and have a very good aptitude for playing games.

The dogs that do not pass the selection are declared unfit and can be given gratis to proven dog-lovers.

ment. So, it is possible to employ a dog in "systematic search", with a short lead, for example to open a safety lane in a mined area, or with a long lead, to inspect a suspicious route, until we come to the so-called "free search", without lead, to make quick checks on "hot spots" (suspect IEDs) sending the dog towards the target to be checked, with the possibility of guiding it from a distance, up to 25-30 metres.

In the Project of the General Staff of the Army for the constitution of the "Dog Capabilities of the Army" the EDD/MDD canine unit is oriented to combat support, with particular reference to mobility duties, with procedures and set ups extremely different from those of EOD (Explosive Ordnance Disposal), as they refer to other operational contexts. The EDD/MDD activity is based on the acceptance of "operational risk", as it is directed to an Operational Theatre of "medium/high" intensity".

All the same, in a "low intensity" Operational Theatre there might be an integration of some set-ups of the Engineer Corps, as it happens, for example, when



A handler and his dog inspecting a truck in Afghanistan.



"Bruno" in helitransport training.

searching for a car bomb or during a search in dwellings where weapons or munitions may be hidden.

Paratroops

The Scout canine teams have

the same potentials of the Engineer Dog teams (EDD/MDD capacities) in the field of explosive search, but they work according to the set-ups of the "Folgore" Brigade.

Therefore, their training includes the implementation of specific modules such as that oriented to the parachute jump of the binomial.

On the ground they lead the paratroop patrols with the task of alerting in advance the members of the patrol about the possible presence of hostile elements (ambush prevention).

In the presence of particular clues they can be employed in MDD or EDD modality in search of mines, traps and explosives and, in some operational con-



texts, for choosing a secure route.

The training is so complex and meticulous that only a few units are formed each year.

Organizationally they are included in the 8th "Folgore" Sapper Regiment of Legnago.

In relation to the Scout Dog capability, it is important to link the units to a restricted number of patrols or, even better, only to

one of them, in order to foster the integration of the dog within the group.

The long training procedure and the acquired advanced capacities make these Scout teams a specialized but very "costly" resource.

Being trained to overcome various natural and artificial obstacles, moving on all types of whee-

led and tracked vehicles of the Armed Forces, with the possibility of airdrop and helicopter landing, also by using ropes or winches, they do not limit the choice of the route of the patrol.

When on foot, a Scout Dog team moves in a leading position and, when possible, against the wind: The dog moves forward, generally free, 10/20 steps in



Patrolling activity.

front of the handler, who constantly observes its behaviour, ready to "read" any possible warning signal.

A stop in the position of "attention" will lead the handler to signal the possible imminent danger to the patrol and he will call back the animal using the special ultrasound dog-whistle.

Should any clues lead to suspect the presence of mines in the ground, the unit will control the route in obedience of the procedures provided for the use of the MDD capability regarding the tasks of reconnaissance and control of potentially dangerous areas and routes (Route and Area Reconnaissance). In proximity of critical

points, the team may be requested to check them through the procedures provided for the use of the EDD capability in tasks of search of explosive substances in activities of reconnaissance and control (road and railway works, buildings and vehicles).

During stops and camps the Scout team can integrate the security and the surveillance of the patrol.

Infantry

The latest capability was activated in Grosseto within the Dog Group in a single operational company, called "Security, Surveillance and Crowd-Control Company". Employment "basin" for the entire Service, this Unit is structured in four

canine platoons that can indefinitely operate on more than one Theatre simultaneously. This capability is not very well known yet, but it will soon become a further precious operational instrument at the Commanders' disposal, thanks to the exceptional quality level of the binomials (result of an accurate selection and a hard training).

The canine units of the Infantry have to reach a high level of preparation in order to be able to work with a combat set up in every operational scenario and context.

Therefore, the basic prerequisites start from an exceptional level and the selections are made among a high number of applicants. Many candidates come from elite units of our Army, and



Inspection of a car in Afghanistan.

the training will have to lead them to reach levels adequate to the expected operational target, i.e. carry out several activities of high operational interest which correspond to the entire range of military operations that the Army has to perform.

They can be employed in operational scenarios of:

- "Low/medium intensity", with priority as "sensors", during the surveillance of sensitive points and areas and as means of security and deterrence in crowd control, in searching for weapons and munitions, to reinforce the structure of the TCPs (Tactical Check Points) searches. In short, they integrate a patrol in all its duties, and at

the same time, raise its security level;

- "High intensity" where they represent an increasing factor of success of the mobility of combat activities: search, pursuit and possible immobilization of hostile elements, ambush prevention; search and signalling of explosive devices and booby traps. Thus, the Patrol Dog capability is destined to integrate the units in charge of leading special operations.

A Patrol Dog, thanks to its exceptional olfaction, is able to sense human smell at a great distance and, thanks to its keen hearing, is able to hear an enemy trying to infiltrate, through the detection of sounds inaudible by the human ear.

In certain operational contexts

these teams represent for a patrol precious sensors for preventing ambushes and avoiding to be caught in traps or incur in accidents caused by explosive devices. Moreover, they can increase the security level of the redeployed Headquarters of a Great Unit garrisoning, as static or mobile surveillance-and-security elements, its sensitive areas and points.

When required, a Patrol Dog can follow a track and signal all the evidence left on the ground; can check beforehand areas and objectives of interest and, if necessary, it is trained, on its handler's order, to attack and immobilize a hostile element with remarkable speed of action.

The specialization of the binomials is obtained at the end of a course that lasts about a year,



and presupposes the execution of specific activities aimed at giving them the so-called "combat capability" connected with getting through training modules such as: tactical transport on military vehicles, fording a watercourse, techniques of movement and combat in urban contexts, techniques of crowd control, procedures of Immediate Automatic Reaction.

It is plain that the infantry canine units do not limit the mobility of the patrol; on the contrary, they make the operation easier by raising the security level. For

example, when crossing a body of water, the dog team is the first element of the patrol that reaches the opposite bank and carries out an accurate control of the area before the patrol is reunited.

THE MISSIONS

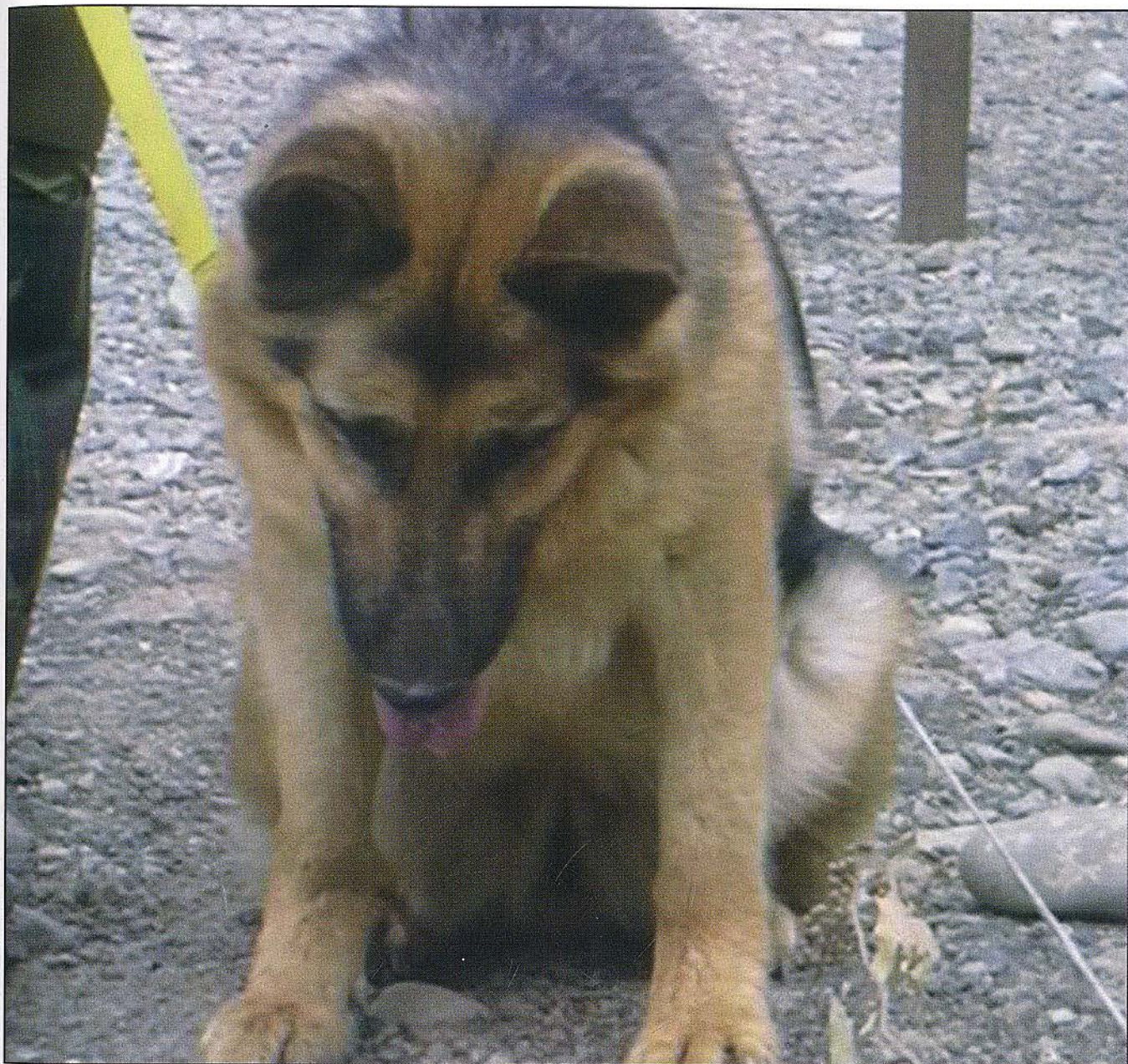
Today, in the canine sector, the Service can avail itself of a remarkable know-how at international level and of an important experience developed in operations.

As a matter of fact, canine units

"Marvin", "Niki" and "Britt" in Iraq.

of the Italian Army have been, and still are, successfully employed in the Balkans, Afghanistan and Iraq.

During operation "Enduring Freedom" they worked in the difficult Afghan area of Khowst, together with the "Nibbio1" and "Nibbio2" Contingents, for preventing possible attacks and mine accidents, quite possible in an area which is among the most mined in the world.



"Megane" in signalling position.

Moreover, in Kosovo, in operation "Decisive Endeavour", they were employed in support of Sapper formations in activities of reconnaissance and control of potentially dangerous areas and routes, looking for explosive material during the control of road and railway works, buildings and vehicles of all types.

Currently, within the Italian Engineer Task Forces, canine units have been engaged in Ope-

rations "Antica Babilonia" in Iraq (since December 2003) and "ISAF" in Afghanistan (since last year), particularly to confront the terrorist threat.

Their employment takes place after an accurate activity of "preparation in the Motherland". In this regard, the Canine Group of Grosseto, being a specialized unit of the Army, has up to now carried out the "mounting functions" for all the dog units employed outside the national territory.

They start by studying the information regarding the Thea-

tre of employment, with particular attention to the climatic and anthropological factors, the ground characteristics and the cartography of the area where they are going to operate.

The preparation activities proceed with a check of the necessary technological equipment for the dogs, and, at the same time, they include a specific training oriented towards the foreseeable future deployment.

The phase of the adaptation of the dogs to the new working scenario starts with the introduction in the Theatre. The length of this



phase is variable and involves a training in progress, getting near as much as possible to the real conditions of employment.

Up to the present, all the canine elements deployed have been at squad or platoon level; the number and the specializations of the binomials are naturally strictly connected with the operational needs and are placed directly under qualified NCOs, who assure their correct deployment, respecting their potentiality and the envisaged procedures.

These Non-commissioned Officers are specialized as "Commanders of canine squad/platoon" following a specific annual course, which qualifies them to:

- Manage a canine unit at squad/platoon level, at home or abroad, from a logistic and ad-

ministrative point of view;

- Schedule, organize and conduct the training of canine groups at squad and platoon level at home or abroad;
- Employ in operational activities a military dog in order to carry out the task of supporting military contingents in operations outside the national territory;
- Employ a dog unit at platoon level according to the envisaged operational procedures;
- Give adequate advice to the operational Commanders about the deployment possibilities of a dog unit.

In the Theatre, the preparation activity begins as soon as a task is received: the Commander of the formation takes part in the pre-mission briefing (in

"Black" on patrol.

which he gives specific advice about the deployment procedures of the dog teams) and then he instructs his men about the mission and the tasks to be carried out. Then the dog handlers concerned check the individual equipment, and prepare all that will be needed for the employment of their canine "colleague".

The EDD component has permitted to intensify the measures of "Force Protection", working daily in search of explosives inside the vehicles entering the compounds.

During a 4-month shift, the EDD teams check an average of 1200 vehicles.

The level of deterrence proved high, considering that explosive material has never been introduced into the Italian military bases.

The MDD and Scout Dog components are mostly employed to control suspect areas and routes, in search of buried devices, including IEDs.

The EDD and MDD components have also been employed on the occasion of search activities carried out before meetings and visits of national or foreign authorities to the local Institutions.

The constant flow of information resulting from the deployment of the dog teams in the aforesaid Theatres has taught useful lessons which integrated and improved their training, so as to meet more adequately the real operational needs.

Some aspects of the employment procedures have been reviewed in this sense, such as the dispatch of the dog on a "free search" on the objective to be controlled. Besides, there has been an increased training of the dog teams in urban environments and a revision of the technical and operational requirements of some special materials and pieces of equipment. Moreover, there is now the well-established procedure of employing dog teams under an expert NCO, in order to exploit all the possibilities of employment of the canine capability, which is still little known by most Regiment personnel and Brigade staffs.

THE TRAINING METHOD

A military dog is destined to work in different and unexpected situations, which are therefore difficult to schematize. Reliability is an essential prerequisite for security, since it reduces the risk of accidents. A dog's mistake could have serious

consequences!

These simple considerations are based on the intuition that it is necessary to adopt a method that can provide the dog with the highest motivation for its work.

The "Training Method for the Dog Teams of the Italian Army", elaborated ex novo by the military instructors of the Dog Group of Grosseto, does not envisage coercive measures, but favours, instead, all the activities which tend to strengthen the bonds of affection and feelings of mutual confidence, understanding and harmony.

The creation of this kind of relation is evaluated at the end of the first phase of the course (i.e. after four months of basic training, common to all courses), and is a precondition for the continuation of the course and the access to the following phase of specialization.

The method is based on techniques of working, conditioning and moulding: the goal is to stimulate the dog's initiative and keep its motivation at the highest levels.

Dogs always try to solve the problems about which they are motivated: this is the spirit of military training.

In a new environment, an animal tends to behave at random. If one of its behaviours causes an advantage, there is a chance that, under the same conditions for a second time, the animal will repeat it. All the other random behaviours which did not bring any benefit will gradually disappear.

Therefore this conditioning is based on the man's ability to award a timely "reinforcement" in coincidence with the desired behaviour to a dog that is performing a spontaneous and random behaviour.

Every exercise represents a small problem to be solved, i.e. the right behaviour that the dog will have to discover and adopt.

But when a desired behaviour

does not belong to its behavioural range, and therefore we cannot expect the dog to perform it at random and in a spontaneous way, it is necessary to proceed by "successive approximations".

Through moulding, the behaviours which come closer to the final desired one are reinforced. Afterwards, the behaviour closest to the desired one will be rewarded, without reinforcing anymore the previous approximation which, therefore, will be forgotten. In this way, through successive approximations, we can obtain the new behaviour.

At work, the dog uses the same senses it naturally uses when hunting, searching and defending the pack or the territory.

The handler spurs the animal into reproducing its capabilities by playing, which is a central component of the dog's training. It is precisely through games that the dog learns to detect and signal all types of explosives.

It takes about three weeks to memorize (learn to recognize) the smell of the first explosive substance. As the training goes on, the memorization time of a new substance decreases, till it takes one week for the last substances included in the memorization programme.

So far, no technology more reliable than a dog's nose has been found.

In an adult "German shepherd's" nasal cavity there are about 220 million olfactory cells, for a surface of about 172 square centimetres, against only 5 square centimetres in an adult man.

The programme of memorization of explosive substances is giving very good results, arousing also the interest of other Armies.

THE COURSES

The development of the project has entailed the creation of new professional figures and, as a consequence, the establishment

of specialization courses for Non-commissioned Officers and Volunteers.

All courses are carried out in Grosseto by the Military Veterinary Centre and its subordinate Dog Group. They envisage a careful selection both of the candidates, to check whether they possess the requisites listed in the Job Descriptions, and of the dogs to be set out on the complex and long training route.

The activities related to promotion, selection, recruitment, and qualification of the new professionals involved a great organizational effort, but today the Centre can give the following courses each year:

- **Canine-Platoon Commander:** nine-month duration, for Warrant Officers just graduated from the Viterbo NCO School. Also Infantry, Cavalry and Engineer Corps Student-WOs attending the last year of course can apply.
- **Canine-Squad Commander:** ten-month duration, for Engineer and Infantry Sergeants after a professional refresher course given at the 80th RAV (Volunteer Training Regiment) in Cassino.
- **First- and Second-Level Dog Instructor:** for VSPs already qualified as Dog Operators/Handlers, and Canine-Squad Commanders who have been holding that job for at least two years.. After a four-month course, they receive the certificate of first-level dog-instructor, and two months later reach the second level.
- **Engineer Dog Operator (EDD/MDD):** ten-month course reserved for Sapper Engineer VSPs in possession of the MINEX module issued by the Engineer School.
- **Engineer Dog Paratrooper (Scout):** ten-month course reserved



for Sapper Engineer VSPs, holding MINEX and military-paratrooper certificate.

- **Rifleman Dog Operator (Patrol):** the selection/training is reserved for "Riflemen" Infantry VSPs from any Unit/Headquarters of the Operational Land Forces. It is an eight-month course and includes a specific EOR-operator module (Explosive Ordnance Reconnaissance); those who qualify may be reemployed in Grosseto, within the "Security, Surveillance and Crowd Control" security company of the Dog Group.
- **Dog Handler:** open to all VSPs who, regardless of their specialization, would like to try their hand at tending, training and looking after the dogs bred by the Centre facility for the requirements of the Service; it is a four-month course (six weeks for VFP1s), envisaging the reemployment of the Handlers at the Grosseto Dog Group,

within the Breeding and Raising Platoon..

- **Assistant Dog-Handler:** two-month course for the qualification of VFBs from units with canine capabilities. Unlike the previous qualifications, this course does not envisage the assignment of a dog. It qualifies the personnel only for taking care and looking after the operational dogs (already specialized and assigned) when the VSP handlers are absent from the Unit. Those who pass the course test and wish to undertake the career of dog-handlers when they become VSPs, are admitted without selection.
- **Nurse for Quadrupeds:** after a selection, all VSPs holding a diploma, with any job, and coming from any unit, can apply. The course lasts two months, and the assignment of a dog is not envisaged. The nurse for quadrupeds is a sort of Medical Assistant for the Army's dogs and horses. The qualified per-

sonnel works at infirmaries and medical posts for quadrupeds, in close contact with Veterinary Officers.

All courses envisaging the assignment of a dog include a first four-month phase where the "correct man-dog relation" is sought.

In this respect, the phase of formation of the binomials is very delicate, as the character and behaviour of both handler and dog are evaluated.

First of all, the handler learns the dog's different manners of communication and its learning process: he learns how to play on motivational factors and how to be recognized as a reference point to follow and trust. At the same time, he must be able to motivate the dog on all the envisaged activities.

Theoretical subjects include: ethology, veterinary first-aid, cynology, hygiene and prophylaxis, operational employment procedures, dog-team logistics.

Practical subjects are divided into specific training modules, such as: leadership and "centripetalization", play and mental-activation exercises, obedience, motivation control, substance memorization, helicopter transport and landing, mobility exercises, fording, combat qualification, track finding, security and surveillance of sensitive points/areas, crowd control.

Great importance is given to the athletic training of the binomial. The weekly training programme includes numerous periods of "physical training", in order to make the binomial capable of working in all types of environments, including the most difficult ones. Thus all binomials have to undergo physical "time" tests, such as a 5000m run and a 15km "ballasted" march, with operational activations after or during the march, in order to test the operational capabilities of the binomial under stress.

As mentioned above, at the end of each course a period of "on-the-job training" is envisaged. It is a sort of really operational apprenticeship, usually carried out in Kosovo, an area that represents a very good training ground.

Its purpose is to improve and consolidate what was learned during the course, through an action in the field. This one-month period takes place at Pec, Kosovo, in a special logistic-training area, realized at the "Villaggio Italia" Base.

Here, at the end of each course, the dog teams, accompanied by their instructors, show the operational capabilities learned during their training, working in support of Engineer or Infantry formations of the Italian Task Forces.

These activities "on-the-field" permit to make a real qualitative leap in a short time, also on the psychological plane, leading the dog handlers to feel more secure in their operations with the dog and raising the level of reliability of the binomial. It is all done in expectation of the subsequent deployments in areas which require a consolidated skill, such as the Afghan and Iraqi Theatres.

At the end of the specialization period, when the course is over and the binomials are assigned to the operational Units (Udine, Cremona, Legnago, Grosseto), the target of the binomials' daily training is to "keep and improve the acquired operational capabilities".

As a matter of fact the canine units, in order to maintain their full operational capability, must carry out a constant technical and tactical training activity, both at team level and at all other levels (squad, platoon, company, battalion).

The dog keeps its capability of maintaining the behaviours learned during the course only through constant and cyclic exercises.

The lack of stimulating exercises will inevitably lead to the ex-

tinguishment of all the behaviours acquired and, therefore, to the non-operativeness of the dog team.

CONCLUSIONS

General Roberto Speciale concluded his article with these words: *Undoubtedly it is a gamble... Our sincere wishes to the personnel that, at the present time, are working for the creation of the first dog units.*

Now we can say that what three years ago was just a gamble is now a reality!

The Army canine units can give a tangible response to the operational needs of our Contingents employed in the various operational Theatres.

Trained according to an "Italian-Army Method", unique in the world, and employed respecting the procedures developed by the Service, the dog units express operational capabilities that are precious for the soldiers in the field, reducing the risk of accidents and, therefore, the loss of human lives.

But these important results must not represent a final goal.

As a matter of fact, they only represent the achievement of the short-term goals set by the project, and therefore show our Army's capability of achieving them within the fixed timeframe, monitoring and correcting the deviations in real time, and its ability to build and maintain first-class capabilities also at individual-soldier's level.

The bet, therefore, is renewed today, with the awareness that we are on the right track. In this sense, the results achieved represent a further spur to go on and persist in the same direction, leading to the full acquisition of the complete operational capabilities of all canine components by the end of 2008. □

* Lieutenant Colonel,
Commander of the Dog Group



From Kingdom to Empire
GREAT MOTHER
PRUSSIA

*The fulfilment and consecration of the political
and military dream of a united Germany*

by Daniele Cellamare

The comparison between the Prussian Army and those of the other European States helps us to understand how the trends of military thought, which developed in the 19th Century, would influence the wars which were going to break out in the following century.

During the second half of the 19th century, that national feeling which nowadays is known by everyone as patriotism, was so powerful, politically and socially, to be able to disrupt the traditional values of that period in order to create a new idea of Nation, i.e. a common feeling about historical origin, language and religion which managed to unite the European people under the same ideological flag.

Such new perception of the political life mostly meant the effacement of the single individual and became everybody's general patrimony, to be used during big social competition, including the participation in the delicate and complex organizations of the military structure and in their impact on civil society.

Notably, German nationalism – a really unifying force of the State – in the space of less than twenty years managed to produce on the European political scene the first impressive unification of the German State, based not only on the right of self-determination of the Teutonic culture, but mainly on its exceptional military leadership, exerted with force on the rest of the Continent.

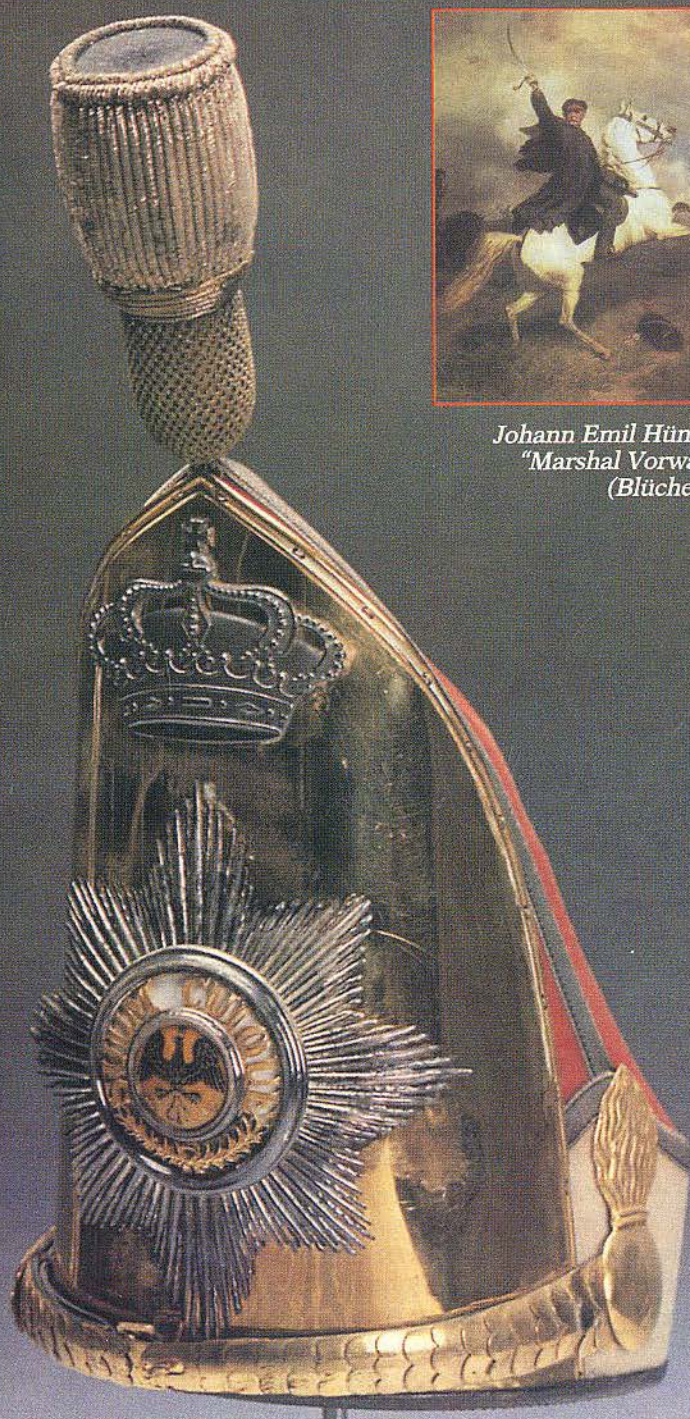
FROM THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA TO 1858

The military and political direction of the unification was carried out by the ruling class of the Kingdom of Prussia and by its determination to create a strong military power able to fight the Austro-Hungarian and French Armies, considered, up to that time, the strongest in the world.

Officer's mitre of the "Emperor Alexander's 1st Grenadier Guards" Regiment, 1894.



*Johann Emil Hünten:
"Marshal Vorwärts
(Blücher)".*





Adolf Northern: "Waterloo, 18 June 1815. The Prussians conquer Plancenoit".

After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, there was not the institution of a properly unified German State, there was instead a German Confederation, which consisted of 39 States represented by a Diet, located in Frankfurt and headed by the Emperor of Austria, to the disappointment of the new Prussian political class.

In 1834, Prussia took the first political step towards a form of German unification through the constitution of the *Deutsche Zollverein*, which exempted the States from custom duties, and made trade and exchanges easier within the Confederation, laying the foundations for a new way of thinking, more open-minded and common to the other Kingdoms, Grand Duchies

and Principalities belonging to the same culture.

But the political process of the Restoration did not take the development of the emerging nationalist ideals into the right consideration – they rather opted only for the recognition of the principle of dynastic sovereignty, in the reformulation of the European map – and, as a result, the claims of the representative and constitutional political systems did not take a long time to make themselves felt.

In 1847-1848 a heavy economic crisis incited the insurrectionary activities of the liberal middle lower classes, and the revolutionary explosion devastated Europe, with extraordinary simultaneity in Countries very different from each other, to the exclusion of industrialized Great Britain and backward tsarist Russia: in short, the highest and the lowest points of

the European economic development.

Therefore, the Liberal Nationalist revolt quickly hit also the heart of Prussia, and riots broke out in Berlin in 1848: the Liberals called for democratic political reforms and the nationalists started to clamour for a united Germany, possibly without Austro-Hungarian leadership.

The revolt did not achieve the desired effects as Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Hohenzollern, who at first had promised a constitutional Monarchy, refused the Crown offered by the National Assembly for the leadership of a German State – which, as we said above, had to exclude Austria and the territories under its control – and, by doing so, decreed the failure of the revolution and the political downfall of the Assembly.

Bismarck, then a young deputy in the Diet of the German States, openly took the

King's side, advocating the idea that the sovereignty descended from "divine right" and, surely, should not be conditioned by social or political factors. It was he who convinced Wilhelm IV to renounce the Crown, and in this way he managed to find favour with the King, who rewarded him with ever more prestigious positions.

At any rate, Wilhelm IV was not indifferent to the attractive project of a united Germany, which he quickly seized, adapting it to his personal dynastic perspective, and sacrificed the idea of Nation as expression of the people's will, on the altar of Prussian military expansionism.

WILHELM I AND THE MILITARY REFORMS

In 1858, following the serious mental illness of his brother Friedrich Wilhelm IV, Wilhelm I assumed the Regency of the Kingdom of Prussia (he will ascend the throne only after his brother's death in 1861) with the intention of realizing a pure Constitutional Monarchy, in order to receive the new advantages of the representative system, but without a reduction of the traditional and important royal prerogatives.

The defeat suffered against the Austrians in 1850, was still a burning issue to the new Regent, and the process he had started, regarding the reorganisation of the army, was so important that it could be considered a real "refoundation", with all the political and social implications it involved in the Prussian society, as we shall see later.

Also Friedrich Wilhelm IV had already started to make some changes in the Army, but his innovations consisted only in new uniforms and the introduction of the *Pickelaube*, the famous helmet with the "spike", which would later become the symbol



of Prussian militarism.

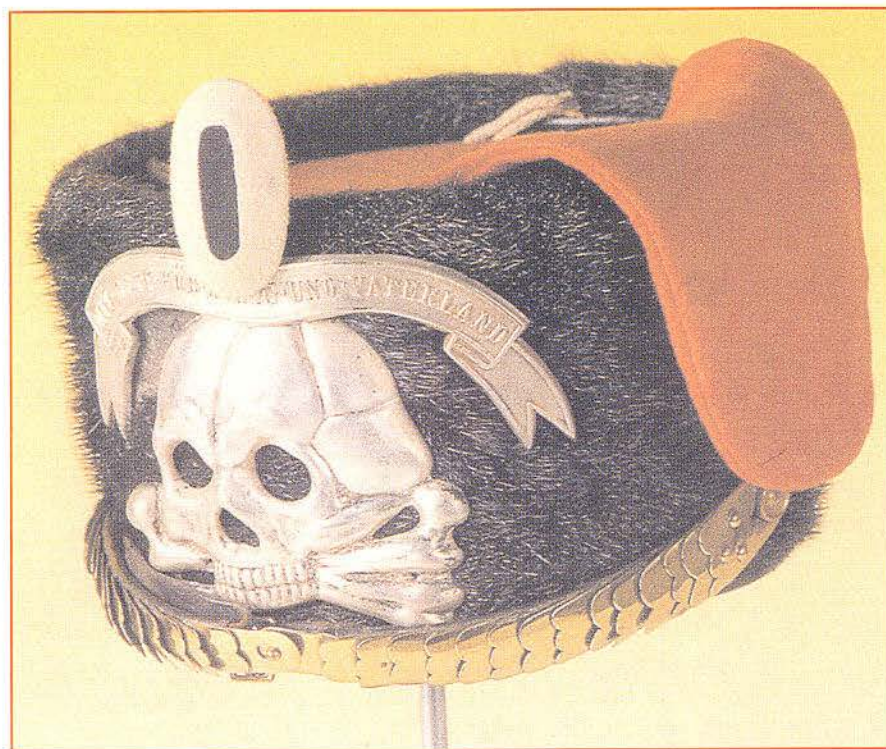
The Hohenzollern tended to favour the Armed Forces and worked for the constitution of a strong and powerful Army that could, at the same time, back an aggressive foreign policy, but they also produced an efficient tax system capable of supporting their reforms.

In particular, it is worth mentioning here that the foundations for consolidating the Prussian State were laid by Friedrich Wilhelm (1640-1688), also known as "The Great Elector", who expanded the territory of the Kingdom through new annexations, after the acqui-

Prussian Hussars (1815-1830).

sition of the Duchy of Brandenburg in 1415. Besides, he received twenty thousand Huguenots escaped from France after the Edict of Nantes, and employed them to relaunch the Prussian economy. (Before him, for two centuries, Prussia had been ruled by the Teutonic Knights. In 1525 the Grand Master of the Order, Albert Hohenzollern, succeeded in transforming it into a hereditary Duchy for his own family).

Friedrich Wilhelm I (1713-1740), too, strengthened the



Troop busby of the 1st Regiment Hussars of the Guard, 1900.

and, finally, a significant reduction of the autonomy of the *Landwehr*, the Militia which had not been very efficient when, during the mobilization of 1859, was deployed side by side with the regular troops.

Only the German "Old Liberals" were willing to support the King and his proposals, being convinced that a new Prussia, still in the perspective of leading a possible German unification, could provide an unparalleled military force for the progress and the expansion of the Country.

But the "Young Liberals" were against such a wide diffusion of "militarism" – a synonym of anti-social mentality – and, in particular, they saw in the proposed allocations for the Cadet Schools, a further form of hidden funding in favour of the already rich Prussian aristocracy.

The dispute over military policy was made worse by the strong opposition of Minister of War von Bonin, a liberal, who openly disapproved the sizeable increase of military expenses and their repercussions on the national budget.

Wilhelm I did not hesitate to replace von Bonin with von Roon, a conservative, hostile to the liberal ideas because they were not consistent with his absolutist conception of the Prussian monarchy and, at the dawn of a harsh institutional conflict, Wilhelm I and von Roon decided to take action and established the new Regiments, even before obtaining the necessary funds.

In 1861 the King, always eager to assert his political superiority, with royal boldness "showed" to the Parliament in plenary session the new troops and the newly adopted uniforms.

State, developing absolutist tendencies and founding a well trained Army, which was quite numerous for the time, thanks to a conscription system that caused him to be called the "Sergeant King".

In Prussia, therefore, the conscription had always been the real foundation of the Army, formed, mostly, by soldiers on a short term of service. When in 1814 conscription was set up for all men between 17 and 50 years of age – a principle sanctioned by the Constitution – people did not put up any resistance, as they were somehow accustomed to conscription and because they associated this provision, though hard, with the liberation from the recent Napoleonic tyranny.

In France, on the contrary, the abolition of conscription – which had been the worst calamity for the people during the Napoleonic regime, so much so that it became one of the most important causes of the Country's crumbling – was considered one of the best features of the new Constitution, as people experienced it as a new ac-

quired freedom which could not be renounced.

In the other States of the European Continent the conscription system continued to exist only nominally, and there were so many possibilities to dodge it, or to be replaced, that in most cases the recruits became mere reserves without importance, compared to a standing Army made up of regular volunteers.

Wilhelm I received his baptism of fire when he was only 17 years old, in 1814, as he took part in the French campaign against Napoleon Bonaparte, and all his life was firmly convinced that the minimum duration of the enlistment should be three years.

For this reason, as a result of the fears of a possible war against France, in 1859 he proposed immediate and impressive military reforms: conscription for three years, creation of new Battalions to absorb the ever growing number of conscripts, allocation of funds for Cadet Schools – in order to provide the Army with a greater number of qualified Officers –

*Troop Czapska of the 13th Regiment
King's Uhlans, 1900.*

THE ADVENT OF BISMARCK ON THE POLITICAL SCENE

The new "Party of Progress", by then in power, decided not to collaborate with the Crown, appealing to the people's sovereignty: the aim was to vote against the new allocations and to allow only a two-year conscription, in exchange for the complete annulment of the reforms made by the King and his new Minister of War.

The situation got even worse when the Army sided with conservative von Manteuffel, Head of the Military Cabinet and personally in charge of choosing the Prussian Officers. He was ready to have the will of Wilhelm I respected, also by using force if necessary, since he was a firm supporter of the need to leave the Army under the exclusive and total control of the Sovereign.

But in 1862 the Parliament rejected all the proposed appropriations and called for disbanding the new Regiments. In order to end the crisis, which had by then become acute and dangerous, von Roon advised Wilhelm I to entrust the solution of the problem to the clever and determined politician Otto von Bismarck, who overcame the deadlock by using almost unconstitutional means.

After winning the favour of the Liberals (he arranged to extend the duration of the conscription to two years, granting at the same time the possibility to obtain an exemption upon payment of a sum of money, which was to be used to increase the number of regular troops) Bismarck proposed to keep the Army units to a constant ratio of 1.2% of the whole population, and to make every citizen finance the Army with a

determined amount of money.

Contending that, since the Constitution did not have precise provisions for cases where a budget was not put to the vote (and, on these occasions, the Crown had to keep on guaranteeing the State administration), he convinced Wilhelm I to dissolve Parliament, with the legitimate authorization to continue tax collection. Therefore, after winning such a far-reaching victory, he remained in office.

But the new model of military organization, planned by the King and his Minister of War, quickly proved to be the cause of deep divisions and it was necessary to assure the Army the nation's unreserved support in order to dispel suspicions and resentments.



Bismarck sensed that the only way to "legitimate" the Army was to put it at the centre of the Prussian political and military rise on the European scene, but also at the head of the project of unification of the whole Germany, and this was his trump card.

THE WAR OF THE DUCHIES

The War of the Duchies gave Bismarck the chance he had been waiting for: The new Danish Constitution of 1863, which was going to be used by the government of King Christian IX to deprive the Schleswig region of its traditional autonomy rights – an open violation of a pact previously agreed upon with Prus-



Franz Adam: "Orléans, 1870".

sia – represented for the German Chancellor a very good opportunity to mobilize his troops and show to the Prussian public opinion the Government resolution and the efficiency of the new military instrument.

In January 1864 Prussia and Austria issued an ultimatum, which requested the annulment of the new Constitution within forty-eight hours, and since it was refused the Army of the two Powers, under Prussian Marshal Wrangel's command, opened the hostilities against the Danes.

The War of the Duchies, an Austro-Prussian armed conflict against Denmark in January 1864, was so called because at stake were the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein and Lauenburh.

After a strong attack by the Austrians, in February the Danes moved out of the fortified positions of the Danerwerk, in order to reach the Duppel wall in Northern Schleswig, while Wrangel proceeded to the occupation of the Jutland peninsula.

In April the Duppel fortification fell into Wrangel's hands, and after a Danish fierce resistance which went on for ten weeks, in May an Armistice was concluded, but after the failure

of the London international Conference, there was a renewal of hostilities.

After losing the island of Alsen in June, the Danes were forced to surrender, the peace was signed in Vienna in October, and the Duchies were transferred under Austro-Prussian control.

It took the Austro-Prussian joint Forces only a few months to defeat the small and disorganized Danish Army, but the subsequent division of the conquered territories was set by Bismarck in such a way as to disappoint the Austrians and lay the foundations of a near at end conflict with the current allies.

The victory over Denmark was hardly a real testing ground for the Prussian Army, in any case it highlighted the efficiency of the General Headquarters, which since 1857 had been entrusted to the most brilliant strategic intelligence of the 19th century: Helmut von Moltke.

GENERAL HELMUT VON MOLTKE

Respecting the spirit of the reforms wanted by Wilhelm I and

von Roon – i.e. a strong and aggressive military efficiency and certainly not the social security of the borders of the Country – von Moltke in peacetime organized the Prussian Army into Corps, Divisions and Regiments (the same as in war time) which were stationed in the same Districts where the reserve troops would converge in case of a general mobilization.

The Prussian war machine started to work with bureaucratic precision.

Von Moltke was also responsible for the transformation of the Prussian General Staff from a restricted corps of eighteen Officers, with exclusively technical assignments, to a real Army Command, separating it from the Ministry of War and making it an independent advisory body, albeit still formally depending on the Ministry and, although such provision temporarily diminished its influence, at the same time permitted to enormously increase its autonomy.

Thus the Prussian General Staff became the collective brain of the Army and had to

formulate tactical doctrines, prepare working plans, both in peace and war time, and provide skilled advisers to field commanders at all levels.

Actually von Moltke created a completely new General Staff compared to the past (the "Aides-de-Camp" of the Commanders were usually given messenger tasks or had to deal with administration matters) and contributed to the collective nature of the direction of war operations, which were no more entrusted simply to the personal skill of the Commander-in-Chief.

These new and well-trained Officers, besides relieving the commanders of the burden to elaborate detailed plans, also shared with them the actual responsibilities of the fighting units.

Moreover, the military victory had to be considered an end in itself, and political objectives and considerations had to be subordinated to it, at least up to the moment when the enemy could be considered defeated for good.

Unfortunately, later on, this growing power of the General Staff of the Prussian Army greatly contributed to favour the tendency to subordinate the entire political doctrine to military considerations, a trend which, as we know, two generations later was going to have dramatic and fatal consequences.

With reference to our political and military analysis, the most significant technical progress achieved in the second half of the 19th Century was doubtlessly the railway, and Prussia was actually the first to appreciate, besides its social advantages, its greatly innovative military importance.

The thesis for realizing a railway network was immediately



convincing: it favoured the political unification of Germany and assured its military defense, also enabling the Nation to profit from its central position, which, up to then, had been

quite risky because of the neighbouring Countries.

Von Moltke foresaw at once its strategic chances (he understood he could quickly move troops from one part of the ter-



Jacket of a one-year volunteer NCO, 2nd Regiment Emperor Franz Grenadier Guards, 1900.

tributed considerably to the general growth of the entire Country: in 1846 as many as 178,000 workers were employed, and in 1875 they reached a record figure of 541,000.

A well-organized system of river transport was also developed along the Rhine and the Elbe, allowing, thanks to a close net of canals, to carry out low-cost transport up to the great northern ports.

The Ruhr district, which already in 1870 produced 11.6 million tons of coal, in 1900 reached a production of more than 60 million tons and, in order to meet the needs of the Krupp steel plants, the Ruhr district was able to offer 8 million tons of cast iron.

Between 1849 and 1871, the employment of the Prussian population reached almost 45%. In 1850 there were 16 million workers subdivided as follows: 55% in the agricultural, forest and fishing sectors, 24% in industry and craftwork and 21% in the service sector (transport, trade, banks, insurances, public works).

In 1844, von Moltke, who always saw the high degree of industrialization of the Country only as a strong structure in the service of the Prussian Army, wrote to one of his brothers: *"While the French Parliament is still busy discussing the problem, we have already built a five-hundred-kilometre railway and are about to complete another two hundred kilometres"*.

This is how in 1846 the Prussian Army, for the first time in history, moved troops by railway, on a large scale, during the conduct of exercises.

In 1859, during the Italian Second War of Independence

ritory to the other), and although such idea was inspired by defence criteria at the beginning, it was quickly realized by the General Staff with the aim of providing Prussia with a railway network suited to avoid the danger of a war on two fronts, and therefore capable of solving the problem of the precarious position of the Country.

Based on these considerations,

von Moltke even obtained the General Staff's approval of the plans for the construction of civil railway networks and the acceptance, as an obvious consequence, of those strategically important.

Immediately and forcefully the development of the railway network became one of the most important factors in the German industrialization and it con-

Officer's full dress of the 3rd Regiment Queen Elizabeth Grenadier Guards, 1900.

(Austria attacked Piedmont, which was helped by the powerful French Army led by Napoleon III) Prussia refrained from intervening, but for von Moltke this was the right occasion to test the use of the railway for war purposes: in record time, troops were transported and massed along the French and Austrians borders, just as if they had to be ready to attack.

The advantages of these experiments, together with the successive organizational improvements, will be perceived in a substantial and crucial way during the Prussian invasion of Austria in 1866, and of France in 1870.

In 1866, during the Austro-Prussian war, it took the von Moltke's Army half the time needed by the Austrians to mobilize and deploy 254,000 soldiers, even though the population of the Kingdom of Prussia was only half that of the Hapsburg Empire.

In particular, Prussians started the mobilization later than the Austrians, because they could count on five railway lines to mass the troops coming from the various regions of the Country, whereas the Austrians had only one line departing from Vienna, which had never been used for war purposes

As a result, von Moltke managed to deploy the Prussian armies along the Bohemian and Saxon frontiers – making them cross the mountain passes – before the Austrian could muster their troops in Moravia and start their advance in Bohemia.

THE AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN WAR

The Prussian rapid and resounding victories in these two



wars made a strong impression on the European military circles, so much so that they started to see the key point to the victory in the rapid mustering and deployment of forces at the beginning of the operations.

This radically changed all the notions and the evaluation criteria, which until then had been the constituent factors of strategy: number of forces in the field

and available space for the operations against the enemy.

For many centuries the evaluation of the strength of the Armies was exclusively based on the number of the forces employed, simply distinguishing them between infantry and cavalry, and this criterion, despite the deep changes which took place in the second half of the 19th century, would be adopted



Anton von Werner: "Moltke and his General Staff in front of Paris".

by the high ranks of the General Staffs of the European Armies until the outbreak of the First World War.

The war against Austria (1866) is today imputable directly to Bismarck's well-established diplomatic skill (which found its immediate realization in the failed agreement of reconciliation with Austria after the division of the Danish Duchies) but, as a matter of fact, it had its deepest origins in the dynastic antagonism on German hegemony between the House of Hapsburg and that of Hohenzollern.

In the meantime in Germany two political factions had developed: the "Big Germans", which thought necessary to establish the presence of Austria in the Holy Roman Empire, and the "Small Germans" which wanted to create the new Germany under exclusive Prussian sovereignty, leaving out Austria and its many non-German appendixes.

Also on this occasion, Bismarck managed to create the conditions needed to make the conflict unavoidable. At the beginning of 1866 he sent a Circular to all the States of the Confederation suggesting to exclude Austria from the Confederation, with the clear intention of sparking off a process of irreme-

diable political rivalry. Austria, through the Frankfurt Diet, answered according to Bismarck's expectations, and declared Prussia out of the Federal Law.

Before opening hostilities against the Austrian Empire, Bismarck secured a military alliance with the Kingdom of Italy, in order to engage Franz Joseph's troops on two fronts, and obtained France's neutrality with vague territorial promises to Napoleon III.

Without a formal declaration of war, Prussia deployed its troops and started the war operations: the Prussians could deploy three hundred thousand men and the Austrians only two hundred and fifty thousand, as they had to send a part of their forces to defend Veneto.

The dispatch sent by the Austrian Generalissimo von Benedek to his Emperor gave the right idea of how the military operations were going, even before a direct clash: *I heartily pray Your Majesty to make peace at all cost. Catastrophe for the Army is unavoidable.*

Austria, whose troops were numerically reduced and subject to a long period of service, could certainly not compete with the perfect military organization of Prussia, which could

have at its disposal a large Army made up of conscripts enlisted for short periods.

This war was the first great occasion to compare two types of military organizations, which had developed in different ways after Napoleon's era.

In 1867, after the resounding Prussian victory, the new "Northern Germany Confederation" was constituted and obviously the new military organization was shaped after the model of the new Prussian Army: every member of Northern Germany had to serve in the military, with no chance of being exempted or replaced, for a duration of three years in active service, four years with the reserve and five years in the *Landwehr*.

Therefore it is plain that these provisions had their foundation in the thesis that the Army had to be considered a war training school for the entire German nation.

In the rest of Europe the military ideas remained anchored to the old principle according to which the size of the Army was inversely proportional to its efficiency and the consideration of the regular soldiers was still proudly positive, when compared to the new forces made of conscripts, who were thought not to be suited to perform a fighter's role.

THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

After the victory over Austria, it was quite clear to the French that the Armies of the new German Confederation could be a serious menace.

Napoleon III, counselled by Marshal Randon, his Minister of War, made plans to re-organize the entire French military structure, but, as we have seen, the

principle of conscription soon met with strong opposition: the upper classes were disappointed by the loss of the privilege of being completely exempted from conscription, and the working class and the farmers because they lost the chance of maintaining their freedom, at least by luck. Moreover, the opposition to conscription was formed by legitimists, republicans and Bonapartists, therefore crossing all the traditional political line-ups.

Napoleon III, anyway, aimed at deploying in battle an Army made of one million men and decided to reach this number by establishing a regular service of six years, plus another three-year term to be spent with the reserves.

Besides, he intended to enlist one hundred thousand new recruits each year, obliging also the lucky ones, who had not been drawn for service, to join the *Garde Mobile*, where they did not receive any type of training. In the Emperor's good intentions there was also the end of any chance to be exempted.

The Commission, which had been set up for this purpose, worked out a compromise between the new Prussian military model and the French traditional one: the contingent destined to join the Army was divided into two sections: the first had to do regular service for five years, and the second would receive a five-month training before passing to the reserves till the completion of the nine-year period.

The concession of exemptions continued, and also the right to replacement was granted again.

In political terms, Napoleon III received more damages than advantages from this mild attempt at reforming the Army: In 1868 disorders broke in Toulouse and Bordeaux before the Enlistment Commission, and the following year the republicans obtained quite significant parliamentary



victories (they considered military provisions detrimental to finance and agriculture), and also the loyal supporters of the Empire soon realized that Louis Napoleon had neither succeeded in assuring efficient Armed Forces nor in satisfying French public opinion.

It must be said here, that in addition to the lack of a General Staff or, to put it even better, of any Command able to elaborate strategic plans, there was the observance of the soldiers' "social status" and the exiguity of the wages, which were increased for the first time in 1868, after thirty-one years.

Pickelhaube of a Guard Infantry Soldier, 1871.

To make things worse, in the French Officer Corps more importance was given to allegiance rather than to intelligence and, furthermore, promotions were granted only in consideration of the rank reached by the father of the candidate, or by his belonging to a noble family, a symbol of steadfast loyalty to the Emperor.

Reaching the highest ranks in the Army also implied the need to have large sums of money at one's disposal, and many high-



Ludwig Karl Behringer: "Entry of the troops into Munich".

ranking Officers asked to be exempted from their assignment, since they could not economically support the prestigious social status they had reached.

A last necessary note regards the French military authorities' indifference towards the possibility of establishing a War College similar to the Prussian *Kriegsakademie*, to train the young Officers destined to the General Staff; unlike us Italians, who, realizing the importance of these military structures, founded the Advanced War College in Turin in 1867.

Continuing to think that high extraction and wealth were the qualifying elements of a good Officer, the French Armed Forces were therefore going to become, just before the Franco-Prussian war in 1870, the less specialized ones in the European Continent.

Also in Great Britain, after the Crimean War, a Royal Commission highlighted the "market" of military ranks and, at the same time, Trevelyan advocated the need that also the middle classes should give their support to the Army. As a consequence, the admission to the prestigious Woolwich Royal Military Academy could only be obtained through a public competition and the exams were about general subjects, instead of the usual specifically military ones.

As a consequence, the much feared Army of Napoleon III was defeated by the organized Prussian troops in exactly one month.

After the well-known vicissitudes connected with the nomination of a Hohenzollern (Leopold, a cousin of Wilhelm I's) to the Spanish throne, and the events related to the famous Dispatch of Ems, in the Summer of 1870, France declared war to Prussia and deployed

four Corps along the German borders. Von Moltke rapidly massed three Corps and was the first to cross the border, compelling the French to retreat.

In a short time the troops of Napoleon III were defeated at Sedan and the Emperor handed himself over as a prisoner to the Prussian General Staff, thus decreeing the end of the Second Empire of France.

An immediate consequence of the French Army's catastrophe was the proclamation in Paris (September 1870) of the Third Republic, entrusting Leon Gambetta with the Government of National Defence, but the Prussian troops managed to put Paris under siege at once.

The feeble resistance of the volunteers recruited by Gambetta in the provinces (with the help given by Garibaldi in the battle of Dijon) could not change the destiny of the war.

In 1871 the Prussian Army marched on Paris – after the sig-

nature of the Armistice – and on January 18, in the Hall of Mirrors, at Versailles, Wilhelm I was crowned Emperor of Germany.

Bismarck chose that date because, 170 years before, Friedrich I Hohenzollern had been crowned King of Prussia for the first time, and chose that Hall because Louis XIV had laid down the law in Europe from there.

The German Empire, the Second Reich, bound its name forever to the memory of the humiliation inflicted on great France.

In this way, Great Mother Prussia, fulfilled and consecrated with its arms the political and popular dream of German unity.

THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

By then the Prussian war machine seemed to be invincible, and the impression it made on the European military circles, a mixture of admiration and awe, was so great that, after the initial alteration of the uniforms (the European Armies stopped drawing inspiration from the French uniforms and almost all of them chose the *Pickelhaube*), the approach to the Prussian military structure became more and more substantial.

But from that time onwards the armies became less manoeuvrable and, inevitably, wars lasted longer.

The wars themselves, from the outbreak of the hostilities until their end, from that moment were going to be beyond political control and conscription, generically recognized as the essential feature of the new Armies, were going to develop a tendency to make things come to a head because of the greater popular participation in the decisions about whether to intervene in a war or not.

As a consequence, during the international most tense times, the entire nation will fall victim



Anton Hoffmann: "Bavarian cavalry on patrol", 1885.

of deep alarm and anxiety, which will often jeopardize the diplomatic efforts aimed at avoiding the war, and that is exactly what happened in the case of the First World War.

As a matter of fact, to find in the remote past the causes of WW I we must go back to 1871 – i.e. to that unbridgeable ditch between Germany and France – which, sanctioning with the Treaty of Frankfurt the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, decreed the birth of a first-class military power in the heart of our continent, the German Empire. France never forgot the defeat of Sedan and the mutilation of its rich border regions, and Paris and Berlin became the opposite poles of the entire European political system, forcing Germany to keep continuously on the alert, in order to prevent France from finding an ally strong enough to seek a war of revenge for the lost supremacy over Europe.

Between 1871 and 1914 all European Countries and also Japan, a new world power, adopted the conscription system: the last great war of the nineteenth century taught that mass Armies, made up mostly of "citizen in uniform" could overcome Armies formed by "regulars" with a long experience, and this lesson was going to be

valid for many years to come, up to the complex developments of the military reorganization after the Second World War.

But this wide and direct participation of the masses in the strategic choices of a Country, made the negotiation of diplomatic agreements much harder than in the past, when those decisions were taken only by the men in power and by the regular soldiers at their service.

The fight among men is based on two different elements: hostile feeling and hostile intention [...] The war, being a violent act, is necessarily connected with feeling; if it is not originated by it, it will all the same lead to it more or less not according to the degree of civilization but on the extent and duration of the interests of the conflict (Karl von Clausewitz: "On War").

Thus the effects of war became more serious and evil for the nations involved, and the armed conflicts were destined to become more and more global wars, as happened in the first half of the 20th Century. □

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The beginning of a millennial Diaspora from the repression of an uprising

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

In 70 A.D. , the Temple and the city were razed to the ground. The only thing still standing ... the Wailing Wall.

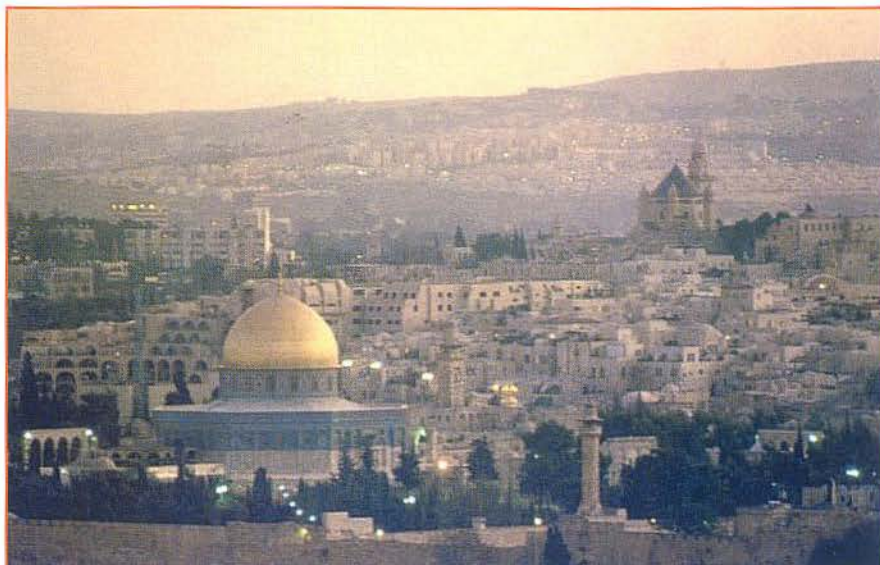
by Attilio Claudio Borreca *

There was no space for pity; reading the chronicle of those tragic and terrible events, we cannot but experience deep feelings of horror for such cruel deeds. Why did the Romans, who were known for their generosity, put down the uprising of the Jewish people so violently?

The siege and the consequent destruction of Jerusalem, and of its Temple above all, in history have had a greater resonance than the purely historical value of the event. Surely the episode had a notable political value: the possibility for the Jews to obtain their independence faded forever and, furthermore, this fact made it clear to the whole East that it

would be impossible for anyone to escape the immense power of the Roman Empire. The Roman victory, and the repression of the Jewish uprising, was never in doubt, and its resonance has surpassed the historical moment and has reached us through the millennia. Since its destruction, Jerusalem has turned into an indestructible symbol for Christians, Jews and Muslims.

In fact, the destruction of the Holy City represents an extremely important moment in the history of the Jewish people as well as an unrelieved regret and a ceaseless pain. The Wailing Wall (the only thing left) is still the most sacred place for the Jews. The land of Israel was given to them by God and is part of an alliance between God and the Chosen People. The desire to go back



And as he was going out of the Temple, one of his disciples said to him: "Master, look, what wonderful stones and what buildings!" And Jesus answered and said to him, "Dost thou see all these great buildings? There will not be left one stone upon another that will not be thrown down"

(Mark XIII 1-4)

Above.

Aerial view of the city of Jerusalem.

Below.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus.

since Prophet Mohammed ascended into Heaven from the area of the Temple.



their never-ending roaming throughout foreign lands, discriminated more and more, and under the latent and impending threat of cruel persecutions. The strong desire to return was essential in order to preserve their identity through centuries of dispersion, and gave the Jewish people its permanent distinctiveness that obstructed its assimilation into those foreign lands and, consequently, prevented its destruction and disappearance.

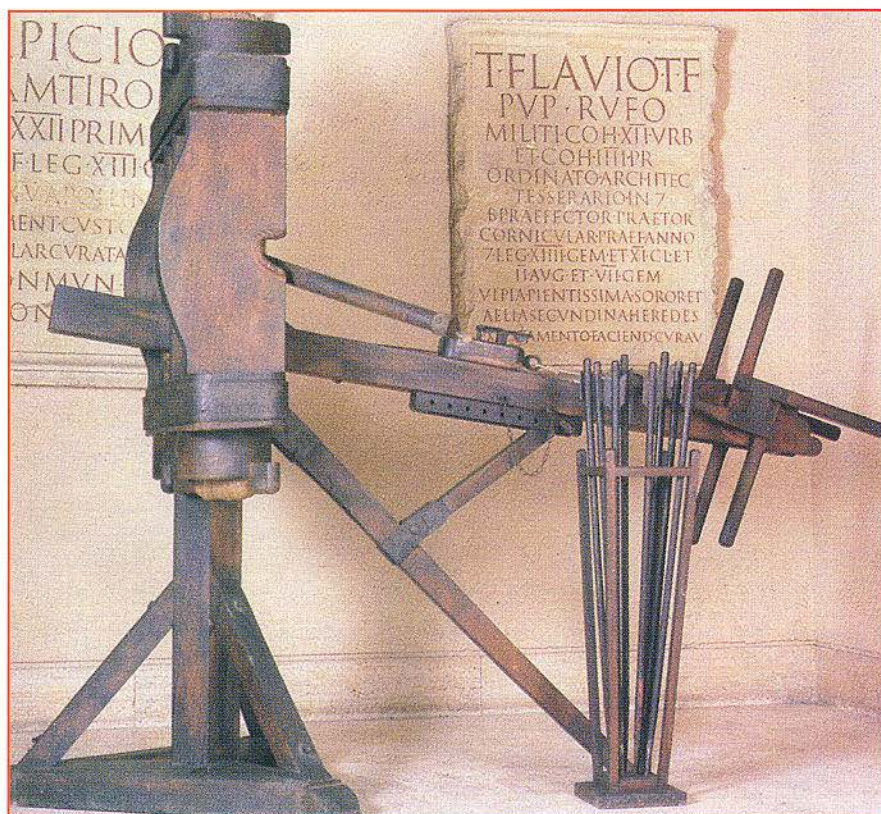
Instead, for Christians Jerusalem is the place of the Crucifixion and represents the "Civitas Dei" (City of God); the earthly Jerusalem is the image of the Celestial Jerusalem. It has infinite mystical meanings: the Crusades and the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre have been the myth, and a bloody one, of many centuries. The city assumes a mystical and symbolic significance even for Muslims, albeit less, compared to Jews and Christians,

THE UPRISING

The spring of 66 A.D. bloomed in Judea while the unrest and discontentment of the Jewish people against Procurator Gessius Florius, appointed by Rome and guilty of misgovernment, were becoming more and more serious



to the promised land lasted for two millennia of Diaspora, after Titus had destroyed the Temple: every year the Jewish people wish each other a happy Easter, by saying: "Next year in Jerusalem". It is fundamental to remember the psalm that warns the Jews that the right hand of those who forget this city will be struck dead. After the destruction of Jerusalem, these people started



Reconstruction of a ballista.

Judean Kingdom like wildfire: the small Roman garrisons were overwhelmed and the rebel cities appointed their own rulers. Jerusalem itself, in September of 66 A.D., fell into the hands of the insurgents, and its citizens, in a state of enthusiasm and defiance towards Rome, ordered that there would no longer be the daily sacrifice for the Emperor. The small Kingdom of Judea, with a big dream of freedom, threw down its gauntlet against powerful Rome.

Florio was not able to control the situation anymore. He left the capital and took refuge in a border town, invoking military help. Cestius Gallus was the first who rushed to help him with numerous troops, but did not obtain anything concrete. Day after day the situation was becoming more and more serious, and it became necessary to ask directly for the intervention of Rome.

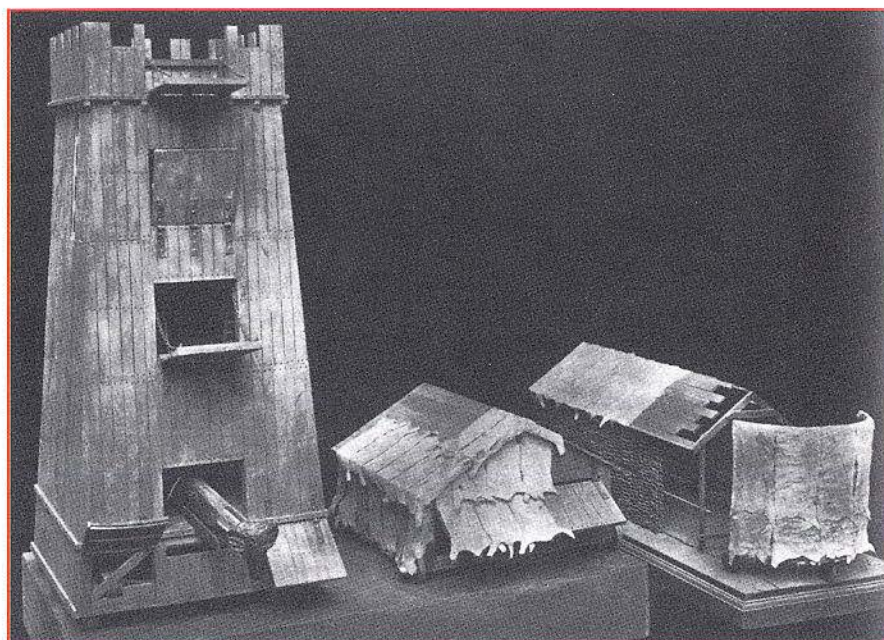
Meanwhile, the first disagreements, almost always very dangerous and bloody, broke out among the Jewish insurgents. The wise old men of

and insistent. Violent, cruel and dishonest, the man sent to control an important corner of the Roman Empire stained himself with numerous kinds of crimes, day after day. According to his orders, not only the most beautiful temples of Judea, but also lots of cities, were sacked because he was never satiated with wealth, luxury and power.

For a period, gangs of men, armed with daggers, had started to wander about the whole Kingdom in order to protest against the numerous outrages. They were Jews longing for freedom, who tried to free their land from so much immoral behaviour and decided to start attacking their fellow citizens who were helping the dishonest leaders. Hiding among the crowd, the assassins would make their attack on the target swiftly and precisely and, protected by the friendly crowd,

were always able to flee, escaping Roman justice.

As Florio affronted the Jewish people once again, demanding 17 talents which were part of the Sacred Treasure of the Temple of Jerusalem, the people rejected all advice to keep calm and openly revolted against him. The revolution spread throughout the

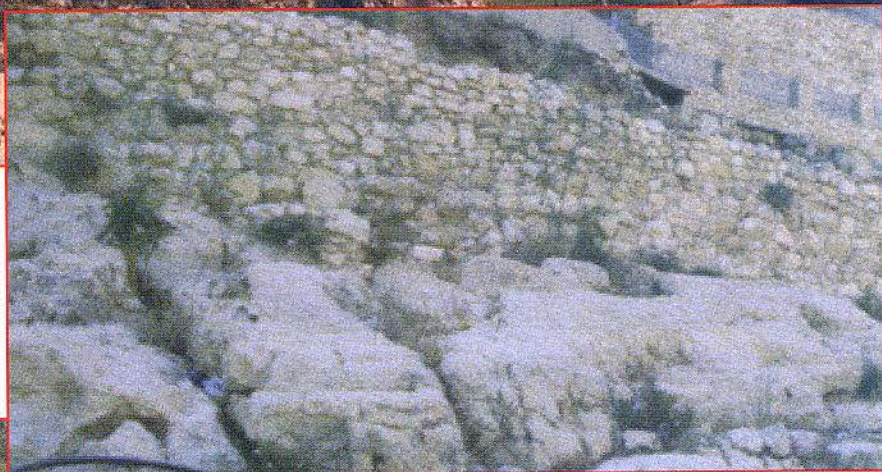


From left to right: Reconstruction of a ram tower, a musculus, a portico and a pluteus.



Above.
The walls of the Old City.

Below and right.
Ruins of the walls.



the Kingdom tried to curb the vehemence of the young and urged them to think over their decisions carefully. However, as it often happens, the young did not want to accept any advice or restraint. Consequently, the mounting tension initiated a fratricidal war, in which eminent people, belonging to opposite factions, died. Finally, after months of unrest, the internal situation started to improve. The Jews were sure that the Roman counterattack-attack would not be delayed any more and began thinking about the defence of their Kingdom. Josephus, a



surrender, but with an impressive heroism they rebelled against their commander and forced him to remain in the city under siege. Taken refuge in a cellar with forty other survivors, Josephus played a crafty game: since they preferred death to surrender, he persuaded them into killing each other in accordance with an order established by fate. When only Joseph and one of his followers had survived, he convinced his last companion to desist from the insane intention and, after leaving his last refuge, handed himself over to the Romans. Vespasian showed the desire to meet his brave opponent. In the presence of the great commander, and showing inspiration, Josephus prophesied that he would become Emperor within a few months. Getting upset by these words, Vespasian did not dare send the prisoner to Rome, but held him in his residence as an ally rather than a defeated enemy and adopted him. This is the reason why Josephus, who would later become Flavius Josephus, had the opportunity of attending the other stages of the Judean war, which he would describe precisely in a famous work, leaving one of the most interesting and certain witnesses of ancient history.

Meanwhile, the Roman legions carried on with their victorious advance. More than six thousand Jews were deported as slaves to Corinth, other thousands died as they were bravely trying to protect their homes. However, in the spring of 68, a sudden and grave announcement stopped the triumphant campaign: Nero had died and a violent civil war had broken out in Rome for the succession to the throne. Vespasian, whose soldiers wanted him to become a candidate immediately,

priest of just thirty, energetic, brilliant, endowed with genius and remarkable political insight (he will be one of the greatest historians of his time), was elected as supreme commander of Palestine's Jewish troops. Under his leadership, cities were fortified, soldiers were trained, and civilians were instructed so that they could face any kind of enemy manoeuvre calmly.

As for Rome, the leadership of the expedition against Judea was given to one of the most expert and brilliant leaders Titus Flavius Vespasianus, who left Italy with his son, Titus, leading a very powerful army. In just a few months, he reached Galilee arriving from the North: soon

his magnificent legions defeated those heroic but poor defenders, and the small villages of fishermen, where Christ had passed a few decades before, preaching his teachings of love and fraternity, were powerless witnesses to the first horrible slaughters. In vain Josephus, who had locked himself up with his troops into the fortress of Jotopata, tried to oppose the advance of the Roman legions. After having resisted the hard siege personally led by Vespasian, the young Jewish commander realized that any resistance would be pointless and cause other mournings and destruction. So, he summoned the soldiers who had survived and invited them to

Reconstruction of a sliding battering-ram.

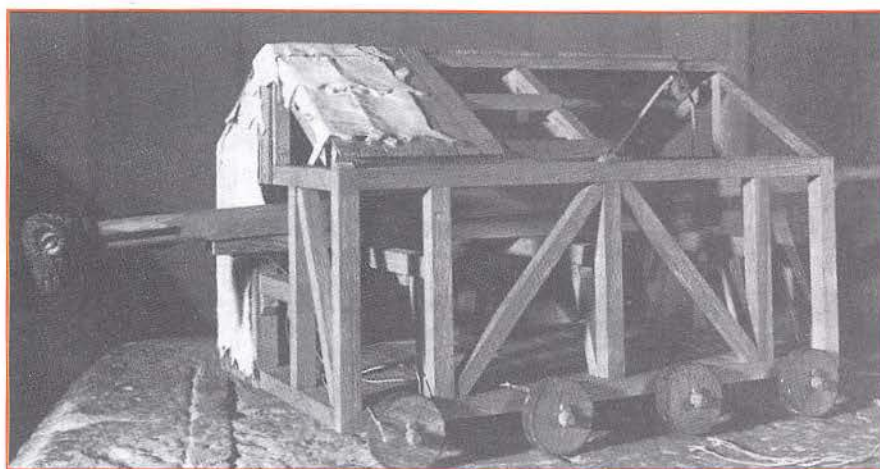
invited everyone to remain calm and waited for the unfolding of events. Three Emperors, one after the other, were elected and deposed. In the spring of 69, the legionaries of the East took action and designated their commander as Emperor. Vespasian went to Rome immediately and gave his son Titus the responsibility of bringing the Judean war to a conclusion.

The military operations took off again at a faster pace and the territories that were still free were subjected to the Roman power. On the eve of the full moon, in the spring of 70 A. D., the legions assembled under the fortified walls of Jerusalem and started one of the most memorable wars of all times.

A PITILESS SIEGE

Approximately 60,000 people, civilians and military, barricaded themselves into the fortifications of the Jewish capital. They were so numerous because the period, unfortunately, coincided with Easter and dozens of thousands of pilgrims had arrived in the city to pray, as had been doing for centuries, in the magnificent Temple, heart of the Jewish religion. No less than three circles of fortifications defended the centre of the city and, however critical the situation, because of excessive crowding and lack of adequate supplies, the Jews felt sure that they could effectively defend themselves from any attack. Rome had lined up an army of more than 80,000 men, who were among the most trained and skilful soldiers at that moment, under command of an intrepid, clever and genial general.

Reconstruction of an onager.

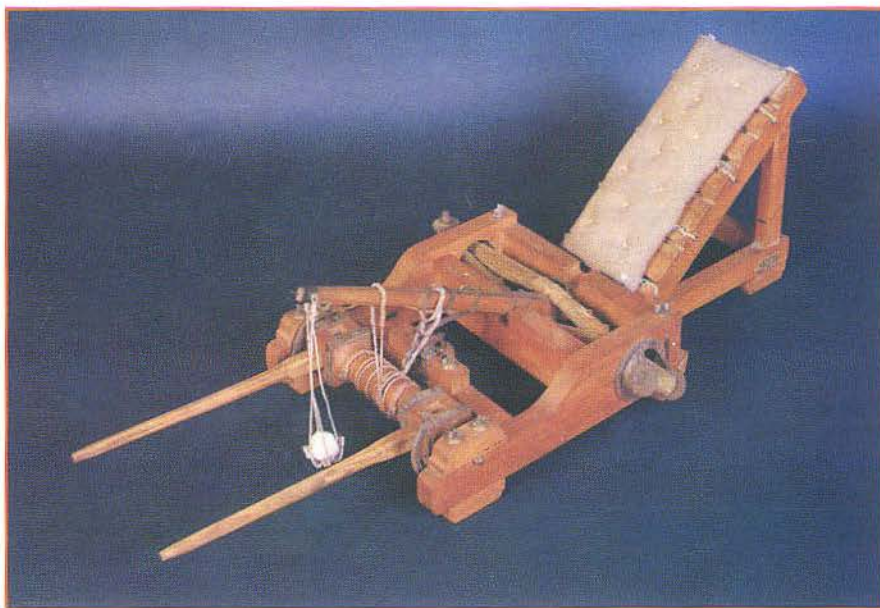


After a first request for surrender, greeted with jeers, the Romans prepared for the attack. Along the whole belt of walls, the big military machines lay in wait; *ballistae* and *scorpiones* were used for attacking the city. It soon began to rain, but it rained stones, rocks and darts. Each machine was capable of throwing, at a distance of about 180 metres, heavy stones up to half a quintal and their deadly action was supported effectively by the work of catapults and enormous battering rams that started a slow work of dismantlement of the first wall, beginning from the North side.

In the first days of May, Titus personally took part in the attack of the troops that were trying to

conquer the second wall, but the defenders were able to avoid the worst, with a violent counterattack. After a few days of work by the hellish military machines, the whole northern area of Jerusalem was conquered. In the hope of avoiding a further bloodshed, Titus ordered a truce. As Flavius Josephus was trying to persuade his fellow citizens to accept a honourable surrender, the Roman soldiers, wearing their shining armour, paraded around the walls of the city, for four successive days, giving rise to a wonderful show of mightiness, discipline and wealth.

Hard-hearted men, lay down your arms, have mercy on your Country that runs the risk of falling into the abyss. Look



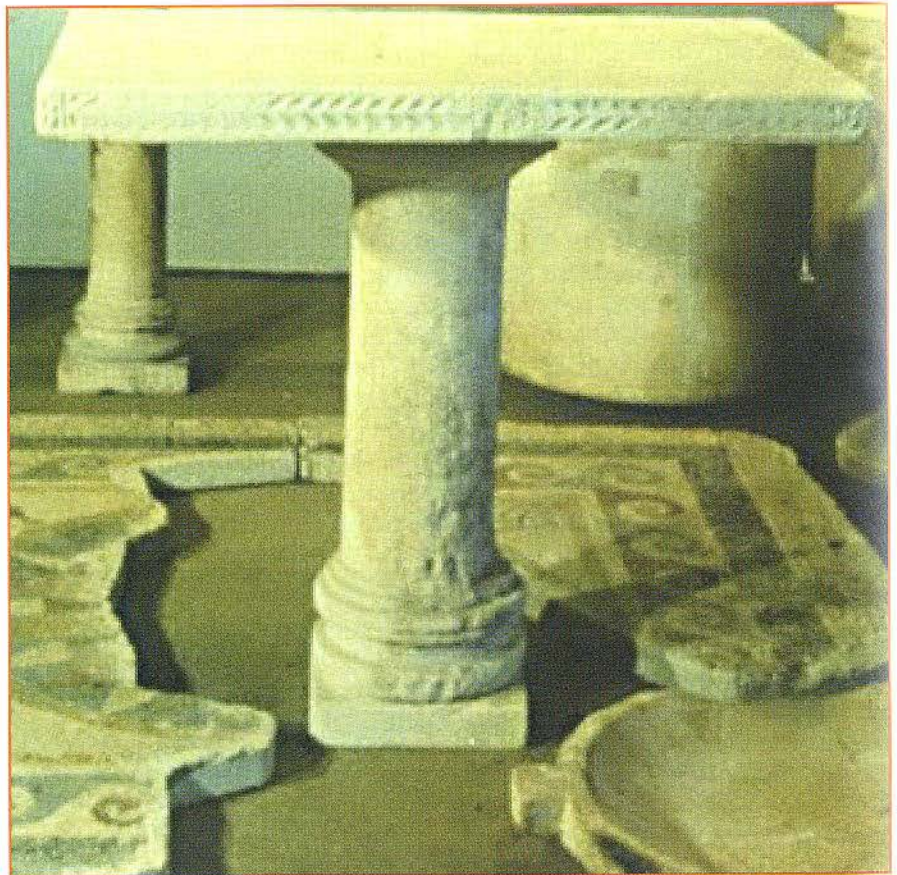


Above and right.
Handworks from Herod's time.

around you at the beauty of what you want to betray... Oh, obstinate creatures, more callous than stones! Joseph went on shouting, but the military parade and his appeal did not obtain any results. Titus, tired of waiting, ordered to reopen hostilities and new siege machines and new towers were brought near the walls of the city.

A great number of citizens tried to escape but only a few of them had good luck because the rebels did not permit it, especially at the beginning of the siege, since they regarded the flight as a betrayal. Matthias, an important person of the city, had helped the rebels and was suspected of having the intention of fleeing. For this reason he was immediately sentenced to death with his three sons. He implored to be killed before his sons in view of his past merits, but he was not granted this: his three sons were killed first and he was the last to fall upon them. It was necessary to give a terrible example, to discourage any idea of surrender.

At first, the Romans allowed the fugitives to pass through the



lines and go away from there, until a new danger cropped up.

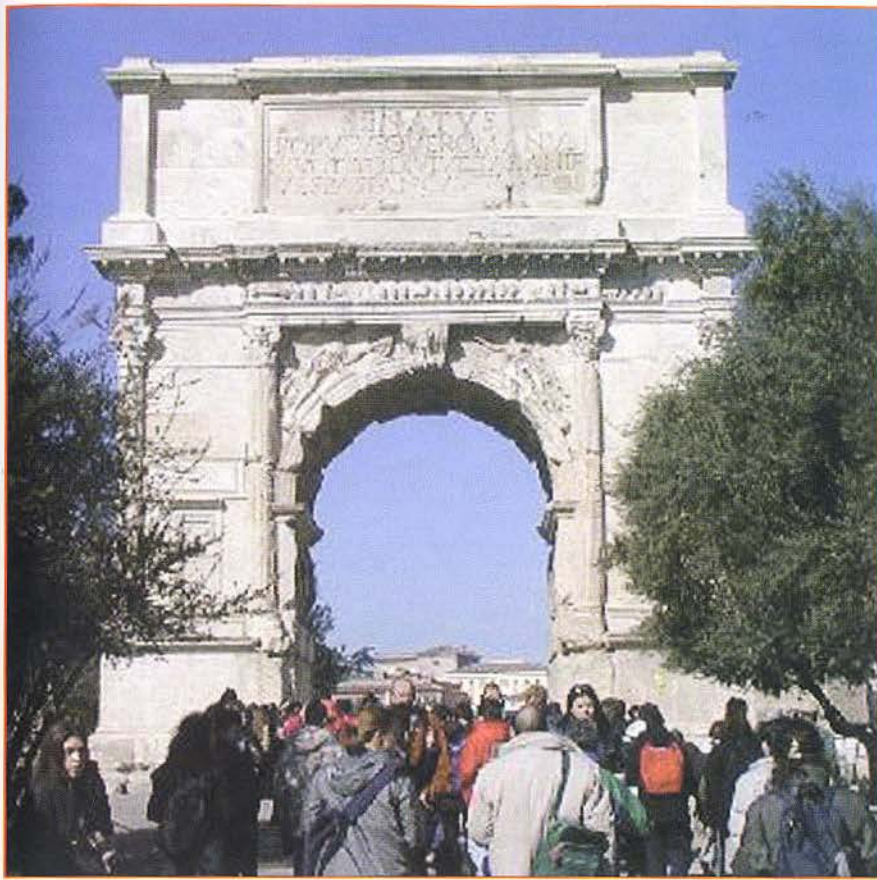
During each night, under cover of darkness, among hundreds of hungry and desperate fugitives, fierce rebels escaped the city through secret underground passages and arrived at the Roman

camp, where they killed the soldiers in their sleep, set tents and war machines on fire, wiping out in a few minutes the result of a dangerous and intense day's work. So Titus, with iron energy, ordered that any Jew found in the Roman camp, would be executed. About 500 victims, day after day, were cruelly nailed to girders and crosses, a few metres from the city, as warning and example:

There was no longer space for crucifixions nor crosses for the victims.

The situation of the besieged was getting more and more terrible and dramatic every single day, and hunger drove them to

the wildest and most horrible actions. All of them fought for the few leftovers, first by using money, then by violence. Friends and relatives fought each other and, at times, the husband took the food out of his wife's mouth and so did the wife and, worst of all,



Above and left.
Titus arch and some of its details.

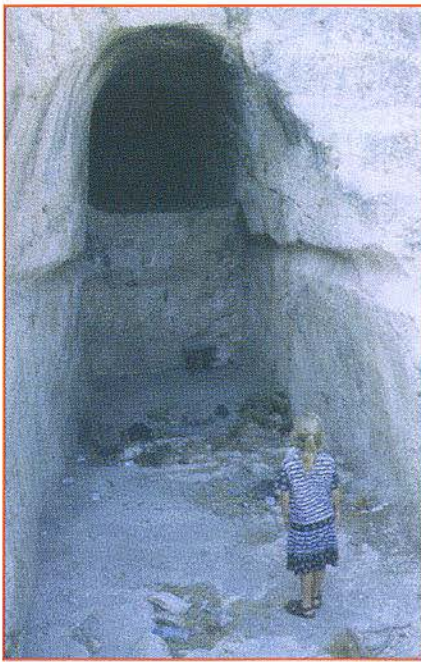


so did parents with their sons. The strongest prevailed over the weakest, and the armed rebels were able to sustain themselves because they took the food away from defenceless men. When one

found some food, immediately he locked himself up into the house to eat it. But when the doors were seen to close, at once desperate and armed people broke into the house and took the food

away from the mouth of the unfortunate people. Lots of armed men, then, began torturing their fellow citizens, in the hope of finding some hidden food somewhere, and so many died in an atrocious agony.

The Jews not only ate everything edible, but they had come to consider the sandal's leather and the hay left by the animals a delicious food. Flavius Josephus, impotent witness of so much ruin, wrote: *Their hunger was so intolerable as to induce them to chew anything; they picked up stuff that even the most unclean animals would neither touch nor, even less, eat... There was someone who picked up blades of grass to sell*



Above and right.
Remains of tombs in Jerusalem.

them at four Attic drachmae a bundle... The terraces were full of women and children in a faint; the streets of old people's corpses. Children and women, like ghosts, dragged themselves here and there until they fell to the ground, exhausted. All were so weak that they could not bury anyone...

And it was Josephus himself who related of one of the most terrible episodes which proved that hunger had started to obscure also the mind of those poor wretches. Some of them, starving and going round the streets desperately, smelt roast meat from a house. It was the home of Mary, one of the noblest and richest women of the city, wise and good, and those unfortunate people rushed to her, pleading for some food. Mary, whose face showed clear signs of madness, complied with the desire and offered them a meal but, with incomparable horror, they realized that the cooked food on their plate was Mary's little son, a few-months old baby who had starved to

death a few hours before! The horrible episode spread throughout the city. The besieged, who had all become crazy by now, started to throw themselves (about a hundred each day) from the very high walls, preferring a quick death to such a horrible agony. Thousands of bodies fell from the walls in about five months of siege. When Titus was informed of Mary's terrible story got very upset and swore to his Gods that he would cover the monstrous crime with the ruins of the entire city. By now there was no longer pity for Jerusalem, nor hope. Its defenders went on fighting desperately behind every wall and every house, but the Romans advanced slowly and relentlessly. Even those rough soldiers were tired and horrified by what they were seeing with their own eyes.

In the entire city there was a dreadful smell of death, and agonizing cries echoed everywhere, night and day. What had been a green and luxuriant fertile region, rich in crops and olive groves, now was only a bare and barren land, because the Romans had uprooted all trees, for the needs of their big camp.

No visitor who had seen the ancient Judea and the enchanting suburbs of its capital and then found himself facing this devastation, could hold back his tears at the sight of this horrible transformation. The war had turned so much beauty into a desert.

Nevertheless, Jerusalem still resisted. Titus had the whole urban centre, still free, surrounded by a deep moat, to which a high earthen wall, reinforced by thirteen outposts, was added: nothing and nobody could enter or leave the city without being seen by the soldiers. In addition, he urged his men to hurry because now, even for him, the war had become a nightmare of which he wanted to get rid as soon as possible. The Antonia fortress, which overlooked the Temple from the north-east with its imposing mass, fell in July. From there would begin the last attack for the most important conquest: the Temple of Jerusalem, the most sacred symbol of the Jewish people.

THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM

It was the centre of the Jewish national and religious con-



The Wailing Wall.

science. The most famous King of Israel, David, wanted to build a temple to his God, but his Kingdom had never had the long peaceful period needed for finishing it off. God chose Solomon, David's son, to carry out his father's project. David had just completed the essential preparations: he had bought the land and prepared the building carefully, fixed the amount of gold needed for the sacred ornaments and assembled the material needed for the undertaking.

Solomon asked Chiram, King of Tyre and a friend of his father's, to help him. So, Chiram provided him with Lebanon cedars which were transported by sea like rafts, along the

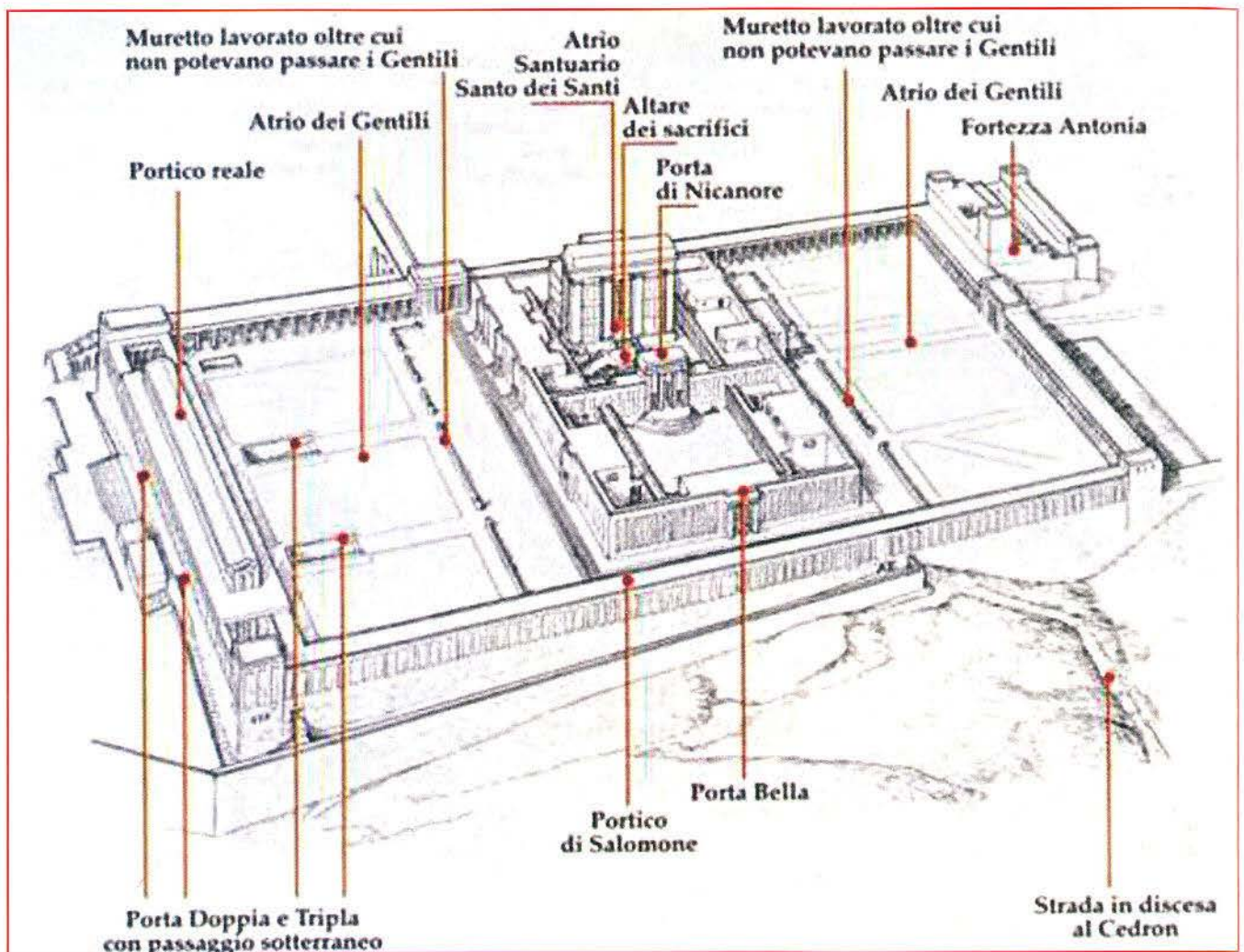
Mediterranean coast. They were used for the roof of the Temple. The best bricklayers, carpenters and joiners came from Tyre. King Chiram, an able craftsman from Tyre but of Jewish extraction, made the whole bronze work. In order to extract and work the stones and do the less specialized

work, Solomon recruited men all over the country. The building of the Temple took a good seven years.

In the following centuries, its treasures were at times sacked and it was razed to the ground in 586 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon. It was rebuilt



A model of Solomon's Temple.



Graphic reproduction of the Temple of Jerusalem.

thanks to concessions made by the Persian King Cyrus "the Great", in 538 B.C. He allowed the errant Jewish people to go back to the "Land of their Fathers" after the long Babylonian exile. This was the so-called "second Temple".

In Jesus' times, the Temple had been entirely restored and enlarged by Herod the Great, who had started the work in 20-19 B.C., and had finished it off in a year and half, following the traditional Solomonian plan. The work on the remaining parts ended only in 64 A.D., a few years before its definitive destruction. The Gospels make reference to the impressiveness of the work

and to its length. Although Herod's version was actually the third, it is traditionally regarded as a part of the second Temple, the one built by the people who had returned from the Babylonian exile.

It is not easy to reconstruct the exact location of the different buildings, but anyway the general structure of the sanctuary is known.

The entire compound measured approximately 121,000 square metres and was surrounded by a wall running for 256 x 228 x 430 x 443 metres. On the north side, the Temple was linked with the Antonia fortress, built by Herod on the ruins of a previous tower; on the southeast, there was the renowned Pinnacle mentioned by the Gospels (Matthew 4, 5; Luke 4, 9). The

main entrance (there were entrances on all sides and each of them had a name: North Gate, Golden Gate, etc.), preceded by a room for ritual ablutions (*mikvah*), was situated on the southern side and consisted of a huge flight of steps with two doors: a double and a triple one. The atrium had porticos and covered galleries running along the exterior side of the building; on the south there was the so-called Royal Portico, on the east Solomon's Portico (John 10,23; Matthew 3,11), overlooking the Cedron stream.

Beyond the porticos, there was the Atrium of the Gentiles, an open space accessible also to pagans, occupied by moneychangers, sellers of animals for sacrifices, visitors (John 2,14; Mark 11,15), masters of the law (John

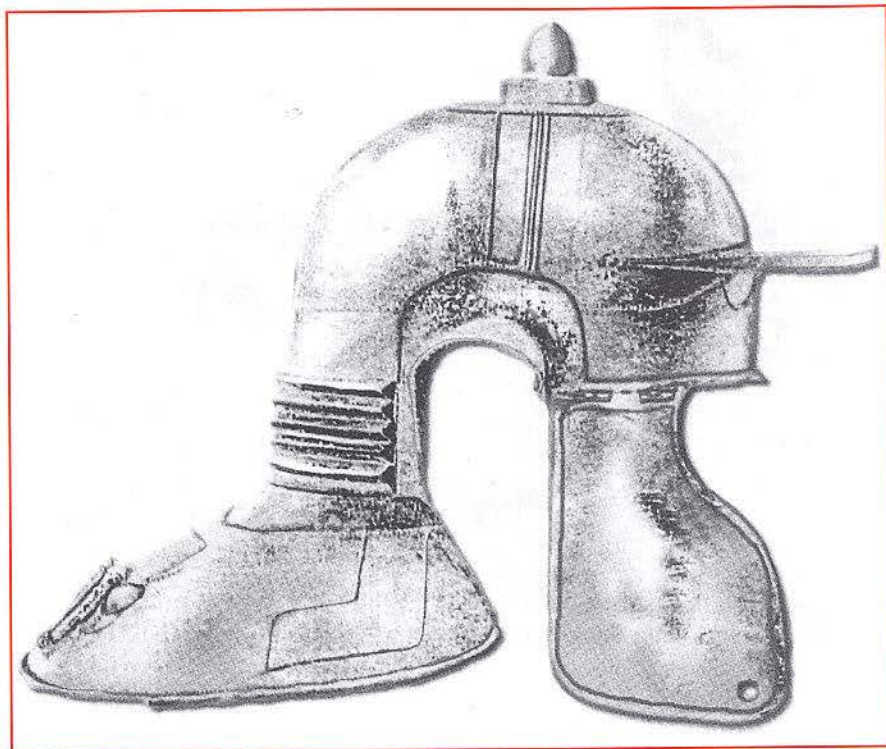
18,19). All foreigners who arrived in Jerusalem did not miss the opportunity to visit the Temple, about which the Talmud writes: "Anyone who has never seen Herod's Temple has never seen a majestic edifice in his life".

In the middle of the Atrium of the Gentiles, there was a super-elevated place, separated from the rest by a stone balustrade that indicated the limit beyond which the pagans were not allowed to go. Numerous inscriptions in Greek and Latin warned the foreigners, like that found in 1871: *No foreigner may pass within the lattice and wall around the Sanctuary. Whoever is caught, the guilt for the death which will follow will be his own.*

After the balustrade, there was another atrium where it was possible to enter through nine doors. The most famous was the Beautiful Gate, where many mendicants stood asking for alms. This was followed by the Atrium of the Women, which was called so because women were not allowed to pass through it. This internal and limited area divided the Jews from the pagans and was a sort of meeting place; there, oblations were collected in horn-shaped containers for the Treasury of the Temple, managed by the Levites (Mark 12, 42-44). Some separate rooms were situated on the four corners: a storage of firewood, oil and wine, the Nazarites' bedroom and a room used for the examination of the lepers.

Through Nicanor's Door, where mothers offered the sacrifice after the birth of their firstborn (Luke 2,22), one could enter the Atrium of the Israelites.

The sanctuary had the same plan of Solomon's Temple: after the parapet that led to the Atrium of the Priests, there was the big Altar of the Holocausts, placed in front of the Temple's entrance and the water tank. The altar was made of rough stone, which had never been touched by any metal



tool, decorated with horn-shaped protrusions.

Twelve steps led to the Saint, where there was the Altar of the Scents, which was made of acacia wood and covered with gold (Luke 1, 9). Twice a day a special mixture of aromas was offered, such as the incense given by Zacharias in Luke's Gospel, the table of the loaves of the proposition (Ex. 25, 23-30; 37,10-16; 40, 22) and the golden candelabrum with seven brackets (*Menorah*) decorated with almond blossoms, on which oil lamps burned.

After the altar, isolated by a thick curtain, there was the Saint of Saints, *Sancta Sanctorum*, a cubic room whose side measured nine metres. It was bare and without windows and contained the Ark of the Covenant. From there rose two winged beings, covered with gold. Their wings joined at the centre, above the Ark, and touched the walls of the sanctuary on the sides. Only the High Priest could enter this most sacred place, on the Day of Atonement, wearing a simple white-linen habit (Lev. 16,12).

A Gallic imperial helmet used by the Roman legionaries.

The *Sancta Sanctorum* lost the Ark when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem in 587 A.C. and remained empty.

The huge compound, built by Herod the Great just a few decades before, was an impregnable fortress. The Roman battering-rams and assault machines could do nothing against its mighty walls, made of enormous stone blocks. The legionaries who, with heavy losses, were able to climb the high walls, were implacably driven back by the dogged defenders.

Before ordering the total destruction of that building, Titus hesitated because he knew its value very well. It was one of the most famous monuments of the Empire, the most sacred and revered. Thus, he gathered his commanders and, with their approval, invited once more the Jews to surrender. But that group of desperate men refused even the last hope of salvation and answered the words of the Roman



Projectiles for ballistae.

to cease fighting and put out the fire, but the flames had spread through the Temple and now it was impossible to get the fire under control. His excited words, in the confusion, had no effect: the hatred for the Jews was too deep and the legionaries did not think about anything other than giving vent to their beastly instincts. The Holy House and the whole Temple burned irreparably.

According to Flavius Josephus, the destruction of the Temple was caused by the soldiers' exasperation and against Titus' will: this is not very credible, because the siege of Jerusalem aimed also at destroying this symbol of Judaism, considered a meeting place for those who opposed the Roman Empire.

Probably, Flavius Josephus wanted to lay on the rebels the whole blame for the destruction of the Temple, for reasons of political propaganda.

Some rebels escaped and took refuge in the back dungeons of Herod's palace. Locked there, they resisted the incessant attacks for weeks. Only in September their resistance was broken down and the last doors were opened. Jerusalem was finished.

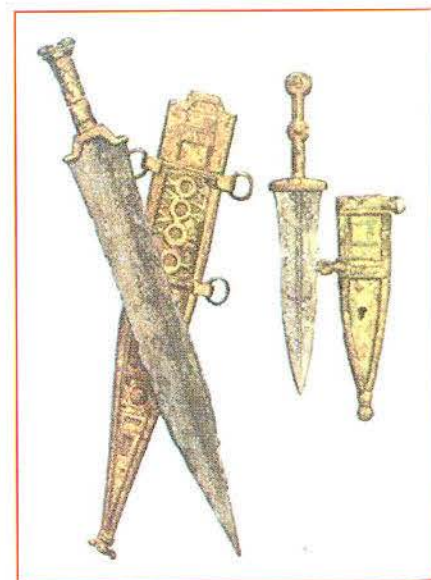
Commander with a heavy hurling of stones and red-hot darts.

THE LAST TRAGIC ASSAULT

The Roman council examined the situation carefully, coming to the conclusion that the only weak points of the immense fortress were the external wooden doors, impregnable with the assault machines, but surely very easy to be set on fire. Fire was used as a secret weapon. Despite the desperate efforts of the besieged to extinguish the flames, the fire flared up very violently and destroyed the enormous doors in a few minutes: finally, the Romans had no longer obstacles on their path. At that point, Titus regarded himself as a winner, but did not want to take advantage of his good luck and ordered his soldiers to get the fire under control immediately. In this way the magnificent Temple, largely made of precious wood, would

not be destroyed completely. As the legionaries fought hard against the flames that had just damaged the peristyle, the Jews, with a last desperate and heroic attempt, attacked them with incomparable fury. The horrible slaughter lasted for a long time and the Roman soldiers flung themselves against their enemies violently and killed hundreds of them, chasing after the survivors as far as inside the sacred enclosures. At a certain point, a legionary, in a frenzy, threw a torch over the fighters' heads, through a big window, very near to the *Sancta Sanctorum*. The precious wood panelling, the valuable cloth and the containers full of oil burst into flames instantly. Titus ordered the soldiers

Weapons of the Roman legionaries: the gladius (short sword about 50cm long) and the pugio (dagger of about 24cm). The gladius was adopted after the Second Punic War in place of the Greek hoplite sword.



DEPLOYMENT OF THE ROMAN LEGIONS AT THE END OF THE 1ST CENTURY A.D.



The leaders of the rebels, John and Simon, were captured, taken to Rome for Titus' triumph and then sentenced to death, according to the cruel Roman tradition. All the survivors of the siege, with the exception of those who had been allowed to leave, remained in the hands of the Romans, who killed the weak and the old, saving the others to sell them as slaves.

Other prisoners were sent to all the oriental cities as presents, and many were killed in the arenas of the amphitheatres. According to Flavius Josephus, the prisoners were 97,000 but the death toll, during the whole siege, was approximately 1,100,000. Historians consider the second figure an exaggeration, while the first one could be closer to the truth. Actually, we will never know for sure how many victims there were. Titus kept his word and ordered his men to raze to the ground what was still standing. All the buildings were dismantled and the ground was completely levelled. Only a few towers were spared, to be used by the soldiers who remained in the area.

According to Flavius Josephus, nobody would have believed that there had been a city in that place, because there was

nothing left: everything was taken away. Nothing remained that could testify the ancient splendour of the city, except for a defence wall on the open space of the Temple: the famous Wailing Wall.

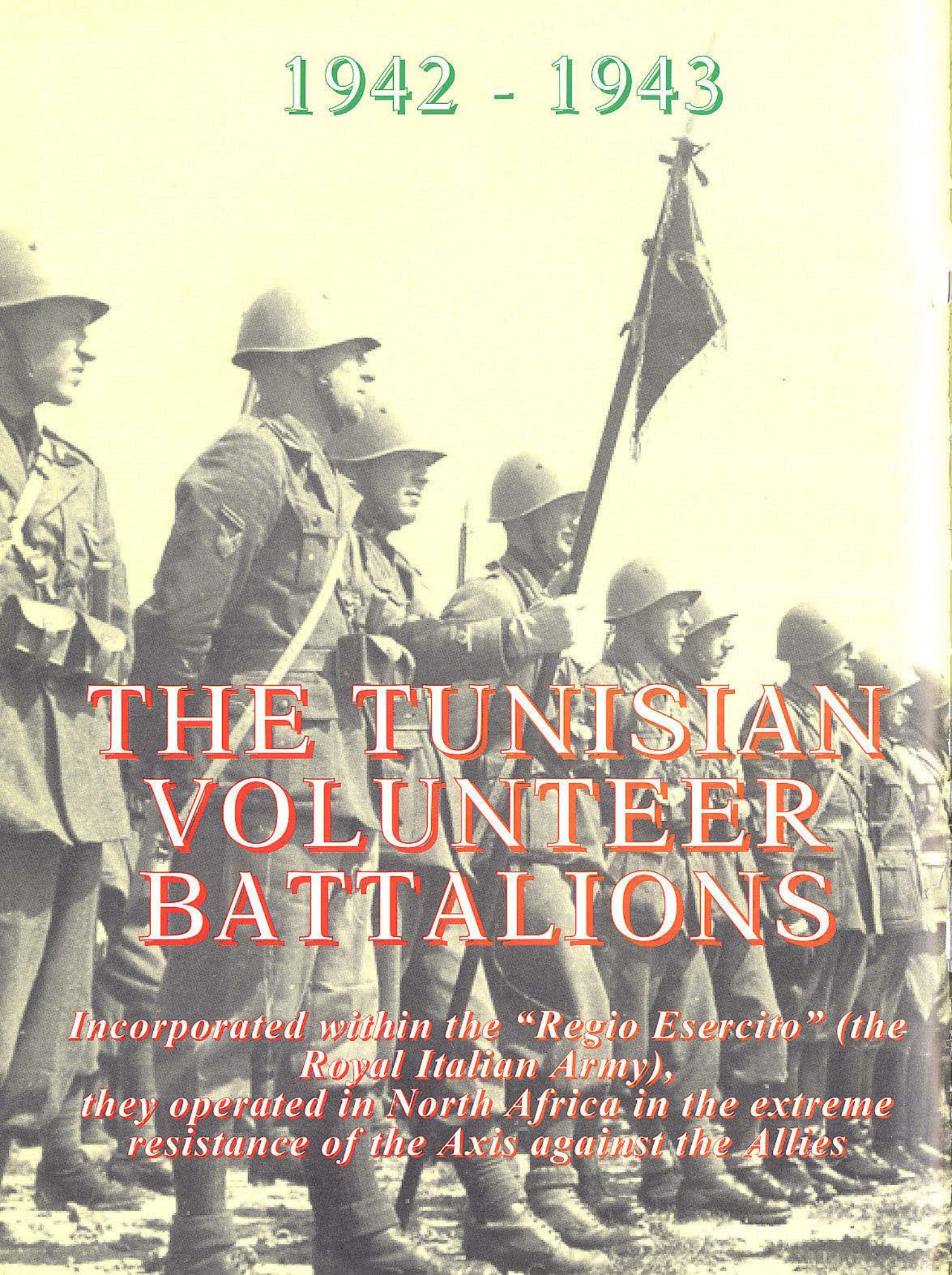
And so the Christ's prophecy came true: "...No stone upon stone will remain of thee".

An Hellenistic city, called *Aelia Capitolina*, was founded in that place, from which the Jews were barred. Only with the rise of Christianity, did Jerusalem take its name again, together with its great religious significance. History has made this city "Holy" for the three world's greatest monotheistic religion, since it is the Holy city for the Jews, it was the scene of Jesus' redeeming mission and the destination of Mohammed's mystical voyage towards Allah, when he stopped on the Esplanade.

**Brigadier General,
 Chief of Staff,
 Southern Military Region*



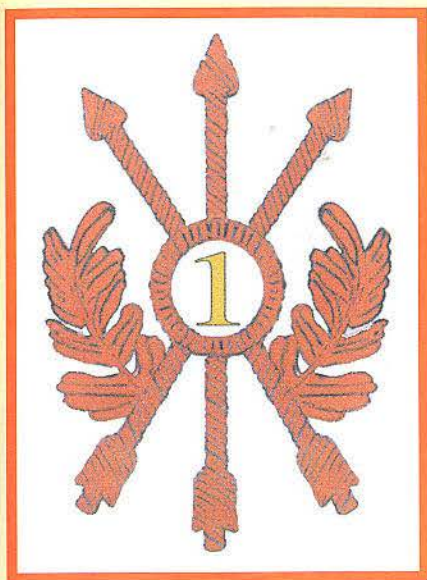
A relief portraying some barbarians reduced to slavery.



1942 - 1943

THE TUNISIAN VOLUNTEER BATTALIONS

*Incorporated within the "Regio Esercito" (the
Royal Italian Army),
they operated in North Africa in the extreme
resistance of the Axis against the Allies*



The Italian residents in Tunisia, with a commendable patriotic impulse, volunteered to fight the last desperate battle against an overwhelming enemy.

It was a noble and disinterested voluntarism, which, even if doomed to certain defeat, was radiant with generous heroism.

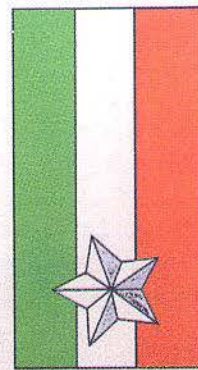
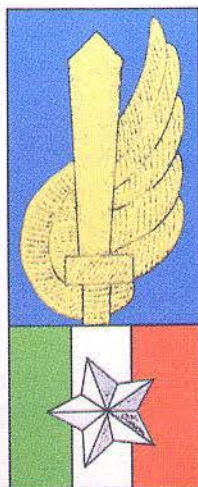
A refulgent example of proud Italian character, on which an unjust veil of oblivion has fallen.

by Filippo Cappellano *



In response to the landing of the Americans and of the troops of General de Gaulle's "France Libre" on the North African territories under the Vichy Government on November 8, 1942, the Forces of the Axis invaded Tunisia at the beginning of the same month. Meanwhile the Italian and German units, after the defeat of El Alamein, had started to withdraw from Egypt and Libya. Tripoli was evacuated on January 23, 1943 and the extreme resistance of the Axis was organized in Tunisia, against the British, who were pressing from Libya, and the French-American forces advancing from Algeria.

The large Italian colony in Tunisia welcomed the Italian-German troops, and many residents asked to enlist in the *Regio Esercito*, to fight against the Allies. The War Ministry, following the advice of the Supreme Command, actually went as far as suggesting the call-up and the compulsory enlistment of the





Italian citizens residing in Tunisia, in consideration of the great number of volunteers and the high motivation shown by the enlisted men, who were "the best members of the Italian colony, on whose sentiments one could certainly rely" (1).

As a matter of fact, the recruitment of volunteers had already started on December 9, 1942, on the initiative of the Supreme Command and with the backing of Mussolini, and in a short time it had involved thousands of men. At the end, one could count more than 4000 of them. Lt Colonel Vincenzo Corsini, a reserve Officer, was appointed as chief of the organi-

zation for the recruitment of the volunteers. Lt Col Corsini had been State Councillor with the Italian Commission for the Armistice with France (CIAF) (2). At the beginning of the operations, the Supreme Command expected a total inflow of up to 10,000 men. The volunteers' force could not be further increased, owing to the logistic problems related to the supply of clothing, equipment and weapons. The command of the troops was entrusted to Officers, NCOs and corporals from the "Superga" Infantry Division and to others called from Italy for that purpose. On December 21, twenty-four of the thirty-two Of-

ficers destined to the command of the Tunisian units had already left Italy.

General Leone Santi, Head of the Tunisian Delegation to the CIAF was temporarily transferred to the "Kasbah" Barracks. On December 16, General Santi had replaced General Arturo Benigni as supervisor of the recruitment and training of the Tunisian units. The volunteers were mostly enrolled in the Army; only a minority joined the fascist Voluntary Militia for National Security and the Navy (3). The personnel enlisted with the Militia were assigned to the 570th Blackshirt Battalion, the 1st Blackshirt "North Africa" Legion, the 50th



Above.
Enlistment of Tunisian volunteers.

Right.
Tunisian volunteers of the "Red Arrows" Group.

A/A Militia Group and the 8th Maritime Artillery Militia. The Supreme Command assigned about 200 men to the Navy, where they were employed as complements in MILMART and the "San Marco" Battalion. The General Staff also authorized the enlistment of Tunisian recruits with particular physical and

moral aptitudes, to be assigned to the 10th "Arditi" Regiment being trained in Italy.

The recruitment and training centre was established in Tunis, at the "Kasbah" Barracks, on December 9, 1942, and during the same month the I, II and III Tunisian Volunteer Battalions were mobilized. In January the Regiment HQ was disbanded and replaced by a Tunisian Volunteer HQ, located near Soussa.

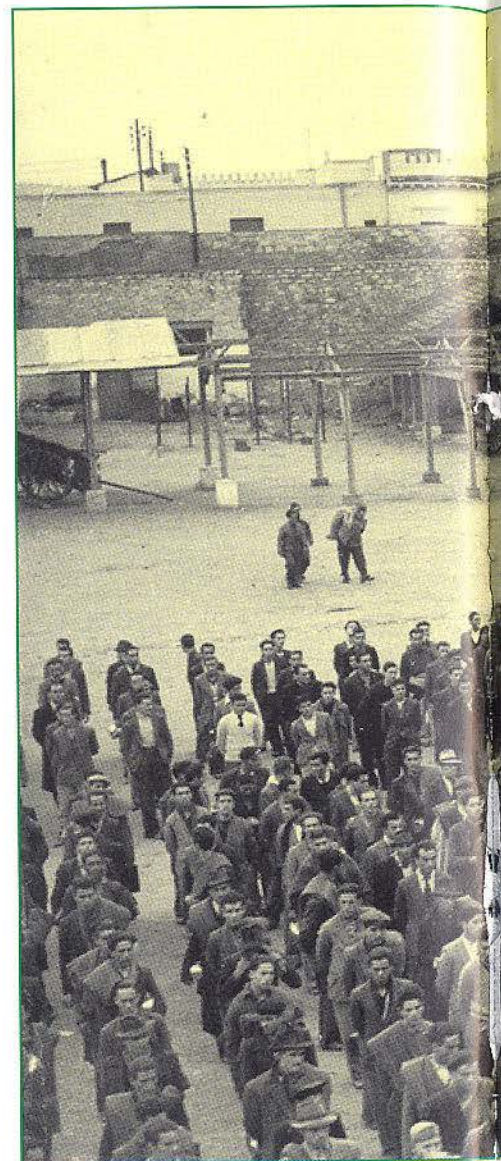
The Army Staff-Organization Office, on April 10, 1943, sanctioned the constitution, ordered by the XXX Corps, of the Tunis recruitment/training centre and of the three battalions. On March 1, 1943, the III Battalion was dissolved and the II Battalion changed its distinctive number to XI. The constitution, equipment and training of the volunteer units was entrusted to General Staff Lieutenant



Colonel Massimo Invrea. The volunteers willingly agreed to join the Italian Armed Forces, on condition that they could wear a uniform that would preserve them from possible French reprisals.

It is indispensable that the recruited servicemen be issued a uniform prior to their employment, since they have subordi-

nated their engagement to this condition and to the attainment of the legal status of regular members of the Italian Armed Forces. The use of armbands or other questionable emblems is to be excluded both for the reason expounded above, fully justified by the well-known situation and for the hatred of the French towards our compatriots who,



Above.
A formation of Tunisian volunteers.

Left.
The "Kasbah" Barracks.

without a regular uniform, armament and regimentation, would certainly not be considered as legitimate belligerents and would be exposed to the harsh punishments established for snipers, and also to pitiless retaliations against their families. The volunteers are willing to give everything; but they want to fight and die with the honour due to soldiers (4).



Because of the poor discipline, during the month of December the volunteers committed some thefts and acts of violence in the port and centre of Tunis, forcing General Santi to order the removal of the recruited servicemen from the city.

Discipline and military attitude have been very scarce while the volunteers remained in Tunis, where they committed very serious misdeeds and some crimes, escaping all sanctions. This was due to the lack of cadres and to the incapability of the first Tunisian Officers recruited, who were themselves affected by the same animosities and influences of the local

colony. The transfer from the city, the assumption of command by non-Tunisian Officers and the rigour of military life, fully devoted to training, will certainly do away with all the encrustations that, in the first period, may have caused a negative evaluation of the Tunisian volunteers. Basically they have a generous disposition, enthusiasm and the will to cooperate for the good outcome of the operations (5).

The disciplinary situation improved rapidly, and already in December the Headquarters of the XXX Corps authorized the transfer from the I Battalion of a number of trained men, in order

to reinforce the infantry units of the "Superga" Division. On the early phases of the recruitment and training, Major Leo Cataldo, Commander of the I Tunisian Volunteer Battalion, gave the following account: A good many reported for duty, and the medical examination was just a formality, since all of them were enlisted, whatever their condition (many of them, in fact, later turned out to be unfit (...)). On December 11 General Benigni made a speech to the assembled volunteers, extolling the purpose of their enlistment. On December 17, the I Battalion, with two companies, was already constituted and detached to Bou Ficha by train. The units

were employed for training, guard duty at the advanced ammunition post and fuel depot, on night patrols and in fatigue work at the Commissary Section. Training, therefore, proceeded very slowly. Furthermore, this unit had no vehicles, materials for general use, means of communication, squad armament (...) The "T" Volunteer Regiment was constituted in a short time, with three Battalions, at Bou Fichta, Sousse and Sfax. The Regiment HQ was at Hammam Lif and in Tunis, in the "Kasbah" Barracks, there was a kind of depot. There were moreover an NCO-training school, detached at Camp Servièr (near Hammam Lif), and a motorist-mechanics company (6).

Because of the shortage of weapons, the battalion received only portable individual arms, such as rifles and submachine guns. Besides, they had no materials for general services and vehicles. At the end of December, 3000 rifles and "mod. 91" muskets, 5000 hand grenades and fifty 8 mm "Chauchat" submachine guns (French spoils of war) were delivered to the battalion. The 570th Blackshirt Battalion, consisting of Tunisian volunteers and commanded by Seniore (Major) Alberto Tetano, received part of its armament only on February 28, 1943. Seniore Remo Scaparra, entrusted with the recruitment of Tunisian volunteers, in February 1943 reported to the General Command of the Militia that his office had received 2015 applications and granted 1188 of them (7). Although the effectives of the volunteer Battalions appeared to be motivated and determined to fight, the Italian Command assigned most of the units to second-line duties, avoiding their generalised employment against the Allies. As for Cadres, training and cohesion of the units, Lieutenant Colonel Invrea reported that *The Battalions are commanded by regular Senior*

AN INTERVIEW WITH A VETERAN

by Carlo Romano*

Sixty years and one sea are not enough to separate from his past, and for good, the present of Giuseppe Vindigni, a quiet great-grandfather from Catania. On the other side of the Mediterranean, in 1942, Vindigni, the son of Sicilian emigrants who had moved from Libya to Tunisia, discovered for the first time the strength of his love for his Motherland, even though he had never seen Italy. The war had reached also his city, Tunis, suddenly disrupting the reasons of a civil coexistence between the Italian community and the local one, closely bound to France. A great number of Italians, even those who, like him, had never been in Italy, were suddenly pointed out as enemies by the French, thus they had decided to enlist in the Army and defend the African front. Strolling along the seafront, still today, at 82, Giuseppe Vindigni, looking at the sea from the coast of Catania, cannot help recalling those days and his decision to enlist in the I Battalion Tunisian Volunteers, in order to support the Italo-German soldiers retreating after the defeat of El Alamein. And the memories still flow very lucidly.

Tell us about your experience in Tunisia before November-December 1942.

I lived in Tunis with my family: father, mother and four brothers. My father had met my mother in Tripoli, Libya, in 1918. Then they had moved to Tunisia, where we all integrated very well, also because the Italian community was rather numerous and well settled. For example, my eldest brother worked as a travelling salesman for a French import-export company, while I studied to become an accountant and, at the same time, served as an apprentice in the office of a notary public.

How were the relations between the Italian community and the French authorities?

Until the outbreak of the war, relations were rather good. Tunis was a cosmopolitan city: besides the French and the Tunisians there were numerous communities of different origin, from Maltese to Arabs, from Jews to Spaniards. In all Tunisia there were about 100,000 Italians who had moved there straight after the First World War, trying to escape from the economic crisis that had hit Italy and to build a future for themselves. Most of them came from Sicily and Calabria and were highly appreciated for their skill in farming: even today the vineyards and olive-groves of Tunisia are the fruit of their work. But when Italy entered the war, things rapidly changed.

Why did you choose to join the Italian Army after the occupation of Tunisia by the troops of the Axis?

The situation was rapidly coming to a head. In June 1940 the French communicated with posters that all the Italians working for French firms were to be dismissed. My brother lost his job and was authorized by my father to register in an Air Force course through the Italian Consulate. When, in 1942, the Italian soldiers started to retreat, I saw another poster, this time put up by the Italian consular authorities, inviting the young Italians residing in Tunisia to enlist. I was full of enthusiasm and longing to render a service to Italy. Thus, on December 12, 1942 I decided to enlist, reporting to the Kasbah Barracks in Tunis, and joined the I Battalion Tunisian Volunteers.

How did you spend the first days of military life?

After the enthusiasm there was some disappointment. We ardently wanted to be together with the Italian soldiers, we listened to the radio to feel well informed. We were not all young people, among us there were also fathers and professionals: even the French were amazed by our cohesion. Still the beginning of that experience was not easy: our first equipment was old, we were issued rifles dating back to 1899 and French machine-guns made in 1914.

How was the morale of the Tunisian volunteers?

We realized immediately that we were seen as 2nd class soldiers: since we were volunteers, many considered us a bunch of poor devils who, re-

duced to desperation, were looking for a way to make ends meet. Some called us bastards. However, the arms we received during training were more modern, Breda submachine guns, Beretta rifles and belts packed with hand grenades. For many of us, who were impatiently awaiting to go into action, this was the sign that our devotion to Italy was beginning to be understood. In particular, I remember the day when I saw for the first time what were going to be our uniforms: as soon as I noticed the three-coloured badges on the grey-green jacket and the plus-fours I felt that at the moment I wore them I, also, could at last be an Italian soldier. And indeed it was just so.

How were your relations with the Commands and troops of the *Regio Esercito*?

As I said, at the beginning things were very difficult. In fact, precisely to overcome the mistrust of the Army towards us, we asked, and obtained to have Tunisian Officers. A Lieutenant called Ingrassia, one of us, was selected as Commander of the I Battalion, which was my unit. I remember that he never missed the opportunity to encourage us and treated us with great respect and firmness. I remember General Messe of the *Regio Esercito*: during the retreat, he chose our Battalion to mount guard to his Headquarters, and for us this was another very important token of appreciation.

Did you have any combat experience? Where and how did your Unit operate?

At the beginning, also because of my knowledge of Arabic, I was asked to join the commandos that were to infiltrate the enemy lines. But I wanted, at all costs, to wear the uniform with the tricolour badges. So, I joined the I Battalion Tunisian Volunteers, and I still remember perfectly the night we departed for the front line. As we arrived near Mateur, we were attacked for the first time by the French Army, commanded by General Juin. After that, not a single day went by without a bombardment by the American artillery. At night, it was the Algerians and the Moroccans who attacked us at close quarters with their scimitars. Many of our comrades lost their life, among them a childhood friend of mine who had enlisted with me. We were decidedly less than the enemy troops and moved mostly at night, to cover the withdrawal of the Italo-German units. One of the missions I remember best is one we carried out at the end of March 1943: moving on all fours among scrubs and fissures we succeeded in blowing up an enemy fortified-post camouflaged among the rocks. I got a special leave of 8 days and the Commander's praise.

What is your opinion of the enemy troops?

I remember it was an unequal contest. In the hand-to-hand fighting, we confronted Algerians and Moroccans; the Americans and the British, instead, were striking us with artillery and aircraft. By then, our airplanes had been wiped out and so were General Rommel's. At the moment of the final surrender, we were 220,000 against 1,200,000.

What happened to you after the Italo-German surrender in May 1943?

At first I was taken prisoner by the British. They were not doing very well either, and as regards food they needed the help of the Americans. But they treated us rather well and kept us in a camp at Bona. Then in July 1943 we ended up under the French and the situation worsened: they wanted us to enlist in the Foreign Legion, we were hungry and many of us fell ill. I caught diphtheria, but we had no medical assistance. For treatment, I ate the lemons sold by the Arab shepherds who were coming up to the camp. We had nothing to give them but our clothes. In February 1944 I escaped with a friend of mine, heading towards Libya. First, we stole an American jeep and then, when the gasoline was finished, we walked 80 kilometres in the desert. In Tripoli we were captured by the British and my parents bailed us out. In 1949 I arrived in Italy: in Africa, after the departure of the Americans, there was no more work. I joined the civil aviation and that, in a sense, was the beginning of my second life: the life that took me here, to Catania, where I live with my three daughters and my grandchildren, on the other side of the sea.

**Journalist*

Officers. The lower-ranking Officers are numerous but their quality is generally poor (...). The training of personnel leaves much to be desired since the units, immediately after their constitution, have been employed in various services, such as coastal defence, labour, etc.). Actually the I Rifle Battalion could start training only on March 2. Most volunteers are prompted by a very good spirit, and the units have remarkable moral cohesion (...) To improve their training, the units should be exempted from any employment for at least six weeks (8).

In March the I Rifle Battalion, with its 700 effectives was stationed at Mahdia, 50 km south-east of Sousse for the defence of the coast, while the XI Coastal Battalion, with 400 men, was posted between Hergba and Djebemane. The 570th Black-shirts was garrisoning Camp Servièrè with 500 men. More volunteers were at the Training and Recruitment Centre in Tunis and assigned as reinforcements to various units of Maritime Militia, territorial A/A defence and Black-shirts. About 400 men went to reinforce the Tunisian Volunteers Assault Battalion, which had just arrived from Italy. The latter, a Special Forces unit, which had been organized in Rome since 1942, was trained by the Military Intelligence Service of the Supreme Command. The unit was called Centre "T" and was a component of the Military Centres Group, which included Arab volunteers and Indian former prisoners of war, who had chosen to be employed against the Allies, in particular the British and the French, in order to support the cause of national independence of their Countries. Also the Italian volunteers, and those of Italian origin, former Far and Middle East residents, were associated to the Group. In particular, the "T" Military Centre, located on the via Appia, consisted exclu-



Tunisian volunteers on parade through the streets of Tunis.

companies and a company of Militiamen. Some effectives also attended a parachuting course at Tarquinia (9). Some volunteers were employed against the Allies already in December 1942. The few members of the "T" Assault Battalion assigned as guides and informers to the "Superga" Division HQ perform extremely well. The dispatch of the whole Battalion would very useful, because the unit, besides providing more guides and informers, could be very useful also in other employments, such as, for example, in mopping-up operations. Between the 10 and 16 January 1943, the Group Hq and the "Tunisia" Battalion (Headquarters, 2 companies and a mixed unit – 440 men in all) arrived in the operations zone by sea and air.

Major Cataldo's report on the spirit and morale of the volunteers continues: *On January 21 Lieutenant Colonel Invrea asked the battalions for a number of volunteers, needed for completing the "T" Assault Battalion, arrived from Italy with enough cadres but not many soldiers. On an inquiry made in the battalions, many expressed the wish to be transferred because they hoped to be immediately employed in combat. With the exception of some sporadic cases of rather "tepid" soldiers, almost all had a very strong desire to fight. They were intelligent, willing to learn, keen and scrupulous in the performance of their duties. These positive qualities were amply taken into account by the unit Commanders, in order to obtain the highest performance in the shortest possible time. Nevertheless, the units were always very short of the essentials, despite the daily requests of arms, radio sets, equipment, etc. At the end, some mules, a few French machine guns and light vehicles were delivered. But the*

sively of Italians born in Tunisia, Algeria, and French or Spanish Morocco, and by individuals who knew those regions well. In August 1942, the strength achieved by the three Centres: A (Arabs), T

(Tunisians) and I (Indians) constituted the "Red Arrows" Group. The same Group included also the "Tunisia" Assault Battalion, formed by Italians only (former "T" Centre), with three assault



Tunisians, besides the good points just mentioned, had also a number of shortcomings (...) and at times were taken by a spirit of indolence and apathy, or by a longing for full freedom, which certainly did not contribute to the disciplinary structure of the units. But these deficiencies were easily overcome through a persuasive and just authority. The relative proximity to their families was one of the most serious drawbacks. The human desire to go to Tripoli, especially after the various bombings, to find out what had happened to their families, was the reason for granting a great number of leaves, to the detriment of training. Furthermore, despite the many leaves, many volunteers went off arbitrarily, since they could not understand, in spite of repeated explanations, the seriousness of the infringement committed by leaving the unit without permission. This was the cause of some denunciations but, since they never had any practical effect, the soldiers felt that what the Commanders were telling them was nothing but intimidation.

The operational activity in combat concerned mostly the I Battalion which, having received from the other battalions the physically and morally best indi-

Above.
Distribution of uniforms and equipment to the Tunisian volunteers.

Below.
Volunteers in the courtyard of the "Kasbah" Barracks.





Left and right.
Blessing and consignment of the War
Flag to a Unit.

viduals, was employed on the front line against the Allies. The XI Battalion, instead, continued to be employed in coastal defence between Enfidaville and the Mahdia area, while the Blackshirts of the 570th Battalion were mostly used as workmen (10).

In anticipation of the deployment on the front line, the strength of the I Battalion was raised to 4 companies, which received Breda "mod.30" submachine guns in place of the French automatic weapons, and other heavy equipment. On March 31, the Battalion Hq and two companies (3rd and 4th) went to the Menassir Mountains, in the sector held by the 92nd Infantry Regiment. Beginning from mid-April, the companies, assigned as reinforcements to two different battalions, were attacked almost daily by enemy patrols and artillery fire. On April 24 the enemy, after an intense artillery preparation, attacked the strong-point held by the 4th company. The counterattack of a support

platoon and the fire of 81mm mortars broke the enemy onslaught. Two Tunisian volunteers died in action and four were wounded. But, on the same day, the Headquarters of the "Superga" Division ordered the retreat of the battalion to rearward positions. The movement was made mostly on foot, under enemy fire, using the only available truck for the transport of materials. The new positions were hit several times by enemy mortars and artillery, particularly on April 27 and May 4. Further withdrawals followed, up to the morning of May 10, when the battalion was engaged in a last battle in the Zaghouan area, together with survivors of the 91st and 92nd Infantry Regiments. The destiny of the other two companies of Tunisian volunteers was different. The 2nd company, assigned by order of the XXX Corps to a mobile reserve column commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Guadalupi, met with overwhelming French forces in the area of

Ousseltia and, after a fierce fight, was surrounded and dispersed. The survivors who had escaped the grip of the enemy arrived at the Battalion Hq only some days later. The losses were approximately 25 dead, an Officer and 50 soldiers captured. The 1st company, instead, on April 13 took part in a counterattack for the reconquest of the positions taken by the troops of "France Libre", where it was almost completely destroyed.

The action was conducted in a daring and brilliant way, so much so that it was praised by the Senior Officers present there. The following day the company received the order to advance and occupy more heights. During the movement the unit was attacked on the front and flanks by overwhelming enemy forces, and was engaged in an unequal struggle. The valour, courage and disregard of danger shown by all members of the unit were above all praise. Two Officers were killed, together with many soldiers, whose number was uncertain, since the combat area was alternately taken several times by the Unit and the enemy; 2 Officers and 20 soldiers were wounded; 2 Officers and 70 soldiers were captured (11).

Major Cataldo thus described the performance of the effectives of the I Battalion: *In combat they showed courage, intelligence and disregard of danger. But some of them, after an unsuccessful fight, dispersed easily and went to Tunis, coming back voluntarily after two or three days of absence (...) In conclusion, they were good soldiers if well understood and properly guided. They behaved very well, both in attack and defence. Also the men individually employed in Headquarters and Units, as interpreters and inform-*



ers, behaved very well.

Also the Tunisian volunteers that in February had been incorporated in the "T" Assault Battalion fought very bravely. The unit arrived on the front line on January 26 and already on the 28th took part in the attack against American positions in the Gebel Halfa, where it lost 65 men between dead and wounded, besides 36 missing. Lieutenant Colonel Invrea made the following report to the Supreme Command: *Suddenly in the morning of the 26th I received the order by H.E. Sogno to assume the command of the operational sector of Kukat Pass, which was in a critical situation. In the same evening I proceeded to occupy Gebel Halfa, which was found clear. On the 27th, in an offensive action against overwhelming North-American forces, the two "T"*

companies suffered very serious losses (12).

After the battle, the Battalion Hq and the 2nd company were withdrawn from the front line, and the 1st company was assigned to the 91st "Superga" Infantry Regiment. On February 16, Major Donato left the command of the Battalion and was replaced by Major Pasquale Ricciardi, who in Italy had already commanded the "T" Military Centre. In the night of March 19, the 2nd company made a surprise attack in the Ousseltia area. On the 24th the Battalion, united again, carried out some scouting actions in the Sidi Bon Zit sector, losing 2 men. Between April 10 and 12, the Battalion fell back to the positions of Enfidaville, where it carried out rearguard duties under the 10th German Armoured Division. On April 23 the strongpoint

held by the 1st and 2nd companies was heavily attacked. Its losses were 8 dead and 27 wounded. A 25-man patrol, who had carried out a night sortie together with some German elements, was also missing. Between April 27 and May 1, the new positions held by the "T" Assault Battalion were put under heavy pressure by the enemy. The resistance, conducted with valour and abnegation, caused more serious losses, totalling 20 dead and 53 wounded. In the night of May 3, a coup de main was conducted against the lines occupied by the enemy who, the following day, responded with a massive attack launched by elements of the Foreign Legion, native infantry and American armour. The enemy suffered heavy losses, but the "T" paid the price of 14 dead, 37 wounded and 35 missing. Almost all the Officers of



Left.
Tunisian volunteers enlisted in the "Blackshirts".

Right.
A Flag Group of the "Red Arrows" during a ceremony.

NOTES

(1) Memorandum for the Chief of the General Staff. *Call-up, recall and voluntary enlistment of Italian residents in Tunisia.* Supreme Command, Africa General Staff – Operation Office – Foreign Section, dated February 19, 1943.

(2) Already on November 15, 1942, Corsini, through the Italian Consulate in Tunis, had informed the Italian residents in Tunisia – and especially the sports organizations – that for all those willing to go to Tripolitania as workmen it was possible to enlist in the Italian forces. This form of enlistment was devised in order not to rouse the attention and suspicion of the French authorities. On the 25th of the same month, it was made known that the voluntary recruitment did not have the purpose of finding workers but rather men to be employed in the military against "France Libre" and the Anglo-Americans.

(3) Arab-Tunisian volunteers also joined German units. On December 9, General von Arnim, Commander of the Axis troops in Tunisia, authorized the enlistment of local volunteers as reserves for undermanned units. The Germans also dispatched to Tunisia a regiment of Arab volunteers which had been organized in Odessa. The unit had a strength of 3500 men of Moroccan, Algerian and Tunisian nationality, commanded by German Officers and NCOs.

(4) Letter dated December 1, 1942 *Enlistment and employment of local elements*, by the Italian General Consulate in Tunis.

(5) *Report on the situation and organization of the Tunisian volunteers* made by CIAF (Army Delegation for the control of North Africa – Tunisian sub-delegation)– dated December 29,

the Battalion were disabled. On May 7 the Unit was called back from the fire line in order to reorganize. On May 11 it received the order to surrender from the Headquarters of the "Superga" Division.

After the fall of Tunisia, in May 1943, two companies of the "T" Centre had remained in Rome. One of them belonged to the Militia. In the summer of 1943 the "T" company of the "Regio Esercito", together with the "A" Formations Group, constituted the Motorized Assault Battalion, which took part in the fight against the Germans at Monterotondo and Porta San Paolo.

The adventure of the Tunisian volunteers represents an important and glorious page of the history of the Italian Army in the Second World War, and particularly of the patriotic feeling of the

Italian populations abroad. In a critical and already compromised situation of the operations in North Africa, with the troops of the Axis crushed, with no way out, by the Anglo-American tongs, the Italian residents in Tunisia, with a commendable and spontaneous patriotic impulse, offered themselves to Italy, to fight the last desperate battle against an overpowering enemy. It was a generous and disinterested voluntarism, doomed to certain defeat and, for this reason, even more luminous and heroic.

The Italian population in Tunisia actually provided an exceptional percentage of volunteers, which was above all expectations (13).

*Lieutenant Colonel,
History Office,
Army General Staff



1942 and signed by General Santi.

(6) *Short notes on the enlistment, attitude, training and employment of the Tunisian volunteers.*

(7) The Chief of Staff of the Militia informed the Chief of the Government also about the application for enlistment submitted by 42 children of French-naturalized Italians who, since they could opt for the Italian citizenship on their reaching the age of 21, asked to be transferred to Italy and enlisted in the Blackshirts. On February 19, 1943 the Supreme Command authorized the urgent air transport of the volunteers to Italy.

(8) Report dated March 20, 1943 on

the "Organization of the Units constituted so far with Tunisian volunteers (data provided by General Staff Lieutenant Colonel Invrea).

(9) A Viotti: "Uniforms and insignia of the Italian Army in WWII (1940-1945)", Army General Staff - History Office, Rome 1988, p.495. The uniform was a khaki bush-jacket with the 42-model service cap. The badge was the grenade of the Grenadiers (later replaced by a new badge with three crossed arrows crowned by a laurel wreath). The collar badges reproduced the national colours and the military stars.

(10) On February 11, 1943, the

Supreme Headquarters - Africa General Staff - Operations Office, authorized the gradual disbandment of the ordinary "T" battalions, whose effectives were to reinforce the units of the "Superga" Division. The "T" Assault Battalion, instead, was to be kept alive, "owing to the special tasks it is supposed to carry out".

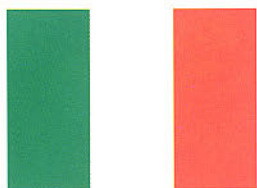
(11) Summary from the historical journal of the I "T" Volunteer Battalion.

(12) Telephone message no. 163/7 received by SIM on January 30, 1943.

(13) Letter no. 60/T dated January 21, 1943 on the "T" Volunteer Battalion.



SOMMARIO SUMMARY SOMMAIRE INHALT RESUMEN SUMARIO



Una democrazia universale, di Giuseppe Romeo (pag. 4).
Dagli scenari del Medio Oriente e dell'Asia Centrale, come dell'Africa subsahariana, ciò che si evidenzia è l'assenza di un'esatta percezione del senso di legalità nel mondo. Una percezione che non può esaurirsi soltanto all'interno di un ordinamento nazionale, ma che deve risolversi nel caratterizzare le relazioni mondiali in cerca di stabilità. Un valore che si realizza nel consenso espresso nel rispetto di regole comuni, nella condivisione di diritti e di opportunità. Una Democrazia universale che sia patrimonio della diversità.

Viaggio a Beirut, di Nello Rega (pag. 16).
«Voi italiani siete importantissimi qui in Libano. ITALAIR ha un ruolo determinante nella nostra missione. I vostri militari sono indispensabili perché consentono il controllo della *blu line* dal cielo. Unici nel dialogo con la popolazione».

Guerra al terrorismo, di Giancarlo Bove (pag. 22).
L'articolo descrive un modello di difesa e sicurezza preventivo,

che tiene conto del ruolo svolto dall'Intelligence quale strumento di analisi previsionale e gestione strategica delle informazioni.

Somalia alla ricerca dell'equilibrio, di Nicola Gallippi e Franco Carlini (pag. 46).
Il Paese oggi è frammentato da infinite divisioni. Nelle aree controllate dalla Gran Bretagna, durante l'epoca coloniale, esiste dal 1991 il Somaliland, Stato non riconosciuto dalle Organizzazioni internazionali. Nel 1998, le Regioni nord-orientali hanno dichiarato la loro indipendenza con il nome di Puntland. Le Regioni meridionali, infine, sono preda di vari «signori della guerra» sempre in lotta tra loro.

Al centro dell'Africa, alle soglie dell'inferno, di Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (pag. 56).
Burundi, Ruanda, Uganda e Congo sono teatro di atroci guerre tribali, in uno scenario di aggrovigliata cupidigia verso il sottosuolo più ricco del Continente. Nazioni Unite, Unione Europea, in particolare l'Italia, con la sua diplomazia e influenza, possono dare un prezioso contributo per mettere fine a questa penosa situazione.

I nuclei cinofili dell'Esercito, di Ugo Gaeta (pag. 64).
A poco più di tre anni dalla costituzione, i risultati conseguiti possono considerarsi

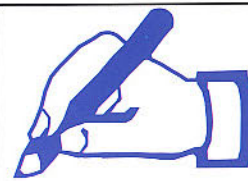
più che lusinghieri, ma non rappresentano un punto di arrivo. Entro il 2008, infatti, si dovrà arrivare alla completa acquisizione della capacità operativa di tutte le componenti cinofile.

La Grande Madre Prussia, di Daniele Cellamare (pag. 80).
La comparazione tra l'Esercito prussiano e quelli di altri Stati europei, ci aiuta a comprendere come le tendenze del pensiero militare, elaborate nel XIX secolo, abbiano influenzato la formazione delle guerre totali scoppiate nel secolo successivo.

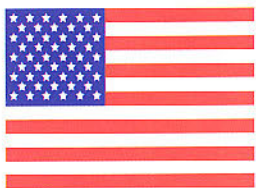
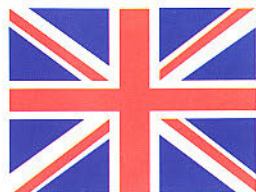
La distruzione di Gerusalemme, di Attilio Claudio Borreca (pag. 94).
Non ci fu posto per la pietà. Nel leggere la cronaca di quei tragici e terribili avvenimenti non possiamo non avere un moto di raccapriccio per vicende così crudeli. Perché i Romani, notoriamente generosi, repressero con tanta violenza la rivolta dei Giudei?

I battaglioni volontari tunisini, di Filippo Cappellano (pag. 108).
I residenti italiani in Tunisia, con encomiabile slancio patriottico, si offrirono per combattere l'ultima disperata battaglia contro un nemico soverchiante. Un volontarismo generoso e disinteressato che, seppur destinato a sicura disfatta, seppe illuminarsi di generoso eroismo.

Un fulgido esempio di



orgogliosa italianità su cui ingiustamente è calato il velo dell'oblio.



**A Universal Democracy,
by Giuseppe Romeo (p. 4).**

What stands out in the scenarios of the Middle East and Central Asia, as well as in Sub-Saharan Africa, is the absence of a precise perception of the sense of legality in the world. A perception that cannot be restricted within a national set of laws, but must characterize the world relations in quest of stability.

A value that is realized through the consensus expressed by respecting common regulations and by sharing rights and opportunities. A universal Democracy that should be the patrimony of diversity.

**A Journey to Beirut,
by Nello Rega (p. 16).**

«You Italians are very important here in Lebanon.

ITALAIR plays a determinant role within our mission. Your servicemen are indispensable, because they enable us to control the Blue Line from the sky and, furthermore, they are exceptional in the dialogue with the population».

**The War Against Terrorism,
by Giancarlo Bove (p. 22).**

The article describes a defence and security model that takes into account the role of the Intelligence as an instrument for the previsions analysis and strategic management of information.

**Somalia in Quest of a Balance,
by Nicola Gallippi
and Franco Carlini (p. 46).**

Today the Country is fragmented by infinite divisions. In the areas controlled by Great Britain in the colonial era, since 1991 there has been Somaliland, a State not recognized by the international Organizations. In 1998 the north eastern Regions declared their independence, taking the name of Puntland, and the southern Regions are an easy prey to various «warlords» always at war against each other.

**At the Centre of Africa on the
Threshold of Hell,
by Nicodème N' Kashama N'
Koy (p. 56).**

Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda and Congo are the theatre of dreadful tribal wars, in an intricate scenario of greed for the richest subsoil of the Continent.

The United Nations and the

European Union – especially Italy, with its diplomacy and influence – can give a precious contribution to end this distressing situation.

**The Army Dog Units,
by Ugo Gaeta (p. 64).**

A little over three years after their constitution, the results produced by these units can be considered more than satisfactory but they are not a final goal. As a matter of fact, by 2008 every dog component will have to acquire all its operational capabilities.

**Great Mother Prussia,
by Daniele Cellamare
(p. 80).**

The comparison between the Prussian Army and the Armies of the other European States helps us to understand how the trends of military thought, worked out in the 19th Century, influenced the formation of the global wars that broke out in the following Century.

**The Destruction of Jerusalem,
by Attilio Claudio Borreca
(p. 94).**

There was no mercy; when reading the chronicle of those tragic and dreadful vicissitudes we cannot but be horrified by such cruel events.

Why did the Romans, who were known for being very generous, repress the revolt of the Jews with such violence?

**The Tunisian Volunteer
Battalions,
by Filippo Cappellano (p. 108).**

The Italian residents in Tunisia, with an commendable

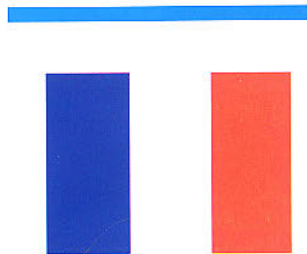


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outburst of patriotism, volunteered to fight the last battle against an overwhelming enemy.

It was a noble and unselfish voluntarism which, albeit doomed to certain defeat, was brightened by a generous heroism.

A refulgent example of proud Italian character, upon which an unjust veil of oblivion has fallen.



Une Démocratie universelle,
par Giuseppe Romeo
(p. 4).

Ce qui caractérise tous les théâtres aussi bien du Moyen-Orient que de l'Asie et même de l'Afrique subsaharienne c'est l'absence totale du sens exact de la légalité dans le monde. Une perception qui ne saurait se concrétiser de par la simple existence d'un système juridique national, mais dont devraient être empreints tous les rapports mondiaux visant à la stabilité.

Une valeur qui doit se traduire par le consensus, le respect de règles communes, le partage des droits et des chances. Une Démocratie universelle, héritage de la diversité.

Voyage à Beyrouth,
par Nello Rega (p. 16).

«Les Italiens, sont extrêmement importants ici au Liban. ITALAIR joue un rôle primordial dans le cadre de notre mission. Ses militaires sont indispensables car ils permettent le contrôle de la blu line depuis le ciel. Vous êtes des interlocuteurs irremplaçables dans le dialogue avec la population».

Guerre au terrorisme,
par Giancarlo Bove (p. 22).

L'article décrit un modèle de défense et de sécurité préventive basé sur le rôle du Service de renseignements en tant qu'instrument pour l'analyse prévisionnelle et la gestion stratégique des informations.

La Somalie à la recherche de l'équilibre,
par Nicola Gallippi
et Franco Carlini
(p. 46).

Le pays apparaît comme un territoire fragmenté et déchiré par d'innombrables divisions. En 1991, la république indépendante du Somaliland, non reconnue par les Organisations internationales, est proclamée dans les régions autrefois colonisées par la Grande Bretagne. En 1998, les régions du nord-est proclament leur indépendance en instituant le Puntland.

Quant aux régions du sud, elles deviennent l'objet des disputes incessantes entre les «Seigneurs de la Guerre».

Au centre de l'Afrique, la porte de l'enfer,
par Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (p. 56).

Le Burundi, le Rwanda, l'Ouganda et le Congo sont les théâtres de guerres tribales atroces alimentées par une cupidité croissante face aux richesses qu'offre le sous-sol le plus riche du continent. Les Nations Unies, l'Union européenne et, en particulier, l'Italie avec sa diplomatie et son influence, peuvent contribuer à mettre fin à cette situation pénible.

Les unités cynophiles de l'Armée,
par Ugo Gaeta (p. 64).

Quoique fort satisfaisants, les résultats obtenus au bout trois ans d'activité ne sauraient encore être considérés comme un point d'arrivée. En effet, l'ensemble des unités et toutes leurs composantes devront être pleinement opérationnels d'ici l'an 2008.

La grande Prusse,
par Daniele Cellamare (p. 80).
En comparant l'Armée prussienne avec celle d'autres Etats européens, l'on comprend mieux à quel point la tendance de la pensée militaire du XIXème siècle a influencé la formation des guerres totales qui se sont succédées pendant le siècle qui suivit.

La destruction de Jérusalem,
par Attilio Borreca (p. 94).

Ce fut une répression impitoyable: en lisant la chronique de ces événements tragiques et terribles il est



impossible de ne pas s'horrifier face à une telle cruauté. Pourquoi les romains, notoirement si généreux, réprimèrent-ils avec autant de violence la révolte des Juifs?

Les bataillons des volontaires tunisiens,
par Filippo Cappellano (p. 108).
Dans un élan patriotique digne d'éloge, les résidents italiens en Tunisie s'offrirent volontaires pour livrer la dernière bataille contre l'ennemi oppresseur. Des volontaires généreux et désintéressés qui, malgré la certitude d'une défaite, firent preuve d'un héroïsme magnanime. Voilà un remarquable exemple de courage et d'orgueil italiens injustement tombé dans les oubliettes.



Eine Welt-Demokratie,
von Giuseppe Romeo (S. 4).
Von den Schauplätzen im Mittleren Osten und in Zentralasien bis hin zu jenen in Afrika südlich der Sahara ist es deutlich festzustellen: die Abwesenheit einer präzisen Wahrnehmung der Bedeutung von Legalität in der Welt. Eine Wahrnehmung, die sich nicht nur innerhalb einer nationalen Ordnung erschöpfen darf,

sondern die sich auch in der Charakterisierung der weltumfassenden Beziehungen zur Erlangung von Stabilität niederschlagen muss. Ein Wert, der verwirklicht wird in der ausdrücklichen Vereinbarung, gemeinsame Regeln zu respektieren sowie Rechte und Zweckmäßigkeiten zu teilen. Eine Welt-Demokratie, deren Reichtum durch die Unterschiedlichkeit charakterisiert ist.

Reise nach Beirut,
von Nello Rega (S. 16).
«Ihr Italiener seid hier im Libanon äußerst wichtig. ITALAIR spielt bei unserem Einsatz eine entscheidende Rolle. Eure Soldaten sind unentbehrlich, weil sie die Kontrolle des Luftraums ermöglichen. Und sie sind einzigartig im Dialog mit der Bevölkerung».

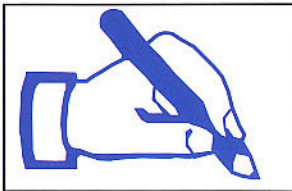
Terrorismusbekämpfung,
von Giancarlo Bove (S. 22).
Der Artikel beschreibt ein Modell zur Verteidigung und zur präventiven Sicherheit, das die Rolle der Geheimdienste für die Anfertigung von prognostischen Analysen und für die strategische Handhabung der Informationspolitik berücksichtigt.

Somalia auf der Suche nach einem Gleichgewicht,
von Nicola Gallippi und Franco Carlini (S. 46).
Heute ist das Land aufgrund von unzähligen Aufteilungen zersplittert. In den Gebieten, die während der Kolonialzeit

der Kontrolle von Großbritannien unterstanden, besteht seit 1991 Somaliland, ein Staat, der von den internationalen Organisationen nicht anerkannt ist. Im Jahre 1998 haben die nordöstlichen Gebiete ihre Unabhängigkeit unter dem Namen Puntland erklärt. Und die südlichen Landesteile schließlich befinden sich in den Fängen verschiedener «Kriegsherren» in ständigen Auseinandersetzungen um die Herrschaft.

In Zentralafrika an der Schwelle zur Hölle, von Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (S. 56).
Burundi, Ruanda, Uganda und die Republik Kongo sind Schauplätze grausamer Stammeskriege auf dem Hintergrund verworrener Machtkämpfe um die Bodenschätze, die in diesem Gebiet des Kontinents in der größten Dichte vorkommen. Die Vereinten Nationen und die Europäische Union, insbesondere Italien, können mit ihrer Diplomatie und ihrem Einfluss einen wertvollen Beitrag leisten, um dieser schmerzlichen Situation ein Ende zu bereiten.

Die Hundestaffeln des Heeres,
von Ugo Gaeta (S. 64).
Etwas mehr als drei Jahre nach Einführung der Hundestaffeln können ihre Ergebnisse als hochbefriedigend angesehen werden, und es ist noch kein Endpunkt erreicht. Bis 2008 sollen alle Hundestaffeleinheiten komplett



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zum Einsatz zur Verfügung stehen.

Große Mutter Preußen, von Daniele Cellamare (S. 80).

Der Vergleich zwischen der preußischen Armee und den Streitkräften anderer europäischer Staaten macht verständlich, wie die im 19. Jahrhundert entwickelten Tendenzen in der militärischen Auffassung die Entstehung der totalen Kriege, die im nachfolgenden Jahrhundert ausgebrochen sind, beeinflusst hat.

Die Zerstörung Jerusalems, von Attilio Claudio Borreca (S. 94).

Es gab keinen Platz für Mitleid; beim Lesen der Berichte über diese tragischen und schrecklichen Geschehnisse überfällt einen das Grauen angesichts einer derartigen Grausamkeit.

Warum haben die als großzügig bekannten Römer den Aufstand der Judäer mit so viel Gewalt niedergeschlagen?

Die tunesischen Freiwilligen-Bataillone, von Filippo Cappellano (S. 108).

In in einer lobenswerten patriotischen Anwandlung boten sich die in Tunesien ansässigen italienischen Staatsbürger an, in die letzte verzweifelte Schlacht gegen einen übermäßig großen Feind zu ziehen.

Eine großzügige und uneigennützte Freiwilligenbewegung, die in großem Heldentum erstrahlte, obwohl sie dem sicheren

Untergang geweiht war. Ein glänzendes Beispiel für stolzes Italienertum, das unverdienterweise in Vergessenheit geraten ist.



Una democracia universal, por Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 4).

Lo que destaca en los escenarios de Oriente medio, Asia e incluso Africa subsahariana, es la falta absoluta de una percepción exacta del sentido de legalidad en el mundo. Dicha percepción no puede concretarse en la mera existencia de un ordenamiento nacional sino que tiene que impregnar todas las relaciones mundiales en búsqueda de estabilidad. Es éste un valor que se concretiza en el consenso, en el respeto de reglas comunes, en la igualdad de derechos y oportunidades. Una Democracia universal patrimonio de la diversidad.

Viaje a Beirut, por Nello Rega (pág. 16).

«Los Italianos son muy importantes aquí en Líbano. ITALAIR desempeña un papel primordial en nuestra misión. Sus militares son indispensables porque permiten el control de la blue line desde el cielo. Son Ustedes

un interlocutor único en el diálogo con las poblaciones».

Guerra contra el terrorismo, por Giancarlo Bove (pág. 22). En el artículo se describe un modelo de defensa y seguridad preventiva basado en el papel desempeñado por la Inteligencia como herramienta de previsión y de gestión estratégica de las informaciones.

Somalia busca equilibrio, por Nicola Gallippi y Franco Carlini (pág. 46).

El país resulta fragmentado a raíz de infinitas divisiones. En 1991, en las áreas controladas por Gran Bretaña durante la época colonial, se proclama el Estado de Somaliland, que no reconocieron las Organizaciones internacionales. En 1998, las regiones nortorientales declaran su independencia proclamando el estado de Puntland, mientras que las regiones meridionales se vuelven objeto de disputas continuas entre los «Señores de la guerra».

En el centro de Africa, el umbral del infierno, por Nicodème N'Kashama N'Koy (pág. 56).

Burundi, Ruanda, Uganda y Congo son teatros de atroces guerras tribales alimentadas por la intrincada codicia de las riquezas que ofrece el subsuelo más rico del continente. Las Naciones Unidas, la Unión europea, e Italia en particular con su diplomacia e influencia, mucho pueden hacer para



acabar con esta dramática situación.

Los servicios cinológicos del Ejército, por Ugo Gaeta (pág. 64).

Aunque muy satisfactorios, los resultados logrados al cabo de tres años de actividad no pueden considerarse como un punto de llegada puesto que de aquí al año 2008, habrán de ser plenamente operativos todos los equipos y componente de los servicios cinológicos.

La madre Prusia, por Daniele Cellamare (pág. 80).

Al comparar el ejército prusiano con el de otros Estados europeos, se entiende hasta qué punto las tendencias de las ideologías militares, elaboradas en el siglo XIX, influenciaron la formación de las guerras totales que estallaron en el siglo sucesivo.

La destrucción de Jerusalén, por Attilio Claudio Borreca (pág. 94).

No hubo piedad alguna. Leyendo la crónica de aquellos acontecimientos trágicos y terribles, no podemos sino horrorizarnos y estremecernos ante tanta crueldad.

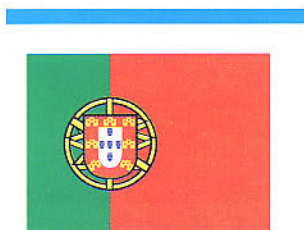
¿Por qué los romanos, notoriamente tan generosos, reprimieron con semejante violencia la revuelta de los Judíos?

Los batallones voluntarios tunecinos, por Filippo Cappellano (pág. 108).
Los residentes italianos en

Tunicia, con admirable espíritu patriótico, se ofrecieron para luchar en la última y desesperada batalla contra un enemigo opresor.

Unos voluntarios generosos y desinteresados que, a pesar de la perspectiva de una derrota segura, dieron muestras de magnánimo heroísmo.

Es éste un maravilloso ejemplo de orgullo italiano que ha sido injustamente relegado al olvido.



Uma democracia universal, de Giuseppe Romeo (pág. 4).

Dos cenários do Médio Oriente e da Ásia Central, assim como da África sub-sahariana, aquilo que se evidencia é a ausência de uma exacta percepção do sentido de autenticidade no mundo. Uma percepção que não se pode extinguir apenas no interior de um regulamento nacional, mas que se deve resolver caracterizando as relações mundiais à procura de estabilidade.

Um valor que se realiza no consenso expresso em respeitar de regras comuns, na condvisão de direitos e oportunidades. Uma

democracia universal que seja património da diversidade.

Viagem a Beirut, de Nello Rega (pág. 16).

«Vós, italianos, sois importantíssimos aqui no Líbano.

A ITALAIR tem um papel determinante na nossa missão. O vossos militares são indispensáveis porque consentem o controle da blue line do céu. Únicos no diálogo com a população».

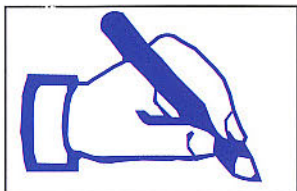
Guerra ao terrorismo, de Giancarlo Bove (pág. 22).

O artigo descreve um modelo de defesa e segurança preventiva, que tem em conta o papel desempenhado pelo Intelligence, qual instrumento de análise de previsão e gestão estratégica das informações.

Somália à procura do equilíbrio, de Nicola Gallippi e Franco Carlini (pág. 46).

O país, hoje, está fragmentado por infinitas divisões. Nas áreas antes controladas pela Grã-Bretanha, durante a época colonial, existe, desde 1991, o

Somaliland, Estado não reconhecido pelas Organizações internacionais. Em 1998, as Regiões norte-orientais declararam a sua independência com o nome de Puntland. As Regiões meridionais, por fim, são presas de vários «senhores



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da guerra», sempre em luta entre eles.

Ao centro da África, nos limites do Inferno, de Nicodème N’Kashama N’Koy (pág. 56).

Burundi, Ruanda, Uganda e Congo são teatro de atrozes guerras tribais, num cenário de emaranhada ambição pelo subsolo mais rico do Continente.

Nações Unidas, União Europeia, em particular a Itália, com a sua diplomacia e influência, podem dar um precioso contributo a por fim a esta penosa situação.

Os núcleos cinófilos do Exército, de Ugo Gaeta (pág. 64).

A pouco mais de três anos da constituição, os resultados conseguidos podem considerar-se mais do que satisfatórios, mas não representam um ponto de chegada.

Até 2008, dever-se-à atingir a completa aquisição da capacidade operativa de todos os componentes cinófilos.

A grande mãe Prússia, de Daniele Cellamare (pág. 80).

A comparação entre o Exército prussiano e os de outros Estados europeus, ajuda-nos a compreender como as tendências do pensamento militar, elaboradas no séc.XIX, influenciaram a formação das guerras totais desencadeadas no século seguinte.

A destruição de Jerusalém, de Attilio Claudio Borreca (pág. 94).

Não houve lugar para a piedade; ao ler a crónica daqueles trágicos e terríveis acontecimentos não podemos não ter um impulso de horror

para eventos assim cruéis.

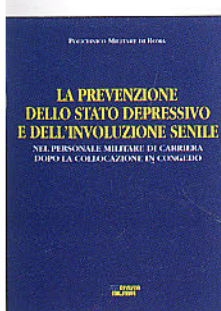
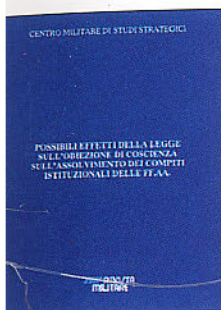
Porque é que os Romanos, notavelmente generosos, reprimiram com tanta violência a revolta dos Judeus?

Os batalhões voluntários tunisinos, de Filippo Cappellano (pág. 108).

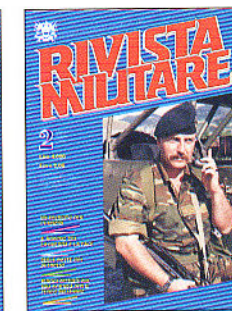
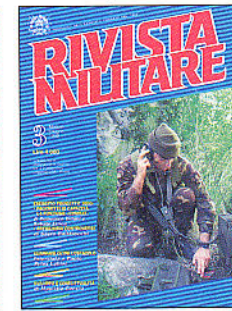
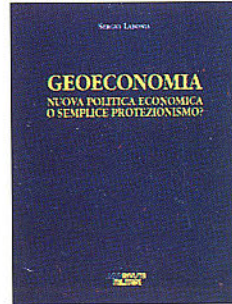
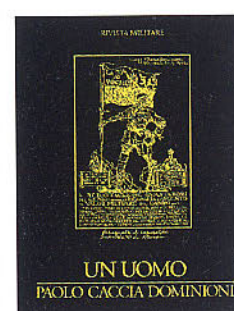
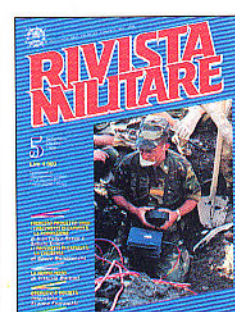
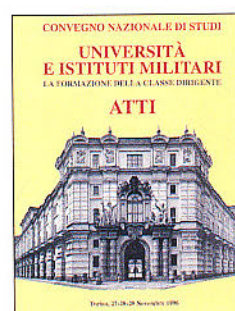
Os residentes italianos na Tunísia, com louvável ímpeto patriótico, ofereceram-se para combater a última desesperada batalha contra um inimigo dominante.

Um voluntarismo generoso e desinteressado que, ainda que destinado a segura derrota, soube iluminar-se de generoso heroísmo.

Um fúlgido exemplo de orgulhosa italianidade sobre o qual injustamente caiu o véu do olvido.



THE EDITORIAL STYLE OF RIVISTA MILITARE



RIVISTA MILITARE

JOURNAL OF THE ITALIAN ARMY FOUNDED IN 1856

